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ENCYCLOPEDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME **I**

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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

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VOLUME I

A to D

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TO THE

MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH

PREFACE

THE idea of preparing a new Dictionary of the Bible on critical lines for the benefit of all serious students, both professional and lay, was prominent in the mind of the many-sided scholar to whose beloved memory the present volume is inscribed. It is more than twelve years since Prof. Robertson Smith began to take steps towards realising this idea. As an academical teacher he had from the first been fully aware of the importance of what is known as Biblical Encyclopaedia, and his own earliest contributions to the subject in the *Encyclopædia Brztannica* carry us as far back as to the year 1875. If for a very brief period certain untoward events arrested his activity in this direction, the loss of time was speedily made up, for seldom perhaps has there been a greater display of intellectual energy than is given in the series of biblical articles signed 'W. R. S.' which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* between 1875 and 1888. The reader who is interested in Bible study should not fail to examine the list, which includes among the longer articles BIBLE, CANTICLES, CHRONICLES, DAVID,' HEBREW LANGUAGE, HOSEA, JERUSALEM, JOEL, JUDGES, KINGS, LEVITES, MALACHI, MESSIAH, MICAH, PHILISTINES, PRIEST,, PROPHET, PSALMS, SACRIFICE, TEMPLE, TITHES, ZEPHANIAH: and among the shorter, ANGEL, ARK, BAAL, DECALOGUE, ELI, EVE, HAGGAI, LAMENTATIONS, MELCHIZEDEK, MOLOCH, NABATÆANS, NAHUM, NAZARITE, NINEVEH, OBADIAH, PARADISE, RUTH, SABBATH, SADDUCEES, SAMUEL, TABERNACLE, VOW.

Genesis of the Encyclopedia.

Nor should the students of our day overlook the service which this far-seeing scholar and editor rendered to the nascent conception of an *international* biblical criticism by inviting the co-operation of foreign as well as English contributors. That names like those of Noldeke, Tiele, Welhausen, Harnack, Schurer, Gutschmid, Geldner, appeared side by side with those of well-known and honoured British scholars in the list of contributors to the *Encyclopædia* was a guarantee of freedom from dangerous eccentricity, of comprehensiveness of view, of thoroughness and accuracy of investigation.

Such a large amount of material illustrative of the Bible, marked by unity of aim and consistency of purpose, was thus brought together that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* became, inclusively, something not unlike an *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The idea then occurred to the editor and his publishers to republish, for the guidance of students, all that might be found to have stood the test of time, the lacunae being filled up, and the whole brought up, as far as possible, to the high level of the most recent scholarship. It was not unnatural to wish for this; but there were three main opposing considerations. In the first place, there were other important duties which made pressing demands on the time and energy of

the editor. Next, the growing maturity of his biblical scholarship made him less and less disposed to acquiesce in provisional conclusions. And lastly, such constant progress was being made by students in the power of assimilating critical results that it seemed prudent to wait till biblical articles, thoroughly revised and recast, should have a good chance of still more deeply influencing the student world.

The waiting-time was filled up, so far as other occupations allowed, by pioneering researches in biblical archaeology, some of the results of which are admirably summed up in that fruitful volume entitled *The Religion of the Semites* (1889). More and more, Robertson Smith, like other contemporary scholars, saw the necessity of revising old work on the basis of a more critical, and, in a certain sense, more philosophical treatment of details. First of all, archaeological details had their share — and it was bound to be a large share — of this scholar's attention. Then came biblical geography — a subject which had been brought prominently into notice by the zeal of English explorers, but seemed to need the collaboration of English critics. A long visit to Palestine was planned for the direct investigation of details of biblical geography, and though this could not be carried out, not a little time was devoted to the examination of a few of the more perplexing geographical problems and of the solutions already proposed (see *e.g.* APHEK, below, col. 191 *f.*). This care for accuracy of detail as a necessary preliminary to a revision of theories is also the cause of our friend's persistent refusal to sanction the republication of the masterly but inevitably provisional article BIBLE in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to which we shall return later. The reader will still better understand the motive of that refusal if he will compare what is said on the Psalter in that article (1875) with the statements in the first edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1880), in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article PSALMS (1885), and in the second edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892).

It is only just, however, to the true 'begetter' of this work to emphasise the fact that, though he felt the adequate realisation of his idea to be some way off, he lost no time in pondering and working out a variety of practical details — a task in which he was seconded by his assistant editor and intimate friend, Mr. J. S. Black. Many hours were given, as occasion offered, to the distribution of subjects and the preparation of minor articles. Some hundreds of these were drafted, and many were the discussions that arose as to the various difficult practical points, which have not been without fruit for the present work.

In September, 1892, however, it became only too clear to Prof. Smith that he was suffering from a malady which might terminate fatally after no very distant term. The last hope of active participation in his long-cherished scheme of a Bible Dictionary had well-nigh disappeared, when one of the present editors, who had no definite knowledge of Prof. Smith's plan, communicated to this friend of many years' standing his ideas of what a critical Bible Dictionary ought to be, and inquired whether he thought that such a project could be realised. Prof. Smith was still intellectually able to consider and pronounce upon these ideas, and gladly recognised their close affinity to his own. Unwilling that all the labour already bestowed by him on planning and drafting articles should be lost, he requested Prof. Cheyne to take up the work which he himself was compelled to drop, in conjunction with the older and more intimate friend already mentioned. Hence the combination of names on the title-page. The work is undertaken by the editors as a charge from one whose parting message had the force of a command.

Such is the history of the genesis of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which is the result primarily of a fusion of two distinct but similar plans — a fusion desired by Prof. Robertson Smith himself, as the only remaining means of realising adequately his own fundamental ideas. With regard to details, he left the editors entirely free, not from decline of physical strength; but from a well-grounded confidence that religion and the Bible were not less dear to them than to himself, and that they fully shared his own uncompromisingly progressive spirit. The Bible Dictionary which he contemplated was no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism — a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archaeological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most adverse. The importance of the newer view of the Bible to the Christian community, and the fundamental principles of the newer biblical criticism, have been so ably and so persuasively set forth by Prof. Robertson Smith in his Lectures that his fellow-workers may be dispensed from repeating here what he has said so well already. 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' Let us assume, then, that the readers of this *Encyclopædia*, whatever be their grade of knowledge or sphere of work, are willing to make an effort to take this widely extended land in possession.

Principles of the Encyclopædia.

Every year, in fact, expands the narrow horizons which not so long ago limited the aspirations of the biblical scholar. It is time, as Prof. Robertson Smith thought, to help students to realise this, and to bring the standard books on which they rely more up to date. It may seem hopeless to attempt this with an alphabetically arranged encyclopaedia, which necessarily involves the treatment of points in an isolated way. By an elaborate system of cross references, however, and by interspersing a considerable number of comprehensive articles (such as, in Part I, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, CAINITES, DRAGON), it has been sought to avoid the danger of treating minute details without regard to their wider bearings. Many of the minor articles, too, have been so constructed as to suggest the relation of the details to the larger wholes. Altogether the minor articles have, one ventures to hope, brought many direct gains to biblical study. Often the received view of the subject of a 'minor article' proved to be extremely doubtful, and a better view suggested itself. Every endeavour has been used to put this view forward in a brief and yet convincing manner, without occupying too much space and becoming too academic in style. The more comprehensive articles may here and there be found to clash with the shorter articles. Efforts, however, have been made to mitigate this by editorial notes in both classes of articles.

It will also doubtless be found that on large questions different writers have sometimes proposed different theories and hypotheses. The sympathies of the editors are, upon the whole, with what is commonly known as 'advanced' criticism, not simply because it is advanced, but because such criticism, in the hands of a circumspect and experienced scholar, takes account of facts and phenomena which the criticism of a former generation overlooked or treated superficially. They have no desire, however, to 'boycott' moderate criticism, when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original

to say. An 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his more 'moderate' colleague, for probably he himself held, not very long ago, views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now, and the latter may find his precautionary investigations end in his supporting, with greater fulness and more complete arguments, as sound the views that now seem to him rash. Prof. Robertson Smith's views of ten years ago, or more, may, at the present day, appear to be 'moderate' criticism; but when he formulated them he was in the vanguard of critics, and there is no reason to think that, if he had lived, and devoted much of his time to biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned, and his precedence passed to others.

There are, no doubt, some critical theories which could not consistently have been represented in the present work; and that, it may be remarked, suggests one of the reasons why Prof. Robertson Smith's early *Encyclopædia Britannica* article, BIBLE, could not have been republished, even by himself. When he wrote it he was still not absolutely sure about the chronological place of P (Priestly Code). He was also still under the influence of the traditional view as to the barrenness and unoriginality of the whole post-exilic period. Nor had he faced the question of the post-exilic redaction of the prophetic writings. The fundamental principles of biblical criticism, however, are assumed throughout that fine article, though for a statement of these we must turn to a more mature production of his pen. See, for example, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*[2], pp. 16 *ff.* (cp 1st ed. pp. 24 *ff.*), and notice especially the following paragraph on p. 17:—

'Ancient books coming down to us from a period many centuries before the invention of printing have necessarily undergone many vicissitudes. Some of them are preserved only in imperfect copies made by an ignorant scribe of the dark ages. Others have been disfigured by editors, who mzxed up foreign matter with the original text. Very often an important book fell altogether out of sight for a long time, and when it came to light again all knowledge of its origin was gone; for old books did not generally have title-pages and prefaces. And, when such a nameless roll was agazn brought znto notice, some half-informed reader or transcriber was not unlikely to give it a new title of his own devising, which was handed down thereafter as if it had been original. Or agazn, the true meaning and purpose of a book often became obscure in the lapse of centuries, and Zed to false interpretations. Once more, antiquity has handed down to us many writings which are sheer forgeries, like some of the Apocryphal' books, or the Sibylline oracles, or those famous Epistles of Phalaris, which formed the subject of Bentley's great critical essay. In all such cases the historical critic must destroy the received view, in order to establish the truth. He must review doubtful titles, purge out interpolations, expose forgeries; but he does so only to manifest the truth, ana' exhibit the genuine remains of antiquity in their real character. A book that is really old and really valuable has nothing to fear from the critic, whose labours can on& put its worth in a clearer light, and establish its authorzty on a surer basis.'

The freedom which Prof. Robertson Smith generously left to his successors has, with much reluctance, yet without hesitation, on the part of the editors, been exercised in dealing with the articles which he wrote for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The editors are well assured that he would have approved their conduct in this respect. Few scholars, indeed, would refrain from rewriting, to a large extent, the critical articles which they had produced some years previously; and this, indeed, is what has been done by several contributors who wrote biblical articles for the former Encyclopædia. The procedure of those who have revised our friend's articles has in fact been as gentle and considerate as possible. Where these articles seemed to have been destined by himself for some degree of per-

manence, they have been retained, and carefully revised and brought up to date. Some condensation has sometimes been found necessary. The original articles were written for a public very imperfectly imbued with critical principles, whereas now, thanks to his own works and to those of other progressive scholars, Bible students are much more prepared than formerly to benefit by advanced teaching. There is also a certain amount of a new material from Prof. Smith's pen (in two or three cases consisting of quotations from the MS of the second and third courses of Burnett Lectures), but much less, unfortunately, than had been expected.

Freedom has also been used in taking some fresh departures, especially in two directions—viz., in that of textual criticism of the Old Testament, and in that of biblical archaeology. The object of the editors has been, with the assistance of their contributors, not only to bring the work up to the level of the best published writings, but, wherever possible, to carry the subjects a little beyond the point hitherto reached in print. Without the constant necessity of investigating the details of the text of the Old Testament, it would be hard for any one to realise the precarious character of many details of the current biblical archæology, geography, and natural history, and even of some not unimportant points in the current Old Testament theology. Entirely new methods have not indeed been applied; but the methods already known have perhaps been applied with somewhat more consistency than before. With regard to archzology, such a claim can be advanced only to a slight extent. More progress perhaps has been made of late years in the field of critical archzology than in that of texual criticism. All, therefore, that was generally necessary was to make a strong effort to keep abreast of recent archzological research both in Old Testament and in New Testament study.

The fulness of detail with which the data of the Versions have been given may provoke some comment. Experience has been the guide of the editors, and they believe that, though in the future it will be possible to give these data in a more correct, more critical, and more condensed form, the student is best served at present by being supplied as fully as possible with the available material. It may also be doubted by some whether there is not too much philology. Here, again, experience has directed the course to be pursued. In the present transitional stage of lexicography, it would have been undesirable to rest content with simply referring to the valuable new lexicons which are now appearing, or have already appeared.

With regard to biblical theology, the editors are not without hope that they have helped to pave the way for a more satisfactory treatment of that important subject which is rapidly becoming the history of the movement of religious life and thought within the Jewish and the Christian church (the phrase may be inaccurate, but it is convenient). Systems of Prophetic, Pauline, Petrine, Johannine theology have had their day; it is perhaps time that the Bible should cease to be regarded as a storehouse of more or less competing systems of abstract thought. Unfortunately the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament. It may not be long before a real history of the movement of religious life and thought in the earlier period will be possible. For such a history for the later period we shall have to wait longer, if we may infer anything from the doubtless inevitable defects of the best existing handbook of New Testament theology, that of the able veteran critic, H. J. Holtzmann. The editors of the present work are keenly interested in the subject at

present called 'Biblical Theology'; but, instead of attempting what is at present impossible, they have thought it better to leave some deficiencies which future editors will probably find it not difficult to supply. They cannot, however, conclude this section without a hearty attestation of the ever-increasing love for the Scriptures which critical and historical study, when pursued in a sufficiently comprehensive sense, appears to them to produce. The minutest details of biblical research assume a brightness not their own when viewed in the light of the great truths in which the movement of biblical religion culminates. May the reader find cause to agree with them! This would certainly have been the prayerful aspiration of the beloved and lamented scholar who originated this *Encyclopædia*.

Acknowledgments.

To the contributors of signed articles, and to those who have revised and brought up to date the articles of Prof. Robertson Smith, it may seem almost superfluous to render thanks for the indispensable help they have so courteously and generously given. It constitutes a fresh bond between scholars of different countries and several religious communities which the' editors can never forget. But the special services of the various members of the editorial staff require specific acknowledgment, which the editors have much pleasure in making. Mr. Hope W. Hogg became a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in 1894, and in 1895 became a regular member of the editorial staff. To his zeal, energy, and scholarship the work has been greatly indebted in every direction. In particular, Mr. Hogg has had the entire responsibility for the proofs as they passed in their various stages through the hands of the printer, and it is he who has seen to the due carrying out of the arrangements—many of them of his own devising—for saving space and facilitating reference that have been specified in the subjoined 'Practical Hints to the Reader.' Mr. Stanley A. Cook joined the staff in 1896, and not only has contributed various signed articles, which to the editors appear to give promise of fine work in the future, but also has had a large share in many of those that are of composite authorship and unsigned. Finally, Mr. Maurice A. Canney joined the staff in 1898; he also has contributed signed articles, and has been eminently helpful in every way, especially in the reading of the proofs. Further, the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance to the Septuagint*, who placed his unrivalled experience at their disposal by controlling all the proofs at a certain stage with special reference to the LXX readings. He also verified the biblical references.

T. K. CHEYNE.
J. SUTHERLAND BLACK.

20th September 1899.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above, p. xiv. 3 i. [a]) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and, for the most part, it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will, it is hoped, be welcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.*, 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (*i.e.*, Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{23}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1–4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1–3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, ℵ, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus *OTJC*$^{(2)}$ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions *RP*$^{(2)}$, *AOF*$^{(2)}$; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, E_2, Jz, P_2.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that this work be referred to as the Encyclopedia Biblica, and that the name may be abbreviated thus: *Ency.* Bib. or *EBi.* It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections (§§); or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

Abulw.	Abulwalid, the Jewish grammarian (b. *circa* 990), author of *Book of Roots*, etc.
Acad.	*The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art.* London, '69 *ff.*
AF.	See *AOF.*
AHT.	*Ancient Hebrew Tradition.* See Hommel.
Alt[test]. Unt.	See Winckler.
Amer. Journ. of Phil.	*American Journal of Philology*, '80 *ff.*
A[mer.] J[ourn.] S[em.] L[ang.]	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing *Hebraica* ['84–'95]), '95 *ff.*
Am. Tab.	The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= *KB* 5)
Ant.	Josephus, *Antiquities.*
AOF	*Altorientalische Forschungen.* See Winckler.
Apocr. Anecd.	*Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.
Aq.	Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.
Ar.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic. See ARAMAIC.
Arch.	*Archæology* or *Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.
Ar. Des.	Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, '88.
Ar. Heid., or *Heid.*	*Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.
Arm.	Armenian.
Ass.	Assyrian.
Ass. *HWB*	*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.* See Delitzsch.
As. u. Eur.	W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, '93.
AT, ATliche	*Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche.* Old Testament.
AT Unters.	*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen.* See Winckler.
AV.	Authorised Version.
b.	*ben, b'ne* (son, sons, Hebrew).
Bä.	Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipsic, '69, and following years.
Bab.	Babylonian.
Baed., or Baed. *Pal.*	Baedeker, *Palestine* (ed. Socin), $^{(2)}$, '94; $^{(3)}$, '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.
Baethg., or Baethg. *Beitr.*	Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religions-geschichte*, '88.
BAG	C. P. Tiele, *Babylonische-assyrische Geschichte*, pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.
Ba. *NB.*	Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, i., '89; ii., '91; $^{(2)}$ '94.
Baraitha	See LAW LITERATURE.
BDB *Lex.*	[Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon*] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, based on the Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.
Be.	E. Bertheau (1812–88). In *KGH; Richter u. Ruth*, '45; $^{(2)}$ '83; *Chronik*, '54; $^{(2)}$, '73; *Esra, Nehemia u. Ester*, '62; $^{(2)}$, by Ryssel, '87.
Beitr.	*Beiträge*, especially Baethgen (as above).
Beitr. z. Ass.	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. 1, '99.
Benz. *HA.*	I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, '94.

Kön. . *Konige* in *KHC*, '99.

Bertholet, *Stellung* A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.

Bi. . . . Gustav Bickell :
Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '69 *f.*; ET, '77.
Carmina VT metrice etc., '82.
Dichtungen der Hebraer, '82 *f.*
Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov., '90.

Biblioth. Sac. . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 *ff.*

BJ . . . *De Bello Judaico*. See Josephus.

BL . . . Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon*: Realworterbuch zum Handgebrauch fur Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69-'75.

Boch. . S. Bochart (1599–1667) :
Geographia Sacra, 1646;
Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturæ Sacra, 1663.

Boeckh . . Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, 4 vols., '28–'77.

BOR . . *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 *ff.*

Bottch. . . Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebraischen Sprache*, '66-'68.

Böttg. *Lex.* . Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.

BR . . . *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.

Bu. . . . Karl Budde:
Urgesch. . *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1–12$_5$), '83.
Ri.Sa. . *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
Sam.. . *Samuel* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
Das Buch Hiob in *HK*, '96.
Klagelieder and *Hohelied* in *KHC*, '98.

Buhl . . See *Pal.*

Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.

Buxt. *Lex.* . Johann Buxtorf, son (1599–1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.

c., cir. . . *circa.*

Calwer Bib. Lex. . *Calwer Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwb'rterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89-'93.

c. Ap. . . *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.

CH . . . *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.

Chald. Gen. . *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.

Che. . . T. K. Cheyne':
Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80–'81; revised, (5), '89).
Job and Sol. *Job and Solomon*, or *The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
Ps. . . *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
OPs. . . *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures, '89), '91.
Aids . . *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
Founders . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
Intr. Is. . *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
Is. SBOT. *Isaiah* in *SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible' ('88).
Jew. Rel. Life *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.

CIG . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 *ff.* See also Boeckh.

CIL . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.

CIS . . *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 *ff.* Pt. i., Phœnician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., S. Arabian inscriptions.

Class. Rev. . *The Classical Review*, '87 *ff.*

Cl.-Gan. . Clermont-Ganneau :
Rec. . . *Recueil d'Archéologie*, '85 *ff.*

Co. . . . Cornill:
Ezek. *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86.
Einl. . *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, '91; (3), '96.
Hist. *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.

COT . . *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.

Crit. Mon. . A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.

Cr. Rev. . . *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmond], '91 *ff.*

D . . . Author of Deuteronomy; also used Deuteronomistic passages.

D_2 . . . Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

Dalm. *Gram.* . Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
Worte Jesu *Die Worte Jesu*, i., '98.
Aram. Lex. *Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch*, Teil i., '97.

Dav. . . A. B. Davidson :
Job . *Book of Job* in Camb. Bible, '84.
Ezek. *Book of Ezekiel* in Cambridge Bible, '92.

DB . . . W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*(2), 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 *ff.*

de C. *Orig.* . Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series*.

De Gent. . . *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.

Del. . . Delitzsch, Franz (1813–90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
Par. . *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
Heb. Lang. *The Hebrew Language viewed*

in the light of Assyrian Research, '83.
Prol. *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT*, '86.
Ass. *HWB* *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, '96.

DHM *Ep. Denk.* D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, '89.
Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 Bde., '96.

Di. . . . Dillmann, August (1823–94), in *KGH: Genesis*, 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; (4), '82; (6), '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); *Exodus und Leviticus*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97; *Numb.*, *Deut.*, *Josh.*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '86; *Isaiah*, (5), '90; (edd. 1–3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).

Did. . . *Didachè*. See APOCRYPHA, § 31, I.

Dozy, *Suppl.* . *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, '79 *ff.*

Dr. . . . Driver, S. R.:
HT. . *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, '74; (2), '81; (3), '92.
TBS . *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, '90.
Introd. . *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, (1), '91; (6), '97.
Par. Ps. . *Parallel Psalter*, '98.
Deut. . *Deuteronomy* in *The International Critical Commentary*, '95.
Joel and Amos in the *Cambridge Bible*, '97.
Lev. SBOT *SBOT* (Eng.), *Leviticus*, assisted by H. A. White, '98.
'Hebrew Authority' in *Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane*, ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.
Is. . . *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, in 'Men of the Bible,' (2), '93.

Drus. . . Drusius (1550–1616) in *Critici Sacri*.

Du. . . . Bernhard Duhm:
Proph. . *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, '75.
Is. . . *Das Buch Jesaia* in *HK*, '92.
Ps. . . *Die Psalmen erklärt*, in *KHC*, '99.

E . . . . Old Hebrew historical document.

E_2 . . . Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

EB(9) . . *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., '75–'88.

Ebers, *Aeg. BM* Georg Ebers ('37–'98), *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i., '68.

EinL . . *Einleitung* (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.

Eng. Hist. Rev. *The English Historical Review*, '86 *ff.*

Ent[st]. . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. *See* Ed. Meyer.

ET . . . English translation.

Eth. . . . Ethiopic.

Eus. . . . Eusebius of Cæsarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.):
Onom. or *OS* *Onomasticon*; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'
HE. . *Historia Ecclesiastica.*
P[ræp.]E[v.] *Præparatio Evangelica.*
Chron. . *Chronicon.*

EV . . . English version (where authorised and revised agree).

Ew. . . . Heinrich Ewald (1803–75):
Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '44; (8), '70.
Gesch. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; (3) i.–vii., '64–'68; ET (2) 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '69–'80.
Dichter . *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* (3) '66 *f.*
Proph. . *Die Propheten*, '40 *f.*; (2), '67 *f.*; ET '76 *f.*

Expos. . . *Expositor*, 5th ser., '95 *ff.*

Exp[os]. T[imes] *Expository Times*, '89–'90 *ff.*

f. and *ff.* . . following (verse, or verses, etc.).

FFP . . *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. See Tristram.

Field, *Hex.* . F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum qua supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Græcorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* ('75).

F[r.]HG . . *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Muller, 5 vols., '41–'72.

Fl. and Hanb. *Pharm.* F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, *Pharmacographia.*

Floigl, *GA* . Floigl, *Geschichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen*, '82.

Founders . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*. See Cheyne.

Fr. . . . O. F. Fritzsche (1812–96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in *KHG*.

Frä. . . . Sigismund Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, '86.

Frankenb. . W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche* in *KH*, '98.

Frazer . . J. G. Frazer:
Totemism ('87).
Golden Bough ('90); (2) in prep.
Pausanias's Description of Greece (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).

Fund. . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

𝔊 . . . Greek Version, see above, p. xv. *f.* and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

GA . . . *Geschichte d. Alterthums* (see Meyer, Floigl).

GÄ . . . *Geschichte Ägyptens* (see Meyer).

GBA . . *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens* (see Winckler, Hommel).

GASm. . . George Adam Smith. See Smith.

GAT . . Reuss, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, '81; (2), '90

Gei. *Urschr.* . A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums*, '57.

Ges. . . F. H. W. Gesenius (1786–1842):
Thes. . *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti*, '35–'42.
Gramm. . *Hebräische Grammatik*, '13; (26), by E. Kautzsch, '96; ET '98.
Lex. . . *Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, '12; (11) (Muhlau u. Volck), '90; (12) (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmern), '95; (13) (Buhl), '99.

Ges.-Bu. . . Gesenius Buhl. See above, Ges.

Gesch.	*Geschichte* (History).
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, '24 *ff.*
GGN	*Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, '45 *ff.*
GI	*Geschichte Israels.* See Winckler.
Gi[nsb].	Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94, *Introduction*, '97.
GJV	*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.* See Schurer.
Glaser	Eduard Glaser:
Skizze	*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.
Gr.	K. Grimm (1807-91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGN*.
Gra.	Heinrich Gratz:
Gesch.	*Geschichte der Juden*, i.-x., '74 *ff.*; ET i.-v., '91-'92.
Ps.	*Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 *f.*
Gr. Ven.	Versio Veneta. See TEXT.
GVI	*Gesch. des Volkes Israel.* See Ewald, Stade, etc.
H	'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-26). See LEVITICUS.
HA or *Hebr. Arch.*	*Hebräische Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.
Hal.	Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
Mél.	*Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, '74.
Hamburger [*RE*]	Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, (2) '92; ii. '83, suppl. '86, '91 *f.*, '97.
Harper, *ABL*	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K*[Kuyunjik] *collection of the British Museum*, '93 *ff.*
HC	*Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmaun, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89-'91.
Heb.	Hebrew.
Hebraica	Continued as *AJSL* (*q.v.*).
Heid.	*Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.
Herst.	Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '93; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.
Herzog, *RE*	See *PRE*.
Het Herstel	See *Herst.*
Hex.	*Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).
Hexap.	See Field.
HG	*Historical Geography of the Holy Land.* See Smith, G. A.
Hierob.	See Bochart.
Hilgf.	A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*EinL*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT*.
Hist.	See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.
Hist. Proph. Mon.	J. F. M'Curdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments:* i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).
Hi[tz].	F. Hitzig (1807-75), in *KGH: Prediger* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38; (3), '63), *Jeremias* ('41; (2), '66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35-'36; (3), '63-'65).
HK	*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 *ff.*
Holz. *EinL*	H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genesis* in the *KHC* ('98).
Hommel	Fritz Hommel:
AHT	*Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung;* ET, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
GBA	*Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '85 *ff.*
Hor. Hebr.	Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1684.
HP	Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798-1827.
HPN	G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '96.
HPSm.	Henry Preserved Smith. *Samuel* in *International Critical Commentary.*
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift.* See Kautzsch.
HWB	Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, 2 vols., '84; (2), '93-'94. See also Delitzsch (Friedr.).
IJG	*Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte.* See Wellhausen.
Intr[od].	Introduction.
Intr. Is.	*Introduction to Isaiah.* See Cheyne.
It.	Itala. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.
It. Anton.	*Itineraium Antornini*, Fortia d'Urban, '45.
	Old Hebrew historical document.
J_2	Later additions to J.
J[*ourn.*] *A*[*m.*] *O*[*r.*] *S*[*oc.*]	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '51 *ff.*
Jastrow, *Dict.*	M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, etc., and Midrashim*, '86 *ff.*
J[*ourn.*] *As.*	*Journal Asiatique*, '53 *ff.*; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 *ff.*; formerly ('82-'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*
JBW	*Jahrbucher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('49-'65).
JDT	*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '56-'78.
JE	The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.
Jensen, *Kosm.*	P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.
Jer.	Jerome, or Jeremiah.
Jon.	Jonathan. See Targum.
Jos.	Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicæ, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87-'94).
J[*ourn.*] *Phil.*	*Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.
JPT	*Jahrbücher fur protestantische Theologie*, '75-'92.
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, '88-'89 *ff.*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1-20, '34 *ff.*; new ser., vols. 1-24, '65-'92; current series, '93 *ff.*).
JSBL	See *JBL*.
KAT	*Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament.* See Schrader.
Kau.	E. Kautzsch:
Gram.	*Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen*, '84.
HS	*Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

Apokr. . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 *f.*

KB. . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Uebersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 *a*, *b*, 4, 5), '89–'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.

Ke. . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).

Kenn. . . B. Kennicott (1718–83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776–80.

KG . . . *Kirchengeschichte.*

KGF . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.* See Schrader.

KGH . . *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.* See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.

KGK . . *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 *ff.*

KHC . . *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 *ff.*

Ki. . . . Rudolf Kittel :
- *Gesch.* *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95–'96.
- *Ch. SBOT* *The Book of Chronicles.* Critical Edition of the Hebrew text, '95 (translated by Bacon).

Kim. . . R. David Ḳimḥi, *circa* 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.

Kin[s]. . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* See W. R. Smith.

Kl. Proph. . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nonack, etc.

Klo[st]. . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige ('87)* in *KGK.*
- *GVI.* *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia*, '96.

Kn[ob]. . . Aug. Knobel (1807–63) in *KGH*: *Exodus und Leviticus*, (2) by Dillmann, '80; *Der Prophet Jesaia*, '43, (3), '61. See Dillmann.

KÖ. . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebraischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81–'97.

Köh. . . Aug. Kohler.

Kr. . . . Ḳrē (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kĕthīb); see below.

Kt. . . . Kĕthīb (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.

Kue . . . Abr. Kuenen (1828–91) :
- *Ond* . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61–'65; (2), '85–'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87–'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.
- *Godsd.* . *De Godsdienst van Israel*, '69–'70; Eng. transl., 3 vols., '73–'75.
- *De Profeten en der Profetie onder Israel*, '75; ET, '77.
- *Ges. Abh.* . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, German by Budde, '94.

L . . . de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, Pars Prior Græce*, '83.

Lag. . . Paul de Lagarde ('27–'91) :
- *Hag.* . *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, '73.
- *Syr.* . . *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, '61.
- *Ges. Abh.* . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, '66.
- *Mitt.* . *Mitteilungen*, i.–iv., '84–'89.
- *Sym.* . *Symmicta*, ii., '80.
- *Prov.* . *Proverbien*, '63.
- *Übers.* or *BN* *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebraischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, '89.
- *Beitr.* . *Beitrage z. baktrischen Lexikographie*, '68.
- *Proph.* . *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, '72.
- *Sem.* *Semitica*, '78 *f.*
- *Arm. St.* . *Armenische Studien.*
- *Or.* . . *Orientalia*, i., '79.

Lane . . E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, '63 *ff.*

L [and] B . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.

LBR . . *Later Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.

Levy, *NHWB* J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76–'89.
- *Chald. Lex.* *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 *ff.*

Lehrgeb. . . See König.

Leps. *Denkm.* . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49–'60.

Lightf. . . John Lightfoot (1602–75), *Horæ Hebraice* (1684).
Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28–'89); commentaries on *Galatians* ((4), '74); *Philippians* ((3), '73); *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).

Lips. 1 *f.* . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83–'90.

Löw . . . J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, '81.

Luc. . . See L.

LXX or 𝔊 . Septuagint. See above, p. xv f., and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Maimonides . Moses Maimonides (1131–1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah*, *Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.

Mand. . . Mandaean. See ARAMAIC, § 10.

Marq. *Fund.* . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

Marti . . K. Marti:
- *Gram.* . *Kurzgefasste Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.
- *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*(3), '97 (a revision of A. Kayser, *Die Theol. des AT*).
- *Jes.* . . *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *KHC*, '99.

Masp. . . G. Maspero:
- *Dawn of Civilisation, Egypt and Chaldea* ((2), '96).
- *Les premières Mêlées des Peuples*; ET by McClure.

The Struggle of the Nations—Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient ('99 *ff.*).

MBBA . . *Monatsbericht* der Berliner *Akademie*.

MDPV . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*, '95 *ff.*

Merx . . **A.** Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung* **d.** A T ('69).

Mey. . . **Ed.** Meyer :
- *GA* . . *Geschichte des Alterthums*: i., *Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* **('93).**
- *Entst[eh].* . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, **'96.**

Meyer . . H. **A.** W. Meyer **(1800–73),** founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.*

MGWJ . *Monatsschrift für Gesch.* u. *Wiss. des Judenthums*, '51 *ff.*

MH. . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.

MI. . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHA.

Midr. . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § **6 (2).**

Mish. . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or Sēders thus:—i. *Zĕrā'īm* (11 tractates), ii. *Mō'ēd* **(12),** iii. *Nāshīm* **(7),** iv. *Nĕzīkīn* (10), v. *Ḳodāshīm* (11), vi. *Ṭohŏrōth* (12).

Ăbōdā zārā, iv. 8	Mikwā'ōth, vi. 6
Ābōth, iv. 9	Mō'ēd Ḳāṭān, ii. 11
'Ărākhīn, v. 5	Nāzīr, iii. 4
Bābā Bathrā, iv. 3	Nĕdārīm, iii. 3
Bābā Ḳammā, iv. 1	Nĕgā'īm, vi. 3
Bābā Mĕṣī'ā, iv. 2	Niddā, vi. 7
Bĕkhōrōth, v. 4	Ohālōth, vi. 2
Bĕrākhōth, i. 1	'Orlā, i. 10
BE ā, ii. 7	Pārā, vi. 4
Bikkūrīm, i. 11	Pē'ā, i. 2
Chăgīgā, ii. 12	Pĕsāchīm, ii. 3
Challā, i. 9	Rōsh Ha(sh)shānā, ii. 8
Chullīn, v. 3	Sanhedrīn, iv. 4
Dĕmái, i. 3	Shabbāth, ii. 1
'Edūyōth, iv. 7	Shĕbū'ōth, iv. 6
'Eriibin, ii. 2	Shĕbī'ith, i. 5
Gittin, iii. 6.	Shĕḳālīm, ii. 4
Hōrāyōth, iv. 10	Sōṭā, iii. 5
Kēlīm, vi. 1	Sukkā, ii. 6
Kĕrīthōth, v. 7	Ta'ănīth, ii. 9
Kĕthūbōth, iii. 2	Tāmīd, v. 9.
Ḳiddūshīn, iii. 7	Tĕbul Yōm, vi. 10
Kil'áyim, i. 4	Tĕmūrā, v. 6
Kinnim, v. 11	Tĕrūmōth, i. 6
Ma'ăsēr Shēmi, i. 8	Ṭohŏrōth, vi. 5
Ma'ăsērōth, i. 7	'Ūksīn, vi. 12
Makhshirin, vi. 8.	Yādáyim, vi. 11
Makkōth, iv. 5	Yĕbāmōth, iii. 1
Mĕgillā, ii. 10	Yōmā, ii. 5
Mĕ'īlā, v. 8	Zābīm, vi. 9
Mĕnāchōth, v. 2	Ẓĕbāchīm, v. 1
Middōth, v. 10	

MT. . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.

Murray . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, **'88 *ff.*;** also H. Bradley, **'97 *ff.***

Muss-Arn. . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, **'94–'99** (A–MAG).

MVG . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, **'97 *ff.***

n. . . . note.

Nab. . . Nabatæan. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

NB . . *Nominalbildung*, Barth; see Ba.

Nestle, *Eig.* . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, **'76.**
- *Marg.* . *Marginalien u. Materialien*, **'93.**

Neub. *Géogr.* . **A** Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, **'68.**

NHB . . *Natural History of the Bible.* See Tristram.

NHWB . . *Neu-hebr.* **u.** *chaldäisches Wörterbuch.* See Levy.

no. . . . number.

Nö[ld]. . . Th. Nöldeke :
- *Unters.* . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments*, **'69.**
- *Alttestamentliche Litteratur*, **'68.**

Now. . . W. Nowack :
- *H[ebr.] A[rch.]* *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie*, **'94.**
- *Kl. Proph.* *Die Kleinen Propheten* **(in *HKC*), '97.**

NT . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.

Ol[sh]. . . Justus Olshausen :
- *Ps.* . . *Die Psalmen*, **'53.**
- *Lehrb.* . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, **'61** [incomplete].

OLZ (or *Or. LZ*) *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, ed. Peiser, **'98 *f.***

Ond. . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek.* See Kuenen.

Onk., Onq. . Onkelos, Onqelos. See Targ.

Onom. . . See OS.

OPs. . . *Origin of the Psalter.* See Cheyne.

OS. . . *Onomastica Sacra*, containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), **'87;** the pagination **of** (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).

OT . . . Old Testament.

OTJC . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* See W. R. Smith.

P . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.

P_2 . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.

Pal. . . **F.** Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, **'96.** See also Baedeker and Reland.

Palm. . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, **§ 4.**

Pal. Syr. . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, **§ 4.**

PAOS . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, **'51 ff.** (printed annually at end of *JAOS*).

Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.

Pat. Pal. . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, **'95.**

PE . . . *Præparatio Evangelica.* See Eusebius.

PEFQ[u. St.] . *Palestine Exploration Fund* [founded '65] *Quarterly Statement*, **'69 *ff.***

PEFM[em.] . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, **3** vols., **'81–'83.**

Per.-Chip. . Perrot and Chipiez: *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineuere — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome:* '81 *ff.*
ET: *Ancient Egypt*, '83; *Chaldea and Assyria*, '84; *Phœnicia and Cyprus*, '85; *Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., '90; *Primitive Greece*, '94.

Pers. . . Persian.

Pesh. . . Peshitta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd–3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24.
W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*, '97.

Ph., Phœn. . Phœnician.

PRE . . *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54–'68; (2), ed. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77–'88; (3), ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i.–vii. [A-Haul, '96–'99.

Preuss. Jahrbb. *Preussische* Jahrbucher, '72 *ff.*

Prim. Cult. . E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, '71; (3), '91.

Proph. Is. . *The Prophecies of Isaiah.* See Cheyne.

Prol. . . *Prolegomena.* See Wellhausen.

Prot. KZ . . *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung fur das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i.–xliii., '54–'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 *ff.*).

PSBA . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, '78 *ff.*

PS *Thes.* . Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus.*

Pun. . . Punic.

R . . . Redactor or Editor.

R_{JE} . . Redactor(s) of JE.

R_D . . Deuteronomistic Editor(s).

R_P . . Priestly Redactor(s).

1–5R . . H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.* i.–v. ('61–'84; iv. (2), '91).

Rab. . . Rabbinical.

Rashi . . *i.e.* Rabbenu Shelomoh Yiṣḥaḳi (1040–1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.

Rec. Trav. . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. egypt. et assyr.* '70 *ff.*

REJ . . *Revue des Études juives*, i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.

Rel. *Pal.* . Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata*, 2 vols., 1714.

Rev. . . *Revue.*

Rev. Sém. . *Revue sémitique*, '93 *ff.*

Ri. Sa. . . *Die Bucher Richter u. Samuel.* See Budde.

Rob. . . Edward Robinson:
BR . *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a journal of travels in the year* 1838 (i.–iii., '41 = $BR^{(2)}$, i.–ii., '56).
LBR or *BR* iv. or $BR^{(2)}$ iii. *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year* 1852 ('56).
Physical Geography of the Holy Land, '65.

Roscher . . *Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie* ('84 *ff.*).

RP . . . *Records of the Past, being English translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia*, ed. S. Birch, vols. i.–xii. ('73–'81). New series [$RP^{(2)}$] ed. A. H. Sayce, vols. i.–vi., '88–'92. See ASSYRIA, § 35.

RS or *Rel. Sem.* *Religion of the Semites.* See W. R. Smith.

RV . . . Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha; '95).

RWB . . G.B. Winer (1789–1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, '20; (3), 2 vols., '47 *f.*

Rys. . . Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.

Saad. . . R. Sa'adya (Sĕʿadya; Ar. Saʿīd), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); Explanations of the *hapax-legomena* in the OT, etc.

Sab. . . Saboan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.

Sab. Denkm. . *Sabaische Denkmakr*, edd. Muller and Mordtmann.

Sam. . . Samaritan.

SBA W . . *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

SBE . . *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 *ff.*

SBOT (Eng.) [Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt*, '97 *ff.*

SBOT (Heb.) . Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; a critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colours, with notes, prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt*, '93 *ff.*

Schöpf. . Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit*, '95.

Schr. . E. Schrader; editor of *KB* [*q.v.*]:
KGF *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, '78.
KAT . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, '72; (2), '83.
COT Eng. transl. of $KAT^{(2)}$ by O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols., '85, '88 (the pagination of the German is retained in the margin of the Eng. ed.).

Schiir. . E. Schiirer:
GJV *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi;* i. Einleitung u. Politische Geschichte, '90; ii. Die Inneren Zustände Palastinas u. des Jiidischen Volkes im Zeitalter

Jesu Christi, '86; new ed. vol. ii. Die Inneren Zustande, '98, vol. iii. Das Judenthum in der Zerstreuung u. die jüdische Literatur, '98.

Hist. . ET of above ('90 *ff.*). Vols. 1 *f.* (*i.e.*, Div. i. vols. 1 *f.*) = vol. 1 of German; vols. 3–5 (*i.e.*, Div. ii. vols. 1–3) = vol. 2 of German [= vols. ii., iii of [3]].

Selden . . J. Selden, *de Jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Ebræorum*, 7 bks., 1665.
de Diis Syris, 1617.

Sem. . . Semitic.

Sin. . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.

Smend, *Listen* . Smend, *Die Listen der Bucher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.

Smith
GASm. . George Adam Smith:
HG . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to [4], '96).

WRS. . . William Robertson Smith ('46–'94:
OTJC *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, '81; [2], revised and much enlarged, '92; (Germ. transl. by Rothstein, '94).
Proph. . *The Prophets of Israel and their place in History, to the close of the eighth century* B.C., '82; [2], with introduction and additional notes by T. K. Cheyne, '95.
Kin. . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, '85.
R[el.] S[em.] *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites:* 1st ser., The Fundamental Institutions, '89; new and revised edition (*RS*[2]), '94; Germ. transl. by Stube, '99.
[The MS notes of the later Burnett Lectures—on Priesthood, Divination and Prophecy, and Semitic Polytheism and Cosmogony—remain unpublished, but are occasionally cited by the editors in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* as 'Burnett Lects. MS'].

SP . . . A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history*, '56, last ed. '96.

Spencer . . *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus* (2 vols. 1727).

SS . . . Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente*, '53.

St., Sta. . . B. Stade:
GVI . *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, '81–'88.
Abh. . . *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99.

St. Kr. . . *Studien und Kritiken*, '28 *ff.*

Stad. m. m. . *Stadiasmus magni maris* (Marcianus).

Stud. Bibl. . *Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and kindred subjects*, 4 vols., '85–'91.

sw. . . . H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint;* [1], '87–'94; [2], '95–'99.

SWAW . . *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.*

Sym[m] . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (*circa* 200 A.D.). See TEXT.

Syr. . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 *f.*

Tad. Peut. . *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.

Talm. Bab. Jer. Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gĕmārā. See LAW LITERATURE.

T[ar]g. . . Targum. See TEXT.
Jer. . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.
Jon. . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.
Onk.. . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A. D.).
ps.-Jon. . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.

TBS . . *Der Text der Bucher Samuelis:* see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel:* see Driver.

temp. . . tempore (in the time [of]).

T[extus] R[eceptus] The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.

Th[e]. . . Thenius, *die Bucher Samuelis* in *KGH*, '42; [2], '64; [3], Lohr, '98.

Theod. . . Theodotion (end of second century), author of a Greek version of the Old Testament ('rather a revision of the LXX than a new translation'). See TEXT.

Theol. Studiën . *Studiën*, published in connection with *Th. T* (see DEUTERONOMY, § 33 2).

Thes. See Gesenius.
R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, '68 *ff.*

Th. T . . *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, '67 *ff.*

Ti. or Tisch. . Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Græce*, editio octava critica maior, '69–'72.

TLZ . . *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, '76 *ff.*

Tosephta . . See LAW LITERATURE.

Treg. . . S. P. Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament; edited from ancient authorities*, '57–'72.

Tristram . . H. B. Tristram:
FFP . . *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, '89.
NHB . *The Natural History of the Bible*, [8], '89.

TSBA . . *Transactions of Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, vols. i.–ix., '72 *ff.*

Tub. Z. f. Theol. *Tübingen Zeitschrift f. Theologie*, '348

Untersuch. . *Untersuchungen.* See Noldeke, Winckler.

Urgesch. . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte.* See Budde.

v. . . . verse.

Var. Apoc. , *The Apocrypha (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.

Var. Bib. . *The Old and New Testaments* (AV) *edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

Driver (OT), and R. L. Clarke, **A.** Goodwin, W. Sanday (NT) [otherwise known as the *Queen's printers' Bible*].

Vet. Lat. . Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Vg. . . Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible: OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.

We., Wellh . Julius Wellhausen.
- *De Gent.* — *De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis* **qua** *in* 1 *Chr.* 2 4 *numerantur Dissertatio* ('70).
- *TBS* — *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* ('71).
- *Phar. u. Sadd.* — *Die Pharisäer u. d. Sadducäer; eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschicht* ('74).
- *Gesch.* . — *Geschichte Israels,* vol. i. ('78).
- ***Prol.*** — 2nd ed. of *Gesch.*, entitled *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels, '83;* ET '85; 4th Germ. ed. '95.
- *IJG* . . — *Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte*, '94; (3), '97; an amplification of *Abriss der Gesch. Israels u. Juda's* in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten,' '84. The *Abriss* was substantially a reproduction of 'Israel' in *EB*(9) ('81; republished in ET of *Prol.* ['85] and separately as *Sketch of Hist. of Israel and Judah*, (3), '91).
- *[Ar.] Heid.* — *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten') ('87; (2), '97).
- *Kl. Proph.* — *Die Kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten* ('92; (3), '98).
- ***CH*** . . — *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bucher des Alten Testaments* ('85; Zweiter Druck, mit Nachträgen, '89; originally published in *JDT* 21 392 *ff.*, ['76], 22 407 ['77], and in Bleek, *EinL* (4), '78).

Weber . . *System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie;* or *Die Lehren des Talmud*, '80 (edited by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann); (2), *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*, '97 (ed. Schnedermann).

Wetstein . . J. J. Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum Græcum*, etc., 2 vols. folio: 1751-1752.

Wetz. . . Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge*,'63; *Reisebericht über Haurân und Trachonen*, '60.

W F . . . Wellhausen-Furness, ***The** book of Psalms* ('98) in *SBOT (Eng.)*.

WH [W & H] . Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, '81.

Wi. Hugo Winckler:
- *Unters.* . — *Untersuchungen z. Altorientalischen Geschichte*, '89.
- *Alt[test]. Unt.* — *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, '92.
- *GBA* . — *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '92.
- ***AOF*** or *AF* — *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1st ser. i.-vi., '93-'97; 2nd ser. (*AF*(2)) i., '98 *f.*
- *GI* . . — *Geschichte Israels in einzeldarstellungen*, i. '95.
- *Sarg.* . — *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, '84.
- *KB* 5 . . — ***Die*** *Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (ET Metcalf).

Wilk. . . J. G. Willtinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, '37-'41; (2) by Birch, 3 vols., '78.

Winer . . G. B. Winer:
- *RWB* . — *Bibl. Realwörterbuch;* see *RWB*.
- *Gram.* . — *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*(8), neu bearheitet von Paul Wilh. Schmiedel, '94 *ff.*; ET of 6th ed., W. F. Moulton, '70.

WMM . . See *As. u. Eur.*

Wr. . . . W. Wright:
- *Comp. Gram.* — *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, '90.
- ***Ar.*** *Gram.* — ***A*** *Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited, with numerous additions and corrections* by W. Wright; (2) 2 vols., '74-'75; (3) revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, vol. i. '96, vol. ii. '98.

WRS . . William Robertson Smith. See Smith.

WZKM . . *Wiener Zeitschrift für* d. *Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 87 *ff.*

Yāķūt . . The well-known Arabian geographical writer (1179-1229). *Kitab Mo'jam el-Buldān* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (*Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*,'66-'70).

Z . . . *Zeitschrift* (Journal).

ZA . . . *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie u. verwandte Gebiete*, '86 *ff.*

ZÄ . . . *Zeitschrift fur Ägyptische* Sprache *u. Alterthumskunde*, '63 *ff.*

ZATW . . *Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, '81 *ff.*

ZDMG . . *Zeitschrift* der *Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, '46 *ff.*

ZDPV . . *Zeitschrift* des Deutschen *Palästinavereins*, '78 *ff.*

ZKF . . *Zeitschrift fur Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, '84 *f.*, continued as *ZA*.

ZKM . . See *WZKM*.

ZKW . . *Zeitschrift fur kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchliches Leben* (ed. Luthardt), i.-ix., '80-'89 *ff.*

ZLT . . *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie* und **Kirche**, '40-'78.

ZTK . . *Zeitschrift fur Theologie und* **Kirche**, '91 *ff.*

ZWT . . *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (ed. Hilgenfeld), '58 *ff.*

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MAPS IN VOLUME I

PRACTICAL HINTS TO THE READER

Further Explanations.—The labour that has been bestowed on even minor matters in the preparation of this *Encyclopædia* has seemed to be warranted by the hope that it may be found useful as a students' handbook. Its value from this point of view will be facilitated by attention to the following points :—

1. Classes of Articles, — The following notes will give a general idea of what the reader may expect to find and where to look for it:—

i. *Proper* Names. —Every proper name in the Old and the New Testament canons and the OT Apocrypha (Authorised Version or Revised Version, text or margin) is represented by an article-heading in Clarendon type, the substantive article being usually given under the name as found in the AV text. , *Adoraim*, on the same line as ADORA (col. 71), and *Adullamite*, three lines below ADULLAM (col. 73), are examples of space-saving contrivances.

ii. *Books.* — Every book in the OT and the NT canons and the OT Apocrypha is discussed in a special article—*e.g.* Acts, Chronicles, Deuteronomy. The 'Song of Solomon' is dealt with under the title CANTICLES, and the last book in the NT under APOCALYPSE.

iii. ***General*** Articles. —With the view, amongst other things, of securing the greatest possible brevity, many matters have been treated in general articles, the minor headings being dealt with concisely with the help of cross-references. Such general articles are: ABI AND AHI, names in AGRICULTURE, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCRYPHA, ARMY, BAKEMEATS, BREAD, CANON, CATTLE, CHRONOLOGY, CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, COLOURS, CONDUITS, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, DISPERSION, DIVINATION, DRESS.

iv. *Other Subjects.* —The following are examples of important headings :—ADAM AND EVE, ANGELS, ANTICHRIST, BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, CIRCUMCISION, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, CREATION, DELUGE, DEMONS, DRAGON.

v. Things. — The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is professedly a dictionary of things, not words, and a great effort has been made to adhere rigidly to this principle. Even where at first sight it seems to have been neglected, it will generally be found that this is not really the case. The only way to tell the English reader what has to be told about (*e.g.*) CHAIN is to distinguish the various things that are called, or should have been called, 'chain' in the English Version, and refer him to the articles where they are dealt with.

vi. *Mere Cross-references* (see above, **1**, i.; and below, **2**).

2. Method of Cross-References.—A very great deal of care has been bestowed on the cross-references, because only by their systematic use could the necessary matter be adequately dealt with within the limits of one volume. They have made possible a conciseness that is not attained at the expense of incompleteness, repetition of the same matter under different headings being reduced to a minimum. For this reason the articles have been prepared, not in alphabetical order, but simultaneously in all parts of the alphabet, and have been worked up together constantly and kept up to date. The student may be assured, therefore, that the cross-references have not been inserted at random; they have always been verified. If any be found to be unwarranted (no such is known), it must be because it has been found necessary, after the reference was made, to remove something from the article referred to to another article. The removed matter will no doubt be represented by a cross-reference (cp, *e.g.*,).

The method of reference employed is as follows:—

i. *Identification of* Article. (*a*) *Long Names.* —To save space long headings have been curtailed in citations —*e.g.*, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE is cited as APOCALYPTIC.

(*b*) Synonymous Articles.—Persons of the same name or places of the same name are ranged as 1, 2, 3, etc., under a common heading and cited accordingly. In other cases (and even in the former case when, as in ADNAH in col. 67, one English spelling represents different

Hebrew spellings (the articles usually have separate headings, in which case they are cited as i., ii., iii., etc., although they are not so marked. Usually geographical articles precede biographical, and persons precede books. Thus SAMUEL i., 2 is the second person called Samuel; SAMUEL ii. is the article SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. If a wrong number should be found the reason is not that it was not verified, but that the article referred to is one of a very small number in which the original order of the articles had to be changed and the cross-reference was not detected. Thus in the article ALUSH the reference to BEKED ii., I, ought to be to BERED i., I.

ii. *Indication of Place in Article Cited.* — Articles of any length are divided into numbered sections (§§ I, 2, etc.) indicated by insets containing a descriptive word or phrase. As convenience of reference is the great aim, the descriptive phrases are limited to, at most, three or four words, and the sections are numbered consecutively. Logical subordination of sections, therefore, cannot appear. Divisions larger than sections are sometimes indicated in the text by I., II., etc., and subdivisions of sections by letters and numbers *(a, b,* c, *a, β, γ,* i., ii., iii.). References like (BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. *β*) are freely used. Most of the large articles have prefixed to them a table of contents.

iii. *Manner of Citation.* — The commonest method is (see DAVID, § 11, *(c)* ii:). 'EZRA *(q.v.,* ii. § 9) means the article EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, § 9. Sometimes, however, the capitals or the *q.v.* may be dispensed with. CHAIN printed in small capitals in the middle of an article would mean that there is an article on that term, but that it hardly merits *q.v.* from the present point of view. In articles (generally on RV names) that are mere cross-references *q.v.* is generally omitted ; so, *e.g.*, in ABADIAS in col. **3.**

3. Typographical Devices. i. *Size of Type.* — *(a) Letters* — Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parenthesis, abbreviations (see below, 8), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. *(b) Numbers.* — Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8). In giving references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5_5) are used irrespectively of whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5_5).

ii. *Italics.* — Italic type is much used in citing foreign words. In geographical articles, as a rule, the printing of a modern place-name in italics indicates that the writer of the article identifies it with the place under discussion. For the significance of the different kinds of type in the map of Assyria see the explanations at the foot of the map. On the two kinds of Greek type see below, 4 ii. *(b).*

iii. *Small Capitals.* — Small Roman capitals are used in two ways : (1) in giving the equivalent in RV for the name in AV, or *vice versa,* and (2) in giving a cross-reference (see above, 2 iii.). On the use of small italic capitals see below, 4 ii. *(b).*

iv. *Symbols.* — *(a) Index Figures.* — In 'almost always[6] clear,' '6' indicates footnote 6. In 'Introd.[(6)],' '(6)' means sixth edition. In 'D_2' '2' means a later development of D (see below,).

(b) Asterisk. — B* means the original scribe of codex B. **canho* means that the consonants are known but the vowels are hypothetical. *v.* 5^* means *v.* 5 (partly).

(c) *Dagger.* — A dagger † is used to indicate that all the passages where **a** word occurs are cited. The context must decide whether the English word or the original is meant.

(d) Sign of Equality. — 'AALAR, 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV = Ezra 2_{59} IMMER, i.,' means that the two verses quoted are recensions of the same original, and that what. is called Aalar in the one is called Immer in the other, as will be explained in the first of the articles entitled IMMER.

(e) Sign of Parallelism. — ‖ is the adjective corresponding to the verb =. Thus 'Aalar of 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV appears as Immer in ‖ Ezra 2_{59}.'

(f) Other devices. — '99 means 1899. 1 Ch. 6_{81} [66] means that verse 81 in the English version is the translation of that numbered 66 in Hebrew texts. √ is used to indicate the 'root' of a word.

v. *Punctuation.* — No commas are used between citations, thus : 2 K. $6_{21\ 25}$ Is. 21_7. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided — *e.g.*, the father Achbor [1] is called 'Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,' and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called 'ben Achbor [1] ; one of the kings of Edom.'

4. Text-Critical Apparatus. — As all sound investigation must be based, not on the ancient

texts as they lie before the student, but on what he believes to be the nearest approach he can make to their original reading, the soundness of every text is weighed, and if need be, discussed before it is used in the *Encyclopædia* Biblica.

i. *Traditional Original* **Text.**—In quoting the traditional Hebrew text the editions of Baer and of Ginsburg have been relied on as a rule; similarly in the case of the New Testament, the texts of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort (see below,).

ii. *Evidence of Versions.*—The Vulgate (ed. Heyse-Tischendorff) and the Peshitta (ed. Lee and London Polyglott) and the minor Greek versions (Field, *Hexapla:* Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*) have been quoted quite freely; the testimony of the Septuagint has been attended to on every point.

In exceptional cases 'Holmes and Parsons' has been consulted; ordinarily Swete's manual edition (including the variants) and Lagarde's *Pars Prior* have been considered sufficient. In general (for the main exception see next paragraph) only variations of some positive interest or importance have been referred to. Almost invariably a quotation from the LXX is followed by symbols indicating the documents cited (thus *υιοι* [BAL]). This does not necessarily imply that in some other MS or MSS a different reading is found; it is simply a guarantee that Lagarde and Swete's digest of readings have both been consulted. The formula [BAL] standing alone means that the editors found no variant in Lagarde or Swete to report. In the parts, therefore, where Swete cites ℵ or other MSS as well as BA, BAL includes them unless the context indicates otherwise; BAL might even be used where B was lacking. When BAL stands alone the meaning is everywhere the same; it is a summary report of agreement in Lagarde and Swete.

Proper names have been felt to demand special treatment; the aim has been to give under each name the readings of Lagarde and all the variants of BℵA as cited in Swete. The commonest, or a common form for each witness is given at the head of the article, and this is followed at once or in the course of the article by such variants as there are. Where all the passages containing a given name are cited in the article, the apparatus of Greek readings (as in Swete and Lagarde) may be considered absolutely complete. In other cases, completeness, though aimed at, has not been found possible.

The distinction between declinable and indeclinable forms has generally been observed; but different cases of the same declinable form have not as a rule (never in the case of common nouns) been taken note of. Where part of one name has been joined in the LXX to the preceding or succeeding name, the intruding letters have usually been given in square brackets, though in some very obvious cases they may have been ignored.

When MSS differ only in some giving ι and others ει that is indicated concisely thus: 'αβεια [B], αβια [AL],' becomes 'αβ[ε]ια [BAL].' Similarly, -τ., -ττ. becomes -[τ]τ.

A great deal of pains has been bestowed on the readings, and every effort has been made to secure the highest attainable accuracy. In this connection the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance* to the Septuagint, who has placed his unrivalled experience in this department at their disposal by controlling the proofs from the beginning with special reference to the LXX readings. He has also verified the biblical references.

Unfortunately, misprints and other inaccuracies—inaccuracies sometimes appearing for the first time after the last proof reading—cannot be avoided. Corrections of errors, however minute, addressed to the publishers, will always be gratefully received.

Some typographical details require to be explained:—

(a) In giving proper names initial capitals, breathings, and accents are dispensed with; they were unknown in the oldest MSS (see Swete, 1 p. xiii 2).

(b) The Greek readings at the head of an article are given in uncials, and the Vulgate readings in small italic capitals; elsewhere ordinary type is used.

(c) The first Greek reading is given in full; all others are abbreviated as much as possible. Letters suppressed at the beginning of a word are represented by a dash, letters at the end by a period. In every case the abbreviated form is to be completed by reference to the Greek form immediately preceding, whether that is given in full or not. Thus, *e.g.*, 'αβελσαττειμ, β. . . . ττιμ, -ττειν, βελσα.'[1] means 'αβελσαττειμ, βελσαττιμ, βελσαττειν, βελσαττειν.' That is to say, the abbreviated form repeats a letter (or if necessary more) of the form preceding. Two exceptions are sometimes made. The dash sometimes represents the *whole* of the preceding form—*e.g.*, in cases like αβια, -ς,—and one letter has sometimes been simply substituted for another: *e.g.*, ν for μ in ειμ, -ν. These exceptions can hardly lead to ambiguity.

(d) The following are the symbols most commonly quoted from Swete's digest with their meaning:—

[1] This is a misprint in the art. ABEL-SHITTIM. 'βελσα.' should be 'βελσα', without the period.

* = original scribe.	*D* = testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation **of** D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, I p. xxiv).
1 = his own corrections.	*D*sil = readings inferred from the collation (*D*) *e* ***silentio.***
a, b, c = other correctors.	ℵc.a = a corrector of ℵ belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., 2 p. viii; cp *1*, p. xxi).
ab = first corrector confirmed by second.	Bedit = *e.g.*, on Sirach 461, p. 471.
a? b? = a orb.	ℵc.b. = see Sw., *2* **p.** viii.
a? b = b, perhaps also a.	ℵc.c. = *e.g.*, Sir. 107, **p.** 663,
a(vid) = prob. **a**	
a vid = a, if it be a *bona fide* correction at all.	

(e) The following are the MSS most commonly cited :—

ℵ Sinaiticus (see Swete, I **p.** xx).	F Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, I p. xxvi).
A Alexandrinus (Swete, p. xxii).	87 Cod. Chisianus (Swete, **3** xii).
B Vaticanus (Swete, I p. xvii).	Syr. Cod. Syro. Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (**3** xiii).
C Cod. Ephræmi (Swete, 2 p. xiii).	V Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons ; Swete, 3 p. xiv).
D Cod. Cottonianus Geneseos (Swete, I p. xxiii).	Q. Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, **3** p. vii).
E Cod. Bodleianus Geneseos (Swete, I p. xxvi).	Γ Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Swete, **3** p. ix *f.*).

5. Proper Name Articles. — Propername articles usually begin thus. The name is followed by a parenthesis giving (1) the original; (2) where necessary, the number of the section in the general article NAMES where the name in question is discussed or cited; **(3)** a note on the etymology or meaning of the (personal) name with citation of, similar names; (4) the readings of the versions (see above, 4 ii.).

6. Geographical Articles, — The interpretation of place-names is discussed in the article NAMES. The maps that are issued with Part I. are the district of Damascus, the environs of Babylon, and 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia' (between cols. and). The last-mentioned is mainly designed to illustrate the non-Palestinian geography of the Old Testament. It is made use of to show the position of places outside of Palestine mentioned in Part I. which happen to fall within its bounds.

In all maps biblical names are assigned to sites only when the article discussing the question regards the identification as extremely probable (the degree of probability must be learned from the article).

The following geographical terms are used in the senses indicated :—

Dēr, *deir*, 'monastery.'	*Khirbet*-(*Kh.*), 'ruins of —.'
Ḥaj(*j*), 'pilgrimage to Mecca.'	*Nahr* (N.), 'river.'
Jebel (J.), 'mountain.'	*Tell*, 'mound' (often containing ruins).
Kefr, *Kafr*, 'village.'	*Wādi* (W.), 'valley,' 'torrent-course.'
Khān, 'caravanserai.'	*Welī*, ***wely***, 'Mohammedan saint,' 'saint's tomb.'

7. Transliteration, etc. — Whilst the ***Encyclopædia Biblica*** is meant for the student, other readers have constantly been kept in view. Hence the frequent translation of Hebrew and other words, and the transliteration of words in Semitic languages. In certain cases transliteration also saves space. No effort has been made at uniformity for its own sake. Intelligibility has been thought sufficient. When pronunciation is indicated —*e.g.*, Bĕhēmōth, Leviāthān —what is meant is that the resulting form is the nearest that we can come to the original as represented by the traditional Hebrew, so long as we adhere to the English spelling.

In the case of proper names that have become in some degree naturalised in an incorrect form, that form has been preserved : *e.g.*, Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser. Where there is an alternative, naturally the closer to the original is selected : therefore Nebuchadrezzar (with *r* as in Ezek., etc.), Nazirite. Where there is no naturalised form an exact transliteration of the original has been given —*e.g.*, Asur-rēs-isi —and the component parts of Assyrian names are thus separated by hyphens, and begin with a capital when they are divine names.

In the case of modern (Arabic) place-names the spelling of the author whose description has been most used has generally been retained, except when it would have been misleading to the student. The diacritical marks have been checked or added after verification in some Arabic source or list.

On the Assyrian alphabet see BABYLONIA, § 6, and on the Egyptian, **EGYPT, § 12.** One point remains to be explained, after which it will suffice to set forth the schemes of transliteration in tabular form. The Hebrew h (ח) represents philologically the Arabic h and h, which are absolutely distinct sounds. The Hebrew spoken language very likely marked the distinction. As the written language, however, ignores it, ח is always transliterated h. The Assyrian guttural transliterated with an h, on the other hand, oftenest represents the) Arabic h, and is therefore always transliterated h (in Muss.-Arn. *Dict.*, *x*. for χ), never h. There is no h in transliterated Assyrian; for the written language did not distinguish the Arabic h from the Arabic h ʿg or', representing them all indifferently by ʾ, which accordingly does not, in transliterated Assyrian, mean simply א but א or ח or h or ע or g. Hence *e.g.*, Nabii-nahid is simply one interpretation

of Nabū-na'id. Egyptian, lastly, requires not only h, h, and h, like Arabic, but also a fourth symbol h (see EGYPT, §).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

'	א	ء		z	ז	ز		l	ל	3		ṣ	צ	ص	
b	בּ	ب		ḥ	ח	ح	ḥ	m	מ	م		ḳ (q)	ק	ق	
bh (b)	ב					خ	ḫ	n	נ	ن		r	ר	ر	
g	גּ	ج	j, g					s	ס	س		s	שׂ		
gh (g)	ג			ṭ	ט	ط		'	ע	ع	'	sh, š	שׁ	ش	
d	דּ	د		y	י	ي				غ	g	t	תּ	ت	
dh (d)	ד			k	כּ	ك						th (t)	ת		
h	ה	ه		kh (k)	כ			p	פּ						
w, v	ו	و	w, u					phi	פ	3	f				

Extra Arabic Consonants : ث, th, *t*; ذ, dh, *d*; ض, d; ظ, z.

VOWELS.

	'long'	'short'	very short	mere glide
Heb.	ā ē ī ō ū	a e i o u	ă ĕ ŏ *or* ᵃ ᵉ ᵒ	ĕ *or* ' *or* '
Ar.	ā ī ū	a (e)	i (e)	u (o)

Ar. diphthongs: ai, ay, ei, ey, ē; aw, au, ō.

8. Abbreviations, Symbols, and Biographical Notes, — The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above 3 i. *(a)*) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and for the most part it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will be not unwelcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Jos., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezr., Neh., Est., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.* 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, cap. 6 (*i.e.*, Epistle of Jeremy), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{23}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thes., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Apoc. [or Rev.]. An explanation of some of the symbols (A, א, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. vx. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached; thus *OTJC*$^{(2)}$ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions *RP*$^{(2)}$, *AOF*$^{(2)}$: see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, etc.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that the *Encyclopædia Biblica* itself be cited as *EBi*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections; or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

ENCYCLOPEDIA BIBLICA

A

AALAR (αλλαρ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 36† AV=Ezra 2 59, IMMER, i.; cp also CHERUB, *a.*

AARON (אַהֲרֹן, § 7; see also below, § 4, end; ααρων [BAL], αρ. [A]; *AARON*). In the post-exilic parts of the OT (including Ezra, Neh., Ch., and for our present purpose some of the Psalms) Aaron is the ancestor of all lawful priests,[1] and himself the first and typical high-priest.

1. In P. This view is founded upon the priestly document in the Hexateuch, according to which Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, took a prominent part, as Moses' prophet or interpreter, in the negotiations with Pharaoh, and was ultimately, together with his sons, consecrated by Moses to the priesthood. The rank and influence which are assigned to him are manifestly not equal to those of Moses, who stood to Pharaoh as a god (Ex. 7 1). He does, indeed, perform miracles before Pharaoh—he changes his rod into a serpent which swallows up the rods, similarly transformed, of the Egyptian sorcerers; and with the same rod he changes the waters of Egypt into blood, and brings the plagues of frogs and lice—but the order to execute the marvel is in each case communicated to him through Moses (Ex. 7 *f.*). It is Moses, not Aaron, who disables the sorcerers by boils (Ex. 9 8 *f.*), and causes the final destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (14 15-18). Through his consecration by Moses, Aaron became 'the priest' (so usually) or, as he is elsewhere called, 'the anointed priest' (Lev. 4 3 5 16 6 15) or 'the high-priest' (Lev. 21 10 Nu. 35 25 28). His sons, representing the common priests, act under him (Nu. 3 4). As high-priest he has splendid vestments, different from those of his sons (Ex. 28); he alone is anointed (Ex. 29 7)[2]; he alone, once a year, can enter the holy of holies (Lev. 16). He is the great representative of the tribe of Levi; and his rod, unlike the rods taken to represent the other tribes, buds miraculously, and is laid up for ever by the ark (Nu. 17 6 *f.* [21 *f.*]). Within this tribe, however, it is only the direct descendants of Aaron who may approach the altar, so that Korah the Levite, when he claims the power of the priesthood, is consumed by fire from Yahwè (Nu. 16 35). Aaron occasionally receives the law directly from Yahwè (Nu. 18). Even his civil authority is great, for he, with Moses, numbers the people (Nu. 1 3 17), and it is against him as well as against Moses that the rebellion of the Israelites is directed (Ex. 16 2 Nu. 14 2 5 26 16 3). This authority would have been greater but for the exceptional position of Moses, for in the priestly portions of Joshua the name of Eleazar (*q.v.* 1), the next high-priest, is placed before that of Joshua. The 'priestly' writer mentions only one blot in the character of Aaron: *viz.*, that in some way, which cannot be clearly ascertained in the present state of the text, he rebelled against Yahwè in the wilderness of Zin, when told to 'speak to the rock' and bring forth water (Nu. 20 12). In penalty he dies, outside Canaan, at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom (*v.* 22 *f.*).

2. In earlier writers. As we ascend to the exilic and pre-exilic literature, Aaron is still a prominent figure; but he is no longer either the high-priest or the ancestor of all legitimate priests. Ezekiel traces the origin of the priests at Jerusalem no farther back than to ZADOK (*q.v.* 1, § 3), in Solomon's time. Dt. 10 6 (which mentions Aaron's death, not at Hor but at Moserah, and the fact that Eleazar succeeded him in the priesthood) is generally and rightly regarded as an interpolation. In Mic. 6 4 (time of Manasseh?) Aaron is mentioned between Moses and Miriam as instrumental in the redemption of Israel.

3. In E. In the Elohistic document of the Hexateuch (E) he is mentioned as the brother of Miriam the prophetess (Ex. 15 20; for other references to him see Ex. 17 12 24 1 9 10 14, Nu. 12 1); but it is Joshua, not Aaron, who is the minister of Moses in sacred things, and keeps guard over the tent of meeting (Ex. 33 11), and 'young men of the children of Israel' offer sacrifice, while the solemn act of sprinkling the blood of the covenant is reserved for Moses (Ex. 24 5 6). Aaron, however, seems to have counted in the mind of E as the ancestor of the priests at 'the hill of Phinehas' (Josh. 24 33) and perhaps of those at Bethel. At all events, the author of a section added in a later edition of E speaks of Aaron as yielding to the people while Moses is absent on Mount Horeb, and taking the lead in the worship of Yahwè under the form of a golden calf. The narrator, influenced by prophetic teaching, really means to attack the worship carried on at the great sanctuary of Bethel, and looks back to the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in *721* as Yahwè's 'visitation' of the idolatrous worship maintained in N. Israel (Ex. 32; see especially *v.* 34).

4. In J. It is extremely probable that Aaron's name was absent altogether from the earliest document of the Hexateuch (J) in its original form. In it Aaron appears only to disappear. For example, according to our present text, Pharaoh sends for Moses and Aaron that they may entreat Yahwè to remove the plague of frogs; but in the course of the narrative Aaron is ignored, and the plague is withdrawn simply at 'the word of Moses' (Ex. 8 8-15*a* [4-11 *a*]). Apparently, therefore, the name of Aaron has been introduced here and there into J by the editor who united it to E (cp EXODUS, § 3 n.). If that is so we may perhaps agree with Oort that the legend of Aaron belonged originally

[1] In 1 Ch. 12 27, if MT is correct, Aaron (AV AARONITES) is almost a collective term for priests said by the Chronicler to have joined David at Hebron. In 27 17† RV rightly reads 'Aaron.'

[2] On passages in P which seem to conflict with this, see the circumspect and conclusive note of Di. on Lev. 8 12.

to the 'house of Joseph,' which regarded Aaron as the ancestor of the priests of Bethel, and that single members of this clan succeeded, in spite of Ezekiel, in obtaining recognition as priests at Jerusalem. So, doubtfully, Stade (*GVI* i. 583), who points out that no strict proof of this hypothesis can be offered.

As to the derivation of 'Aaron,' Redslob's ingenious conjecture that it is but a more flowing pronunciation of *hā'ārōn*, 'the ark,' is worth considering only if we can regard Aaron as the mythical ancestor of the priests of Jerusalem (*bnē hā'ārōn = bnē Aharōn*). So Land, *De Gids*, Nov. 1871, p. 271.

See PRIESTS; and cp, besides the works of We., St., and Ki., Oort's essay 'Da Aaronieden' in *ThT* xviii. 289-335 ['84].
W. E. A.

AARONITES, RV '[the house of] Aaron' (לְאַהֲרֹן; ΤΟ ΑΑΡΩΝ [B], ΤΩΝ a. [A], ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ A. [L]; ܠܒܝܬ ܐܗܪܘܢ; *DE STIRPE AARON*), 1 Ch. 12 27. See AARON, note 1.

ABACUC (*ABACUC*), 4 Esd. 1 40†. See HABAKKUK.

ABADDON (אֲבַדּוֹן, but in Prov. 27 20 Kr. אֲבַדּוֹ, by contraction[1] or misreading, though the full form is also cited by Gi., for Kt. אבדה;[2] ΑΠΩΛ[Ε]ΙΑ [BℵA], but Job 31 12 ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΡΩΝ [BRA], . . . ΛΕΡΩΝ [ℵc.c]; Rev. 9 11, ΑΒΑΔΔΩΝ [ℵA, etc.], ΑΒΑΔΔ. [B etc.], ΑΒΒΑΔΔ. [some curss.] etc.; ܐܒܕܢܐ; *PERDITIO*, but Rev. 9 11 *ABADDON*), RV Job 26 6, Prov. 15 11 27 20; RV mg. Job 28 22 31 12, Ps. 88 11 [12], elsewhere EV DESTRUCTION; in Rev. 9 11 Abaddon is stated to be the Hebrew equivalent of APOLLYON (ΑΠΟΛΛΥΩΝ [ℵA]). Etymologically it means '(place of) destruction.' We find it parallel to Sheol in Job 26 6 28 22; Prov. 15 11 27 20 (see readings above). In these cases RV makes it a proper name, either Abaddon or Destruction, as being parallel to the proper names Sheol or Death. In Ps. 88 11 [12] 'Destruction' is parallel to 'the grave'; in Job 31 12 the same term (in RV) is equivalent to 'utter ruin.' Thus Abaddon occurs only in the Wisdom-Literature. There is nothing in the usage to indicate that in OT it denotes any place or state different from Sheol (*q.v.*), though by its obvious etymology it emphasises the darker aspects of the state after death. An almost identical word (אַבְדָן) is used in Esth. 9 5 (constr. אָבְדַן; 8 6) for 'destruction' in its ordinary sense as a common noun. In later Hebrew אבדון is used for 'perdition' and 'hell' (Jastrow, *Dict. s.v.*), and is explained in Targ. on Job 26 6 as בית אבדנא, house of perdition—*i.e.*, hell. The Syriac equivalent word (ܐܒܕܢܐ) has the meaning 'destruction,' and is used to translate 'Α.

Rev. 9 11 mentions a king or angel of the abyss, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon (Ἀπολλύων, Destroyer), the *-on* being supposed to be a personal ending in Hebrew, as it is in Greek. This is, of course, poetic personification (cp Rev. 6 8 20 14), and may be paralleled in the OT (Job 28 22; cp Ps. 49 14 [15]), and in Rabbinical writers (Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebr. Apoc.* ix. 11, and *PRE*[(3)] *s.v.*). The identification with the ASMODEUS of the Book of Tobit is a mistake. Apollyon has become familiar to the world at large through the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but Abaddon may be said not to exist outside of the Apocalypse. W. H. B.

ABADIAS (ΑΒΔΙΑΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 35† = Ezra 8 9, OBADIAH, 11.

ABAGTHA (אֲבַגְתָא, etymology doubtful, but see BIGVAI, BAGOAS; according to Marq. [*Fund.* 71] the corresponding Gr. is ΑΒΑΤΑΖΑ [BℵA], which [reading αβαζατα] he regards as presupposing אבזתא, cp BIGTHA; the fifth name in the list as it stands is ΖΑΘΟΛΘΑ [Bℵ], ΖΗΒΑΘΑΘΑ [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Est. 1 10). See ESTHER, ii. § 3.

ABANA, RV **Abanah** (אֲבָנָה, 2 K. 5 12† Kt., אֲמָנָה [Kr.]; ΑΒΑΝΑ [BL], ΑΡΒ. [(ρ superscr.) B^b?], ΑΝΑΒ. [B^a?mg.], ΝΑΕΒ. [A]; ܐܒܢܐ; *ABANA*), one of the 'rivers' (נְהָרוֹת) of Damascus. The name, which occurs nowhere else, should probably be read AMANA (AV mg.) or AMANAH (RV mg.; see further AMANA, 2); in this form, as meaning 'constant,' it would be equally suitable to a river and to a mountain, though it was first of all given to the mountain range of Antilibanus, from which, near Zebedāni, the Nahr Baradā ('the cold') descends to refresh with its sparkling waters the city and the gardens of Damascus.[1] The romantically situated *'Ain Fījeh* (πηγή), a little to the S. of *Sūk Wādy Baradā* (the ancient Abila), appears from its name to have been regarded as the chief source of the Baradā. It is not, certainly, the most distant one; but it does, at any rate, 'supply that stream with twice as much water as it contains before it is thus augmented' (Baed. *Pal.*[(2)] 336). Close to it are the remains of a small temple, which was presumably dedicated to the river-god. The clear waters of the Nahr Baradā have a charm which is wanting to the Jordan through the greater part of its course. This explains Naaman's question in 2 K. 5 12, as far as the Amana is concerned. It is the fate of the Baradā to disappear in the swamps called the Meadow Lakes, about 18 m. to the E. of Damascus, on the verge of the desert. See PHARPAR. T. K. C.

ABARIM, THE (הָעֲבָרִים; ΑΒΑΡΕΙΜ [BAL], -ΙΝ [BL], and phrases with πέραν [BAL], see below; Jos. ΑΒΑΡΕΙΣ), literally 'Those-on-the-other-side'—*i.e.*, of the Jordan—is employed by the latest documents of the Pentateuch (P and R) in the phrase, Mt. or Mts. of the Abarim, to describe the edge of the great Moabite plateau overlooking the Jordan valley, of which Mt. NEBO was the most prominent headland:—Nu. 27 12 [R], τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἐν τῷ πέραν [RA], τ. ὄ . . . π. [τοῦ ἰορδάνου] [L]; Dt. 32 49 (P [R]), τ. ο. τ. αβαρειν [BL], . . . ειμ [A], 'this Mt. of the Abarim, Mt. Nebo'; Nu. 33 47 *f.* (P [R] in Israel's itinerary between the Moab plateau and the plains of Shittim), 'Mts. of the Abarim' (τὰ ὄρη τὰ αβαρειμ, ὀρέων a. [BAL]). In Nu. 33 44 we find Ije-ha-abarim (AV IJE-ABARIM), 'heaps of the Abarim' (to distinguish it from the Ijim of Judah, Josh. 15 29; see IIM, 1), on the extreme SE. of Moab. Since the employment of the name thus confined to Moab occurs only in late documents, it is probably due to the fact that at the time these were written the Jews were settled only over against Moab. Josephus, too, uses the word in the same limited application (*Ant.* iv. 8 48, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρει), and Eusebius (*OS*[(2)] 216 4, Ἀβαρείμ) so quotes it as employed in his own day. But there are traces in the OT of that wider application to the whole trans-Jordanic range which the very general meaning of Abarim justifies us in supposing to have been its original application. In Jer. 22 20 (RV), Abarim (AV 'the passages'; 𝔊^BAℵQ, dividing the word in two, τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης) is ranged with Lebanon and Bashan—that is to say, is probably used as covering both Gilead and Moab;—and in the corrupt text of Ez. 39 11, 'the valley of the passengers,' as AV gives it (similarly RV), most probably should rather be 'a valley of [Mt.] Abarim' (עֲבָרִים for עֹבְרִים; so Hi., Co., Siegfr., Bu.). If so, that extends the name to Bashan. Thus the plural noun Abarim would denote the E. range in its entire extent—being, in fact, practically equivalent to the preposition עבר (originally a singular noun from the

[1] Kö. *Hebr. Sprache*, ii. 479 γ, gives parallel contractions; cp BDB.

[2] On the several forms see Ba. *NB* § 194 n. 2, § 224 b.

[1] Rev. William Wright, formerly of Damascus, states that 'the river whose water is most prized is called the Abanias, doubtless the Abana' (*Leisure Hour*, 1874, p. 284; so *Expositor*, Oct. 1896, p. 294). Is the name due to a confusion with Nahr Bāniās (certainly not the ancient Amana)? No Abanias is mentioned in Porter's *Five Years in Damascus* or in Burton and Drake's *Unexplored Syria*.

same root). There is no instance of the name earlier than Jeremiah. 'Targ. Nu. 27 12 Dt. 32 49 gives טורא דעבראי.

As seen from W. Palestine this range forms a continuous mountain-wall, at a pretty constant level, which is broken only by the valley-mouths of the Yarmük, Zerkä or Jabbok, and Arnon. Across the gulf of the Jordan valley it rises with great impressiveness, and constitutes the eastern horizon (cp Stanley, *SP*; GASm, *HG* **53, 519, 548)**. The hardly varying edge masks a considerable difference of level behind. On the whole the level is maintained from the foot of Hermon to the S. end of the Dead Sea at a height of from 2000 to 3000 feet above the ocean. The basis throughout is limestone. N. of the Yarmük this is deeply covered by volcanic deposits, and there are extinct craters NE. of the Lake of Galilee. Between the Yarmiik and the Wädy Hesbän, at the N. end of the Dead Sea, run transverse ridges, cut by deep'wädies, and well wooded as far S. as the Zerkä. S. of Wädy Hesbän rolls the breezy treeless plateau of Moab, indented in its western edge by short wädies rising quickly to the plateau level, with the headlands that are more properly the Mts. of Abärim between them; and cut right through to the desert by the great trenches of the wädies, Zerḳā, Mā'īn, and Mōjīb or Arnon. For details see ASHDOTH-PISGAH, BAMOTII-BAAL, BETH-PEOR, MOAB, NEBO, PISGAH, ZOPHIM, etc., with authorities quoted there. On Nu. 3347 *see* WANDERINGS, § 11. ***G.* A. S.**

ABBA (ⲁⲃⲃⲁ [Ti. WH], *i.e.* **אַבָּא**, Ab, 'father,' in the 'emphatic state'), an Aram. title of God used by Jesus and his contemporaries, and retained by Greek-speaking Christian Jews. See Mk. 14 36 Rom. 8 15 Gal. 46f; where in each case 6 *πατήρ* is subjoined.

ABDA (**עַבְדָּא**, § 51, frequent in Phœn. and Aram. On the form cp Renan, *REJ* v. 165*f.* ['82], and see NAMES, §§ **37**, 51).

1. Father of Adoniram (1 K. 46; *aßaw* [Al; *εφρα* [B]; *εδραμ* [L]).
2. Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 56, § 15 [1] *a)*, Neh. 11 17 (*αβδας* [ℵc.a.mg. sup.], *ωρηβ* [ℵ*], *ωβηβ* [B], *ιω. [A]*, *αβδιας* [L]) = 1 Ch. 9 16, OBADIAH, 9 (*q.v.*).

ABDEEL (**עַבְדְּאֵל**, § 21, 'servant of God'), father of Shelemiah, Jer. 36 26†. (Not in 𝔊.)

ABDI (**עַבְדִּי**, § *52*, abbr. for 'servant of Yahwè'? cp Palm. **עבדי**, and see OBADIAH; ⲁⲃⲇⲓⲁ [L]).

1. Father of Kish, a Levite under Hezekiah, mentioned in the genealogy of ETHAN [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 644 [29] 2 Ch. 29 12 : *αβδ[ε]ι* [BAL].
2. One of the b'ne ELAM [*q.v.* ii. 1], in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 26 (*αβδ[ε]ια* [BℵA], -*ς* [L]) = 1 Esd. 927 (RV OABDIUS, AV om., *ωαβδ[ε]ιος* [BA]).

ABDIAS (ABDIAS), 4 Esd. 1 39†. See OBADIAH, 1.

ABDIEL (**עַבְדִּיאֵל**, §§ 21, **37**, 'servant of God'; ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲏⲗ [B]; -ⲇⲓⲏⲗ [AL]), in genealogy of GAD. 1 Ch. 5 15†.

ABDON (**עַבְדּוֹן**; ⲁⲃⲇⲱⲛ [AL], see also below), one of the four Levitical cities within the tribe of Asher; Josh. 21 30 1 Ch. 6 74 (59)†. The site has not been identified, but Guérin has suggested that of '*Abdeh*, 10 m. N. from 'Akka (Acre). The same city is referred to in Josh. 19 28, where **עֶבְרֹן** (AV HEBRON; RV EBRON) is a graphical error for **עבדן**, Abdon, which, in fact, some MSS. read (Josh. 21 30, *δαββων* [B]; 1 Ch. 6 74 [59], *αβαραν* [B], om. [L]; Josh. 19 28, *ελβων* [B], *αχραν* [AL]).

ABDON (**עַבְדּוֹן**, **§77**; dim. of EBED; ⲁⲃⲇⲱⲛ [BAL]).

1. b. Hillel, one of the six minor judges (see **JUDGES,** §). After judging Israel eight years, he was buried at Pirathon in Ephraim, his native place. He had forty sons and thirty grandsons, 'that rode on three-score and ten ass colts'—*i.e.*, was head, *of* a large and wealthy family (cp Judg. 5 10), Judg. 12 13 15† (*λαβδωμ* [AL], *v.* 15 -*ω* [A]); on Ew.'s conjecture that his name should be restored in 1 S. 1211, see BEDAN, 1.
2. b. Shashak, a Benjamite (1 Ch. 8 23† *αβαδων* [B]).
3. b. Jeiel the father of Gibeon; 1Ch. 830 (*αβαλων* [B]) = 1 Ch. 9 36 (*σαβαδων* [B], *σαβδων* [Al).
4. b. Micah, a courtier of King Josiah (2 Ch. **34** 20, *αβδοδομ* [B]), elsewhere called ACHBOR (*q.v.* 2). 5. See BEDAN, 2.

ABEDNEGO (**עֲבֵד נְגוֹ** or **עֲבֵד נְגוֹא**, § 86; a corruption of **עֲבֵד נְבוֹ**, 'servant of Nebo,' which occurs in an Assyrio-Aramaic inscription, COT2 *126*; ⲁⲃⲇⲉⲛⲁⲅⲱ [BA 87]; ܥܒܕܢܓܘ; *ABDENAGO*), the court name given to Azariah [10], the friend of Daniel (Dan. 1 7, etc.). On name see also NERGAL.

ABEL (**הֶבֶל**, § 6; ⲁⲃⲉⲗ [ADL]; *ABEL*), Gen. 4 2 *ff.* There are three phases in Jewish beliefs respecting Abel. The second and the third may be mentioned first. The catastrophe of the Exile shifted the mental horizon, and made a right view of the story of Abel impossible. Abel was therefore at first (as it would seem from P) neglected. Afterwards, however, he was restored to more than his old position by devout though uncritical students of Scripture, who saw in him the type of the highest saintliness, that sealed by a martyr's death (cp Kohler, 3QR v. **413** ['93]). The same view appears in parts of the NT (Mt. 23 35 = Lk. 11 51; Heb. 114; 12 24; 1 John 3 12). God bore witness, we are told (Heb. 11 4), that Abel was righteous—*i.e.*, a possessor of true faith, —and it was by faith that Abel offered *πλείονα* (Cobet conjectures *ἥδίονα*) *θυσίαν*. Hence Magee assumes that Abel had received a revelation of the Atonement *(Atonement and Sacrifice*, i. 50-53). The original narrator (J), however, would certainly wish us to regard Abraham **as** the first believer; the story of Cain and Ahel is an early Israelitish legend retained by J as having a profitable tendency. On this earliest phase of belief, see CAIN, § 4 *f.*

Meaning of the name.—The Massorites understood Abel (Hebel) to mean 'a breath,' 'vanity' (cp **Ps.** 39 6 [7]); but the true meaning, both of Abel and of the collateral form Jabal, must be something concrete, and a right view of the story favours the meaning 'shepherd,' or, more generally, 'herdman.'. This is supported by the existence of a group of Semitic words, some of which denote domesticated animals, while others are the corresponding words for their herdmen. **Cp,** *e.g.*, Ass. *ibilu*, 'ram, camel, ass' (but some explain 'wild sheep': see **Muss-**Arn. *s.v.*); Aram. *habbālā*, 'herdman' (used widely; see PS, *s.v.*), Ar. *ibil*, 'camels,' *abbāl*, 'camel-herd.' The attempt of Lenormant (*Les origines*, i. 161) and, more definitely, Sayce (*Hibbert Lects.* 186; **236, 249**), to find in the name a trace of a nature-myth, Ahel (= Bab. *ablu*, 'son') being originally 'the only son Tammuz, who was a shepherd like Jabal and Ahel' (Sayce), and whom Lenormant regards as, like Ahel in early theology a kind of type of Christ, is adventurous. The name 'son' is insufficient as a title of Tammuz (*Abal-napišti*); and there is nothing said of a mourning for Abel's death. The title of 'shepherd' applied to Tammuz in *4* **R** 27 1 is explained by the following word 'lord' (see Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod*, 50). In the *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James) Ahel plays the part of Judge of the nether world, like the Jama (Yima) of the Aryans. T. K. *C.*

ABEL (**אָבֵל**, §§ **89-100)** occurs, apparently in the sense of 'meadow,' in the place-names dealt with in the following six articles. *As* a place-name it is to be struck out of **1 S.** 6 18*b*, where for MT **עד אבל הגדולה** (so also Pesh.) 𝔊BA reads *ἕως* (*ἕ. τοῦ* [L]) *λίθου τοῦ μεγάλου*, with which the Targ. Jon. agrees *(so* also RV). Ew., We., and others further change the points so as to read : 'and a witness is the great stone.' Dr. suggests as an alternative : 'and still the great stone, whereon'—etc. On Abel in 2 S. 2018, see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH. G. A. S.

ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH, RV Abel-Beth-**Maacah** (2 S. 20 14 : **אָבֵלָה וּבֵית מַעֲכָה**, 'to Abel and Beth-maacah,' RV 'unto Abel and to Beth-maac(h)ah' [many strike out the conjunction, but the places may have been different; cp **2** S. 20 15 L,

2 K. 15 29 BAL], εις ἀβελ και εις Βαιθμαχα [B], . . . Βηθμαχα [A], κ. ἀβηλα κ. Βαιθμακκω [L]).

Cp 2 S. 20 15, בְּאָבֵלָה בֵּית הַמַּעֲכָה, EV 'in Abel of Beth-maac(h)ah,' εν Αβελ την Βαιθμαχα [B], EV A. εν Βηθμαχα [Al, εν τη A. κ. Βαιθμακκω [L]; 1 K. 15 20, אָבֵל בֵּ׳מ׳, Αδελμαθ [B], Αβελ οικου (sic) Μααχα [A], Αβελμααχα [L]; 2 K. 15 29, אָבֵל בֵּ׳מ׳, Αβελ κ. την Θαμααχα [B], Καβελ κ. τ. Βερμααχα [A], Αβελ κ. τ. Βαιθμααχα [L]; 2 S. 20 18 (on which see ARAM, § 5), אָבֵל, EV ABEL, (τη) Αβελ [*bis* BAL].

This place, mentioned, although in now mutilated form [Al-bi-il, by Tiglath-pileser III. (cp Schr. *COT* on 2 K. 15 29), is the present *Ābil*—called also *Ābil el-Ḳamḥ* ('of the wheat') to distinguish it from *Ābil es-Sūk* (see ABILENE)—a small village inhabited by Christians on the ***Nahr*** *Bareighīt*, on a hill 1074 ft. above the sea, overlooking the Jordan valley, almost directly opposite to *Bāniās*, and on the main road thence to Sidon and the coast. It is a strong site, with *a* spring and a (probably artificial) mound; below is a broad level of good soil, whence the modern name. See Yāḳūt 156; Rob. *LBR* 372 *f.* (who argues against *Ībel el-Hawā*, a site 8 m. farther north); *PEF Mem.* i. **85 107;** Merrill, *East of* ***the*** *Jordan*, 309, 315. In 2 Ch. 16 4, we have, instead of the Abel-beth-maacah of the parallel passage (1 K. 15 20), ABEL-MAIM (אָבֵל מָיִם, **Αβελμαιν** [A], -μαν [B], -μαειμ [L]; cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 4, **Αβελανη**), or 'Abel of Waters,' a name suitable for *so* well-watered a neighbourhood. On Judith 4 4 7 3 where Pesh. reads Abelmeholah, and א apparently Abel-maim, see BELMEN (cp also BEBAI). On the ancient history of the place see ARAM, § 5. G. A. S.

ABEL-CHERAMIM (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים, 'meadow of vineyards,' § 103; εβελχαρμειν [B]; ἀβελ ἀμπελωνων [AL]: Judg. 11 33 † RV), the limit of Jephthah's pursuit and slaughter of the Ammonites. Ens. and Jer. (OS[2] 225 5 96 **10**, Ἀβελ ἀμπέλων, *Abel uinearum*) identify it with a village of their day, named Ἀβελ, **7 R.** m. from Philadelphia. This Abel may be any of the many fertile levels among the rolling hills around 'Ammān, on which the remains of vineyards and of terraces are not infrequent. *G. A. S.*

ABEL-MAIM (אָבֵל מַיִם, 2 Ch. 16 4†), see ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

ABEL-MEHOLAH (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה, *i.e.*, 'dancing meadow'; εβελμαωλα, ἀβωμεουλα, εβαλμαο. [B]; ἀβελμαουλ(α), Βαcελμεο.[A]; ἀβελμεουλ(α), -μαωλα [L]; *ABELME(H)ULA*; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 137, ἀβελα), the home of Elisha the prophet (1 K. 19 16), and probably also of Adriel b. Barzillai 'the Meholathite' (1 S. 18 19; 2 S. 21 8), is mentioned in conjunction with Bethshean as defining the province of one of Solomon's officers (1 K. 4 12). Gideon pursued the Midianites 'as far as Beth-shittah towards Zererah as far as the border'—lit. 'lip,' probably the high bank which marks the edge of the Jordan valley proper—' of Abel-meholab, by Tabbath' (Judg. 7 22). According to Eus. and Jer. (OS 97 11 227 35), Abelmaula (or 'Αβελμαελαί) lay in the *Ghōr*, 10 R. m. to the south of Scythopolis (Bethshean), and **was** still an inhabited village in their time, with the name Bethaula, Βηθμαελά (though they mention also an *Abelmea*, 'Αβελμεά). This points to *a* locality at or near the place where the *W. Māliḥ*, coming down from 'Ain Māliḥ, joins the Jordan valley.

ABEL-MIZRAIM (אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם [see below], πενθος αιγυπτου [BAL]; so Pesh. Vg.), Gen. 50 11† (J), otherwise (*v.* 10 *f.*) called GOREN HA-ATAD (גֹּרֶן הָאָטָד; ἀλωνι ἀταδ [B[a]AL], A. ταδ [B* vid.], A. ἀταт [*D*]) or 'the threshing-floor of the thorn-shrub' (EV 'of ATAD,' see BRAMBLE, 1), and said to be situated 'beyond Jordan' (cp *v.* 10 J). It was there that Joseph made a second mourning for his father, whence the etymological play on the name (*v.* 11). After this, Joseph and his brethren carried the embalmed body **of** Jacob to Maclipelah for burial, and then returned **to** Egypt (*v.* 13 *f.* J and P). The words 'which is beyond' Jordan' (*v.* 10 *f.*), however, cannot be accurate: the original text of J must, it would seem, have been altered, owing to a misreading or an editorial misunderstanding. The circuitous route round the north end of the Dead Sea has no obvious motive: had it really been meant, something more would have been said about it (cp Nu. 14 25). For הַיַּרְדֵּן, 'the Jordan,' J must have written either הַשִּׁחֹר (less probably הַיְאֹר)—*i.e.*, the most easterly arm of the Nile (a frontier of Canaan, according to Josh. 13 3)—or הַנָּהָר, 'the stream'—Le., the *Wādy el-Arīsh*, the usual SW. boundary of Canaan (cp Gen. 15 18, where J calls this Wādy, not the נחל but the נהר of Egypt—*i.e.*, 'the stream on the border of Egypt' (Kautzsch-Socin), on which see EGYPT, RIVER OF).

The meaning of the narrative is this. At the first Canaanite village (the first after the border had been crossed) the 'great company' (*v.* 9) halted, while Joseph and his fellow-Hebrews mourned in their own way (cp *v.* 3*b*) in the very place where wedding and funeral ceremonies are still performed in the Syrian villages (Wetz.). The repetition of 'which is beyond Jordan' must be due to the editor.

It is remarkable that Jer. (OS *85* 15) though he does not question the reading 'beyond Jordan,' Identifies ***Area*** *Atath* with *Bethagla*—*i.e.*, BETH-HOGLAH (*q.v.*), which **is** certainly on the ***west*** bank of the Jordan. Dillm. is more consistently conservative, and, followed by Sayce (*Crit.* ***and Mon.*** *27 f.*), finds in the trans-Jordanic Abel-Mizraim a testimony *to* the Egyptian empire in Palestine in the pre-Mosaic age, proved **by** the Amarna tablets. The exegetical difficulties of this view, however, are insuperable.

As to the name Abel-mizraim it is not improbable that its original meaning was 'meadow of Muṣri' (in N. Arabia, see MIZRAIM), but that before J's time it had come to be understood as meaning 'meadow [on the border] of Egypt.' Cp Wi. *Altor. Forsch.* 34, and see EGYPT, RIVER OF. T. K. C.

ABEL-SHITTIM (אָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים, § 100, *i.e.*, 'the meadow of the acacias'; Samar. omits the article; ἀβελcαττειμ [L], B . . ττιμ [A], -ττειν [F], Βελcα. [B]; *ABEL-SATIM*, Num. 33 49), or, more briefly, **Shittim** (הַשִּׁטִּים, 'the acacias, cαττειν [BA], -μ [L]; but Nu. 25 1 cαττειμ [F], -ν [L]; Josh. 2 1 εκ cαττει [A], εξαττειν [F], 3 1 εκαττειν [F]; Mic. 6 5† των cχοινων [BAQ] (for cχινων? cp Sus. **54**). in the Arabah or Jordan basin at the foot of Mount Peor and opposite Jericho. In the time of Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 8 1, v. 1 1) a town named Abila ('Αβιλή), rich in palm trees, occupied such a site at a distance ***of*** 60 stadia ($7\frac{1}{2}$ R. m.) from the river. Cp *BJ* iv. 7 *6*, where it is described as near the Dead Sea, and Jer. (Comm. on Joel), who locates it *6* R. m. from Livias. This seems to point to the neighbourhood of *Khirbet el-Kefrein*, where the Wādy Kefrein enters the Jordan valley, and there are ruins, including those of a fortress. It **was** at Abila, according to Jos., that Moses delivered the exhortations of Dt. The palm trees have disappeared, but there is an acacia grove at no great distance (Tristram, Conder). According to *RP*[(2)] v. 50, this is the Aubal or 'Abel' mentioned among the places conquered by Thotmes III.

In Joel 3 *[4]* 18 שִׁטִּים should perhaps be treated as a common noun and translated 'acacias' (so RV mg., and Marti in *HS*; cp τῶν σχοίνων [BאAQ]). At all events the reference is not to Abel-shittim across the Jordan. Some (We., Now.) think the name has been preserved in the *Wādy es-Sanṭ* (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), but the latter does not require the watering of which Joel speaks; and he intends, rather, some dry gorge nearer Jerusalem, perhaps (like Ez. 47 1-12) some part of the Kedron valley, *Wādy en-Nār* (cp Dr. *ad loc.*; GASm. *HG* **511**; also, for acacias on W. of Dead Sea, Tristr. *Land of Isr.* 280, *298*).

ABEZ, RV **Ebez** (אֶבֶץ; ΡΕΒΕC [B], ΑΕΜΕ [A], -ΜΙC [L]; *ABES;* Josh. 19 20†),[1] one of the sixteen cities of Issachar. The site is unknown, but the name is evidently connected with that of the judge IBZAN (*q.v.*) of Bethlehem—*i.e.*, the northern Bethlehem. This Bethlehem, it is true, is Zebulunite, while Ebez is assigned to Issachar; but the places must have been very close to each other, and the frontiers doubtless varied. Conder's identification with *El Beiḍā*, 2 m. from Beit Laḥm, might suit as to position, but 'the white village' can have nothing to do with the old name.

W. R. S.

ABI (אֲבִי, so Targ. Jon.; abbrev. of *ABIJAH;* ΑΒΟΥ [BA], -Θ [L]; Jos. 'Αβία; *ABI*), daughter of Zechariah, wife of King Ahaz, and mother of King Hezekiah (2 K. 18 2†). In the parallel passage (2 Ch. 29 1) the name is given as ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּה, αββα [B : see Swete], αββαθυθ [A], αβια [L]; ل [sic]; *Abia*), but the probability is perhaps in favour of the contracted form in K. (*So* Gray, *HPN* 24.)

ABI, Names with. There has been much discussion as to the interpretation of the names compounded with *abi*, *aḥi*, and some other words denoting relationship[1] (cp AMMI-, HAMU-, DOD-). Without assuming that this discussion is in all points closed (cp NAMES, § 44), the writer thinks it best to state the theory which he has himself long held, adopting certain points (with acknowledgment) from Gray's very lucid and thorough exposition, and then to consider the religious and archæological aspects of the subject.

1. Are the names sentences?

The question whether these names are sentences has long been answered by some critics in the affirmative, and the arguments of Gray (*HPN* 75-86) put the student in possession of all the points to beurged. He also ably criticises the alternative view (viz., that the two elements in Abimelech, Ammiel, etc., are related as construct and genitive). It is usual to refer on this side to such Phoenician names as אחתמלך, in which the term of relation is always fem. in names of women and masc. in those of men. But this is decisive only for Phœnician names, and even in their case only for names in אחי and אחת ('brother' and 'sister'). Compounds with *ab* ('father') are used indifferently of men and women in Phoenician, just as they are in Hebrew. In the latter case, therefore, at least, the term of relation cannot refer to the bearer of the name—*i.e.*, cannot be in the construct state. No doubt in Ps. 110 4 Melchizedek (which suffers, along with other compound names containing a connective *i* [see below, § 3], from the same ambiguity as names containing a term of kinship) is understood as a construct relation, 'king of righteousness,' and the phrase אבי הוד—as we should certainlyread in Is. 9 5 *[6]* for אבי עד[2]—obviously means for the writer 'glorious father' (*i.e.*, glorious ruler of the family of Israel; cp Is. 22 21). It would seem, therefore, that in the post-exilic age some names of this type were so understood. But we must remember that in later times the original sense of a formation may be forgotten. Gray's main objections to taking *abi* etc. as originally constructs are as follows: (1) The theory will not account for names like Eliab, Joah, etc. Eliab clearly stands to Abiel as Elijah to Joel; in the latter case the genitive relation is excluded; inferentially it is equally so in the former. (2) The use of *ab* with a noun denoting a quality is a pure Arabism,[1] which should not be lightly admitted, while such an interpretation as 'father of Yah' for Abijah is unlikely. (3) A woman's name like 'brother of graciousness' (Ahinoam) is inconceivable.[2] In favour of taking the names compounded with a terni of relationship as sentences Gray urges that, though *ab*, *aḥ*, *'am*, etc., all denote a male relative, the proper names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women; while, on the other hand, nouns with *6en* (sou) prefixed are used exclusively of men, the corresponding names of women having *bath* (daughter) for *ben.* He infers, therefore, that, while in the case of names in *ben* and *bath* the element denoting kindred refers to the hearer of the name, in the case of *a6* etc. it does not.

2. Which part is predicate?

Assuming that these compound names are sentences, are there grounds for determining which of the two elements is subject and which is predicate? (1) In cases like Abijah, Ahijah, only the first part can he regarded as indefinite[3] and therefore as predicate. We must, therefore, render 'Yahwè is father,' etc. The same principle would apply to Joab, Joah (if these are really compounds). Quite generally, therefore, whenever one element is a proper name it must be subject.[4] But (2) a divine proper name may give place to אל (*ēl*) or some divine title—*e.g.*, Lord. Hence Abiel, Abimelech, will be best explained on the analogy of Abijah—*i.e.*, 'God is father,' 'the divine king is father.' Lastly (3) the divine name or title may give place to an epithet, such as *rum*, 'lofty.' Here the syntax is at first sight open to doubt. The usages of the terms of relationship in the cases just considered would suggest that *-ram* in Abi-ram is subject; but the fact that *ram* nowhere occurs by itself designating Yahwè seems to the writer to show that it must be predicate. Abram, therefore, means, not 'the exalted one is father,' but 'the (divine) father is exalted.' Cp ADONIRAM, JEHORAM.

3. Connective *ī*.

The question whether the connective *ī*, which occurs in most of the forms, is the suffix of the first pers. sing., or an old ending, has been variously answered. Should Abinoam, Ahinoam be rendered 'my father (or my brother) is graciousness' (so Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* § 277 *e*), or 'the (divine) father, or brother, is graciousness'? Gray well expounds the reasons for holding the latter view. Thus, there are certain forms in which י does not occur—*e.g.*, Abram, Abšalom, beside Abiram, Abišalom. We also find Abiel beside Eliab. Lastly, the analogy of ירמיהו (Jeremiah), יחזקיהו (Hezekiah), etc., favours the theory that the names before us contain utterances respecting the relation of a deity to all the members of the tribe or clan which worships him. To some this may appear a slight argument; but to the writer it has long been an influential consideration. An argument on the opposite side offered by Boscawen and Hommel will he considered later (see § 5).

4. Religious conception.

It is not easy at first to appreciate, or even to understand, the conception which underlies compound names of this class. The representation of a god as the father of a tribe or clan may be less repulsive to us than the representation of him as a brother or as some other kinsman. Even a prophet does not object to the expression 'sons of the living God' (Hos. 1 10 [2 1]: see the commentators); but any one can see that to substitute some other relation

[1] On some possible hut by no means clear instances of *ēm*, 'mother,' in compound names, see Gray, *HPN* 64 *n.* 2.

[2] The interpretation of אבי עד as 'everlasting one' stands or falls with the interpretation of, *e.g.*, Ahinoam as 'father of graciousness,' and of Abitub as 'father of goodness.' Though defended by reference to such names by Guthe (*Zukunftsbild des Jes.* 41 ['85]), it is now generally rejected in favour of 'perpetual father (of his people),' or 'father (*i.e.* producer) of booty.' But neither of these explanations gives a satisfactory parallel to 'prince of peace.' We must read אֲבִי הוֹד. 'Prince of peace' suggests a reminiscence of Abšalom, which the writer prohablyinterpreted 'father of peace,' *i.e.*, peaceful (or prosperous) ruler.

[1] Rare in *ancient* Arabic (see NAMES, § 45).

[2] Even if in modern Ar. *abu* is so used of a woman (see NAMES, § 45, third note).

[3] This assumes that the connective *ī* is not pronominal (see below, § 3).

[4] The same principle will apply to othercompoundscontaining, instead of a term of kinship, a title, *e.g.*, as in MELCHIZEDEK (*q.v.*), ADONIJAH, etc., or a concrete noun, as in URIAH.

for sonship would in such a context be impossible. Names in Abi-, Amnii-, etc., are, in fact, of primitive origin, and must be explained in connection with primitive ideas of the kinship of gods and men (see WRS *RS*[2] Lect. 2). Names like Ahijah, Ahinoam, etc., imply a time when the god was regarded as brother. The question then arises, May we take 'brother' in a wide sense as kinsman? or did such formations descend from a remote age when society was polyandrous? Strabo (16 4) wrote of a polyandrous society in Arabia Felix that 'all are brothers of all,' and Robertson Smith (*Kin.* 167 *f.*) was of opinion that far back in the social development of Hebrew life lay a form of fraternal polyandry. Now, supposing that the Hebrews when in this stage conceived themselves to be related to a male deity, it is difficult to see under what other form than brotherhood such relationship could be conceived. Of course, if names expressing this conception were retained in later ages, they would receive a vaguer and more satisfactory meaning, such as 'Yahwè is a kinsman,' or 'protector.'[1]

Lastly, to supplement the Hebraistic arguments in § 3, we must brieflv consider the argument in favour of the explanation 'My father is peace' for Abishalom, 'My father is graciousness' for Abinoam, etc., is based on early Babylonian and S. Arabian names.

5. Relationship indtribal?

Boscawen (*Migration of Abraham*, Victoria Institute, Jan. 1886) long ago pointed out a series of primitive Babylonian names such as Ilušu-abišu, 'his god is his father,' Ilušu-ibnišu, 'his god made him,' which, in complete correspondence with the Babylonian penitential psalms, indicate a sense of the relation of a protective god not merely to a clan but to a person; and Hommel, in the interest of a too fascinating historical theory, has more recently given similar lists (*AHT* 71 *ff.*), to which he has added a catalogue of S. Arabian names (*ib.* 83, 85 *f.*) compounded with *ili*, *abi*, where these elements appear to mean 'my God,' 'my father,' etc. The present writer, however, must confess that, though aware of the names collected by Boscawen, he has long been of opinion that the course of the development of Israelitish thought and society is entirely adverse to the view that the relation of the deity described by *abi*, *aḥi*, etc., was primarily to the individual. This is a question of historical method—on which no compromise is possible—and not of Assyriology. We cannot argue that because the Babylonians, even in remote ages, bore names which imply a tendency to individualistic religion, the Israelites also—who, as far as our evidence goes, were much less advanced in all kinds of culture than the early Babylonians—had a similar tendency, and gave expression to it in their names. It is, therefore, wise to use these Babylonian and S. Arabian names, not as suggesting a theory to be followed in interpreting Israelitish names, but as monuments of early attainments of Semitic races which foreshadow those of the choicest part of the Jewish people at a much more recent period. The value of these names for explaining the formation of Hebrew proper names may be comparatively slight; but they suggest the idea that it was only the want of the higher spiritual prophecy (as known in Israel), as a teaching and purifying agent, and of somewhat different historical circumstances, which prevented the Babylonians from rivalling the attainments in spiritual religion of the later Jewish church. T. K. C.

ABIA (אֲבִיָּה), RV **Abijah.** For 1 Ch. 3 10 Mt. 1 7 see ABIJAH, 1; for Lk. 1 5†, *ibid.*, 6.

ABIAH, an English variant of ABIJAH (*q.v.*) in AV of 1 Sam. 8 2 1 Ch. 2 24 6 28 [13] 78, corrected in RV to the more usual form, except in 1 Ch. 2 24 6 28 [13].

ABIALBON, the Arbathite (אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן הָעַרְבָתִי, § 4, [γαλ]αβιηλ υιος του αραβωθαιου [B], αειελβων ο αρωβωθειας [A], [ταλς]αβιης ο σαραιβαθι [L]), 2 S. 23 31, the name of one of David's 'thirty,' should in all probability be 'Abibaal a man of Beth-arabah' (so Bu., and partly Klo. and Ki.), the *al* (על) in *Abi-albon* being a relic of *Baal* (בעל), and the final syllable *bon* a corruption of *Beth* (בית). 𝔊BL, it is true, agrees with 1 Ch. 11 32 (אֲבִיאֵל הָעַרְבָתִי; αβιηλ ὁ γαραβαιθθι [B], α. ὁ γαραβεθ [א], α. ὁ σαραβεθθει [A], α. ὁ αραβαθι [L]) in supporting the name ABIEL (see Dr. *TBS* 283); but we know that early names of persons contained the name *baal* as a title of Yahwè where later writers would have preferred to see *el* (see BEELIADA). T. K. C.

ABIASAPH (אֲבִיאָסָף, § 44; 'the (divine) father gathers' or 'removes' or [if the א be not original, see below] 'adds' [cp the popular etymologies of JOSEPH], unless it be supposed that P and the Chronicler adopted an ancient name indeed [Gray, *HPN* 244], but understood it in the sense 'father of Asaph' [*OTJC*[2] 204 n.]; αβιασαρ [B], -σαφ [FL]), Ex. 6 24 [P], one of the three sons of Korah, *i.e.* eponym of one of the three divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites, see ASAPH, 3. In 1 Ch. 6 23 [8] (αβιαθαρ [B], -ασαφ [AL], ܐܒܝܣܦ [*sic*], *Abiasaph*), 6 37 [22] (αβιασαρ [BA], -ασαφ [Ba. (vid.) b. L], ܐܒܝܣܦ; *Abiasaph*), 9 19 (αβιασαφ [BAL], ܐܒܝܣܦ, *Asaph*) the name occurs also, without consonantal א as EBIASAPH, אֶבְיָסָף (Samar. text omits א in Ex. 6 24), which name ought to be read for that of ASAPH also in 1 Ch. 26 1 (אָסָף; αβιασαφαρ [B], ασαφ [AL], ܐܣܦ, *Asaph*).

ABIATHAR (אֶבְיָתָר, § 44, *i.e.*, 'the (divine) father is pre-eminent'; cp ITHREAM; αβιαθαρ [BאAL]; in 1 Ch. 18 16, αβιεαθερ [א*]; αβιαθαρος, Jos. [*Ant.* vi. 14 6]), the son of Ahimelech and descendant of Eli; the priestly guild or clan to which he belonged seems to have claimed to trace back its origin through Phinehas and Eliezer to Moses, who, in the early tradition (Ex. 33 7, E), guards the sanctuary of Yahwè and delivers his oracles. It was Abiathar's father, Ahimelech, who officiated as chief priest in the sanctuary of Nob when David came thither, fleeing from the jealous fury of Saul. Having no other bread at hand, Ahimelech gave the fugitives the holy loaves from the sanctuary. One of the royal couriers, however (see 1 S. 21 7 [8], with Dr.'s note), saw the act, and betrayed Ahimelech to Saul, who forthwith put the priests to death. No less than eighty-five (according to MT)[1] fell by Doeg's hands, and of the whole number Abiathar alone escaped.

It may be inferred from 1 S. 22 15 that David had before this contracted friendship and alliance with the house of Eli, and we can readily believe that, just as Samuel marked out Saul as the destined leader of Israel, so the priests at Nob, noting the tendency of the king to melancholy madness, and his inability to cope with the difficulties of his position, selected David as the future king and gave a religious sanction to his prospective claims (cp DAVID, § 3). Certain it is that the massacre of the priests at Nob told strongly in David's favour. The odium of sacrilegious slaughter clung to Saul, while David won the prestige of close friendship with a great priestly house. Henceforth David was the patron of Abiathar, and Abiathar was bound fast to the interests of David—'Abide thou with me,' said the warrior to the priest, 'for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life' (1 S. 22 23). Moreover, Abiathar carried the ephod or sacred image into the camp of David: it was in the presence of this image that the lot was cast and answers were obtained from Yahwè: nor docs it need much imagination to understand the strength infused into David's band by the confidence that they enjoyed supernatural direction in

[1] Cp Barton, 'Kinship of gods and men among the ancient Semites,' *JBL* xv. 168 *ff.*, especially 179 *ff.* ('96).

[1] See DAVID, § 3 n.

their perplexities. Abiathar was faithful to David through every change of fortune. It was with the sanction of the sacred oracle that David settled at Hebron and became king of Judah (2 S. 2 1-3), and it was Abiathar who carried the ark, that palladium of Israel, which David used to consecrate Jerusalem, the capital of his united kingdom (1 K. 2 26). Abiathar maintained his sacerdotal dignity amidst the splendour of the new court, though later (we do not know when) others were added to the list of the royal chaplains—viz., Zadok, of whose origin we have no certain information, and Ira, from the Manassite clan of Jair,[1]—while David's sons also officiated as priests (2 S. 8 17 *f.* 20 26). Zadok and Abiathar both continued faithful to their master during Absalom's revolt, and by means of their sons conveyed secret intelligence to the king after he had left the city.

When David was near his end, Abiathar along with Joab supported the claim of Adonijah to the throne, and consequently incurred the enmity of Solomon, the younger but successful aspirant. Solomon spared Abiathar's life, remembering how long and how faithfully he had served David. But he was banished from the court to Anathoth, his native place, and Zadok, who had chosen the winning side, became chief priest in his stead. To the men of the time, or even long after the time at which it happened, such a proceeding needed no explanation. It was quite in order that the king should place or displace the priests at the royal sanctuary. But in a later age the writer of 1 S. 2 27-36,[2] who lived after the publication of D, did not think it so light a matter that the house of Eli should be deprived, at a monarch's arbitrary bidding, of the priesthood which they had held by immemorial right. Therefore, he attributes the forfeiture to the guilt of Eli's sons. A 'man of God,' he says, had told Eli himself of the punishment waiting for his descendants, and had announced Yahwè's purpose to substitute another priestly line which was to officiate before God's 'anointed'—*i.e.*, in the royal presence. A late gloss inserted in 1 K. 2 27 calls attention to the fulfilment of this prediction.

A special point which has occasioned some difficulty remains to be noticed. In 2 S. 8 17 [MT 𝔊BAL and Vg.] and 1 Ch. 18 16 [*ib.* and Pesh.; MT, however, reading ABIMELECH], instead of Abiathar b. Ahimelech it is Ahimelech b. Abiathar that is mentioned as priest along with Zadok. In 1 Ch. 24 6 31 as well, MT has this reading, in *v.* 6 also 𝔊BAL Pesh.—except that 𝔊A* reads *viol*; in *v.* 3 these versions all read 'Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar,' while in *v.* 31 MT 𝔊BAL Vg. omit the phrase 'b. Abiathar, and Pesh. the whole passage. It is reasonable to suppose that this confusion is due to an early corruption of the text, and that in 2 S. 8 17 we should read with the Pesh. 'Abiathar b. Ahimelech' (so The. *ad loc.*; Baudissin, *AT Priesterthum*, 195; Dr. *ad loc.*). The Chronicler, however, must have had 2 S. 8 17 before him in its present corrupt form. In Mk. 2 26, by a similar confusion, David is said to have gone into the house of God and received the shew-bread 'when Abiathar was high-priest.' In reporting our Lord's words the evangelist has confused Abiathar with Ahimelech, a mistake into which he was led by the constant association of David's name with that of Abiathar. Suggestions made to evade the difficulty—*e.g.*, that father and son each bore the same double name, or that Abiathar officiated during his father's lifetime and in his father's stead—are interesting when we remember the great names which have supported them, but are manifestly baseless (see ZADOK, 1). See Bu. *RiSa* 195 *f.*

W. E. A.

ABIB (אָבִיב, *i.e.*, '[month of] young ears of barley'). See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

[1] See, however, IRA, 3, where a Judahite origin is suggested.
[2] The section in its present form is from the school of the Deuteronomist. But the expression 'walk before my anointed' proves conclusively that there is an older substratum.

ABIDA, and (AV in Gen.) **Abidah** (אֲבִידָע, § 44, 'the (divine) father knoweth'? cp Eliada, Beeliada; Jehoiada; αβ[ε]ιδα [BAL], αβιρα [AD], αβια [E], αβιαδα [L]; *ABIDA*), one of the five 'sons' of Midian, and grandson of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25 4 1 Ch. 1 33†). Unexplained, as yet, except that the same name occurs in Sab. inscriptions (אבידע, cp also ידעאב, Hal. 192, 202, etc.).

ABIDAN (אֲבִידָן, § 44, 'the (divine) father is judge'; cp Daniel; αβ[ε]ιδαν [BAL]; *ABIDAN*), chief of Benjamin in the time of Moses (Nu. 1 11 2 22 7 60 65 10 24†). On the age of the name see Gray, *HPN* 202, 244. Possibly P had a consciousness that *-dan* was archaic (cp DAN, § 1), and therefore suitable in the name of a tribal chief at the time of the Exodus. To infer with Hommel (*AHS* 298-301) from such a name as Abidan that P's record is itself ancient, is critically unjustifiable. P also gives the names SHAPHAT and SHIPHTAN, which are scarcely archaic.

ABIEL (אֲבִיאֵל, §§ 4, 44, 'God is father' (of the clan?); αβ[ε]ιηλ [BAL]; *ABIEL*).

1. Father of Ner and Kish (1 S. 9 1, also 14 51†, -ηρ [B]); see ABNER.

2. One of David's thirty mighty men (1 Ch. 11 32); see ABIALBON.

ABIEZER, AV **Abi-ezer** (אֲבִיעֶזֶר, § 44, 'the (divine) father is help,' cp Ahiezer; αβιεζερ [BAL]: Judg. 6 34 etc.).

1. The clan from which Gideon sprang belonged to the Gileadite branch of the tribe of Manasseh. In Gideon's time its seat was at Ophrah (Judg. 6 24), an unidentified site, but apparently on the west side of Jordan. It is probable that the first settlements of the Manassites lay to the west of that river, but the date at which their conquests were extended to the eastward is not known (Josh. 17 2 ιεζει [B], αχιεζερ [A], αβιεζερ [L]; Judg. 6 11 24). In Nu. 26 30 the name Abiezer appears, not as in the parallel 1 Ch. 7 18, but in an abbreviated form as IEZER (אִיעֶזֶר, AV JEEZER, αχιεζερ [BAL]), and the gentilic as IEZERITE (אִיעֶזְרִי, AV JEEZERITE, ὁ αχιεζειρει [B], -ζερι [AL]). In 1 Ch. 7 18 Abiezer finds a place in the Manassite genealogy as son of Hammolecheth the sister of Machir b. Manasseh. The patronymic ABI-EZRITE AV, ABIEZRITE RV (אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי), occurs in Judg. 6 11 24 (πατρὸς τοῦ εσδρει [B]; π. αβιεζρι, π. τ. ιεζρι [A]; π. (τ.) εζρει [L]) and (perhaps as a gloss, see Moore, *ad loc.*) 8 32 (αβιεσδρι [B], πρς αβιεζρει [A], πατρὸς α. [L]).

2. Of Anathoth, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 27, αβιεζερ [B]; 1 Ch. 11 28 27 12†), see DAVID, § 11 (*a*) i.

ABIGAIL (usually אֲבִיגַיִל, but אבוגיל in 1 S. 25 18 Kt., and אֲבִיגַל in 1 S. 25 32, 2 S. 3 3 Kt., and [so RV ABIGAL] in 17 25; and, perhaps with י and ג transposed, אֲבִגַיִל in 1 S. 25 3 36; possibly we should point אֲבִיגַיִל, § 45; so oftenest ܐܒܝܓܝܠ, sometimes ܐܒܝܓܠ; cp BDB *Lex. s.v.*; αβ[ε]ιγαια [BAL], but in 1 S. 25 3 αβιραια [A]; meaning uncertain; 'Abi' is a divine title (see NAMES, § 44, and cp *HPN* 77, 85).

1. Wife of NABAL (*q.v.*), and, after his death, of David (1 S. 25). Her tactful speech against the causeless shedding of blood (1 S. 25 22-31) is noteworthy for the history of Israelitish morality. Like Ahinoam, she accompanied David to Gath and Ziklag, and was taken captive by the Amalekites, but was recovered by David (1 S. 27 3 30 5 18). While at Hebron she bore David a son (see DANIEL, 4).

2. A sister of David, who married Jether or Ithra, and became the mother of Amasa, 2 S. 17 25 (see above), 1 Ch. 2 16[1] 17. In MT of the former passage, her father

[1] B omits Abigail in *v.* 16, and BA read ἀδελφή for ἀδελφαί of L.

is called Nahash (an error also found in 𝔊[BA], and clearly produced by the proximity of that name in v. 27; 𝔊[L] gives the correct reading, 'Jesse,' ιεσσαι), and her husband is called 'the Israelite' (so MT; ισραηλειτης [B], ܐܝܣܪܝܠܝܐ), which, however, seems to he a corruption from 'the Jezreelite' (ιεζραηλιτης [L], *de iesraeli* [ed. Rom.], *de Hiesreli* [cod. Amiat.]), just as 'Ahinoam the Jezreelitess' (1 S. 27 3) becomes in B αχειναaμ ἡ ἰσραηλεῖτις. It is true, in 1 Ch. *l.c.* Jether is called 'the Ishmaelite' (ισμαηλ(ε)ιτης [BA], *ismahelites*), but this is plainly a conjectural emendation of 'the Israelite' (L indeed has ισρα.; Pesh. om.). In 2 S. 17 25 the same emendation appears in 𝔊[A] (ισμα.). David's sister was not likely to marry an Ishmaelite. Heyse wonders to what town Jerome's reading can refer. We can easily answer the question. It was the Jezreel situated in Judah (Josh. 15 56), from which not only David's brother-in-law but also his first wife Ahinoam probably came (so Marq. *Fund.* 24; see JEZREEL, i. 2). T. K. C.

ABIGAL (אֲבִיגַל), 2 S. 17 25 RV†. See ABIGAIL, 2.

ABIHAIL (אֲבִיחַיִל, § 45, 'the (divine) father is strength,' cp Sab. אבחיל and the S. Arabian woman's name, Ili-hail [Hommel, *ANT* 320]; written אביהיל [Gi. Bä.] in 2 and 4; Hommel [in the Ebers Festschrift, 29; cp *AHT* 320] compares the same name [with ה] in S. Arabian inscriptions from Ghazzat (Gaza); but אביחיל is supported by 𝔊; ΑΒ[Ε]ΙΧΑΙΛ [BAL], ܐܒܝܚܝܠ, *ABIHAIEL, ABIHAIL*).

1. Father of ZURIEL (Nu. 3 35†, αβιχαια[1] [F]).

2. Wife of Abishur the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 29† אביהיל [Gi. Bä.]; αβειχαια[1] [B], αβιγ. [A], αβιηλ [L]).

3. A Gadite (1 Ch. 5 14†, αβ[ε]ιχαια [BA], αβιηλ [L]).

4. Daughter of Eliab, David's brother, and wife of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 18†, אביהיל [Gi. Bä.], βαιαν [B], αβ. [B[ab. vid.]], αβιαιαλ [A], τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ [L, who reads אביהו לבת אליאב]).

5. Father of Esther, whose name however is given as Aminadab by 𝔊 (Esth. 2 15 9 29†, αμ[ε]ιναδαβ [BℵAL*β*], and -δαν [ℵ]).

ABIHU (אֲבִיהוּא, § 44, 'my father is he'; ΑΒΙΟΥΔ [BAL], *i.e. ABIHUD*,[2] ΑΒΙΟΥΡ [A in Ex. 6 23], *ABIU*). See NADAB AND ABIHU.

ABIHUD (אֲבִיהוּד, § 45, 'the (divine) father is glory,' a name probably appearing in contracted form in EHUD [*q.v.* i. and ii.], cp Ammihud. Ishhod, as also אבי הוד [*ăbī hūd*], an almost certain correction of אבי עד [EV 'everlasting father'] in Is. 9 5, which, however; is to be treated as an Arabic *kunya*, 'father of glory' [Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT*]; ΑΒΙΟΥΔ[3] [BAL]; ܐܒܝܗܘܕ; *ABIUD*), a Benjamite (1 Ch. 8 3†).

ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּה, אֲבִיָּהוּ, § 44, 'Yahwè is father'; on names ending in יָה, יָהוּ, see NAMES, § 24; ΑΒ[Ε]ΙΑ [BAL]).

1. Son of Rehoboam by a 'daughter of Absalom' (see MAACAH, 3), and for three years king of Judah (somewhere about 900 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). The writer of the 'epitome' in Kings (see Dr. *Introd.* 178) only tells us (1 K. 15 1-5 7)[4] that he continued his father's war against Israel, and that he 'walked in all the sins of his father;' and, since the first of these notices is very possibly due to an interpolator, we may confine our attention to the second. Why then does the epitomist take this unfavourable view of Abijah? As Stade points out, he must have read in the Annals of the kings of Judah statements respecting this king which, if judged by the standard of his later day, involved impiety, such as that Abijah, unlike his son Asa, tolerated foreign worships. It is surprising to find that the Chronicler (2 Ch. 13) draws a highly edifying portrait of Abijah, whom he represents as delivering an earnest address to Jeroboam's army (for 'there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam') on the sin of rebellion and schism, and as gaining a great victory over the Israelites, because he and his people 'relied on Yahwè the God of their fathers.' This, however, is a late Midrash, and has no historical value. The Chronicler (or his authority) wished to emphasize the value of the true ritual, and did this by introducing an artificial episode into an empty reign. Cp Bennett, *Chron.* 326 *ff.* (Pesh. always ܐܒܝܐ; Jos. αβιας: in 1 K. 14 31 15 1 *ff.*, MT has five times the corrupt reading אֲבִיָּם ABIJAM,[1] αβιου[2] [BA], -ια [L].)

2. A son of Jeroboam I., king of Israel, who died in his father's lifetime.[3] The account of his illness is given in 1 K. 14 1-18 (MT 𝔊[A]), and in another recension in 𝔊[BL] immediately after the narrative of Jeroboam's return from Egypt on the death of Solomon (3 K. 12 24 g *ff.* [Swete], 13 1-13 [L]). If we accept the former version as original, we are bound to bring it down to the age which was under the influence of Dt., for the prophecy in 1 K. 14 7-16 is in tone and phraseology closely akin to similar predictions in 16 1-4, 21 20-24, 2 K. 9 7-10, the Deuteronomistic affinities of which are unmistakable. Nor is it possible to simplify the narrative without violence. The 𝔊[BL] version, on the other hand, can, without arbitrariness, be brought into a simple and very natural form. Jeroboam is not yet king. His wife, not being queen, has no occasion to disguise herself, and Ahijah simply predicts the death of the sick child, without any reference to sins of Jeroboam which required this punishment. The writers who supplemented and expanded the older narrative were men of Judah; the original story, however, is presumably Israelitish. (See Kue. *Einl.* 25; St. *GVI* i. 350 n.; Wi. *ATUnters.* 12 *ff.*) Cp JEROBOAM, I.

3. A Benjamite, 1 Ch. 7 8† (AV ABIAH; αβιουδ [B], -ου [Al).

4. Wife of Hezron, 1 Ch. 2 24† (EV ABIAH).

5. Son of the prophet Samuel, 1 S. 8 2 (AV ABIAH; αβηρα [L]), 1 Ch. 6 28 [13]† (EV ABIAH).

6. The eighth of the twenty-four courses of PRIESTS (*q.v.*)—that to which Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged, 1 Ch. 24 10 (AV ABIJAH); Lk. 1 5† (AV ABIA).

7. Mother of King Hezekiah, 2 Ch 29 1. See ABI.

8. Priest in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6*b*), Neh. 12 4 (αβιας [L], 17 [B om. *vv.*]); perhaps = No. 6.

9. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 7 [8]. T. K. C.—W. E. A.

ABIJAM (אֲבִיָּם), 1 K. 14 *f.*† See ABIJAH, 1.

ABILENE (ΑΒΕΙΛΗΝΗ [BA; W. and H.], ΑΒΙΛ, [ℵ[a]; Ti.]), given in Lk. 3 1 as the tetrarchy of Lysanias, at the time when Christ's ministry began, was a territory round Abila (ΑΒΙΛΑ), a town of some importance in Antilibanus, and known to both Josephus and Ptolemy as Abila of Lysanias ("A. ἡ Λυσανίου), to distinguish it from others of the same name, especially Abila of the DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). The Antonine and Peutinger Itineraries place it 18 R. m. from Damascus on the way to Heliopolis or Baalbek, which agrees with that portion of the gorge of the Abana in which the present village, Sūḳ Wādy Baradā, lies. Not only are there remains of a large temple on the precipitous heights to the E. of this village, with ancient aqueducts and a Roman road,

[1] A mere scribal error, A for Λ; so invariably in the case of Abigail.

[2] Yet BA have αβιου (*i.e.* אביהו) 5 times for Abijam. See ABIJAH, 1 end.

[3] In 𝔊[BAL] this name is regularly substituted for Abihu of MT exc. Ex. 6 23 [A]. See ABIHU.

[4] According to Klo. 1 K. 15 5 *f.* should run thus, 'Because David had done that which was right . . . all the days of his life.' From 'all the days of his life' to 'Abijam (so read in accordance with the correction in *v.* 7) and Jeroboam' is probably a late gloss from the margin. The notice respecting the war between Abijah and Rehoboam seems to he derived from 2 Ch. 13 2, where alone it is in point.

[1] It is defended, however, by Jastrow, *JBL* xiii. 114 ('94).

[2] *i.e.* אֲבִיהוּ, see ABIHU.

[3] Josephus calls this son 'Οβίμης (*Art.* viii. 11).

tombs and other ruins on both sides of the river, but inscriptions have been discovered, one of which records the making of the road by 'a freedman of Lysanias the tetrarch,' and another its repair 'at the expense of the Abilenians.' Moreover, a Moslem legend places on the temple height the tomb of Abel or Nebī Hābīl, doubtless a confused memory of the ancient name of Abila, which probably meant 'meadow' (cp ABEL, ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH). The place was in fact, still called *Ābil es-Sūk* by Arabic geographers (Yākūt, 157; *Marāṣi'*, 1 4). The site is, therefore, certain (cp. Rob. *LBR* 478 *ff.* and Porter, Five *Years in Damascus*, i. 261 *ff.*, where there is a plan of the gorge). On the political relations of Abilene, see LYSANIAS. *G.* A. S.

ABIMAEL (אֲבִימָאֵל, 'God is a father,' cp Sab. name אבמעתתר, 'a father is 'Attar' [עשתר], Hal. *Mél.*; *ZDMG*, xxxvii. 18 ['83], and see JERAHMEEL, 1 n. 1; ΑΒΙΜΕΗΛ [AL]; B om. or wanting), a descendant of JOKTAN (Gen. 10 28; ΑΒΙΜΕΛΕΗΛ [E]; 1 Ch. 1 22†, -ΜΕΕΙΛ [L]). Tribal connection uncertain, but see Glaser, *Skizze*, ii. 426.

ABIMELECH (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ; ΑΒ[Ε]ΙΜΕΛΕΧ [BAL], -ΛΕΚ [B" Judg. 9 28], *i.e.*, most probably, 'Melech (Milk), the divine king, is father.' Abimilki and Aḫimilki occur as names of princes of Arvad in the Annals of Ašurbānipal (*KB* ii. 172 *f.*); the former name, which is evidently Canaanitish, also belongs to the Egyptian governor of Tyre in the Amarna tablets.

1. A Philistine, king of GERAR (see below), Gen. 26 1 7-11 16, who, according to a folk-story in J, took Rebekah to be Isaac's sister, and reproved Isaac for having caused this mistake, and so very nearly brought guilt upon the Philistines. The same tradition is preserved in E (Gen. 20), but without the anachronistic reference to the Philistines. The persons concerned are Ahimelech, king of Gerar, Abraham, and Sarah. The details are here much fuller, and the differences from J's narrative are striking. There is reason, however, to think that the narrative of E in its original form made no mention of Gerar. In this case the principality of Abimelech was described by E simply as being 'between Kadesh and Shur' (omitting the following words). In J's account (Gen. 26) there are traces of a confusion between two Gerars, the more southerly of which (the trne seat of Abimelech's principality) wa3 probably in the N. Arabian land of Muṣri (for particulars on this region see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]). J's account also refers to disputes between the herdsmen of Abimelech and those of Isaac about wells, which were terminated by a covenant between Isaac and Abimelech at Beersheba (Gen. 26 17 19-33). The Elohistic form of this tradition passes lightly over the disputes, and lays the chief stress on the deference shown to Abraham by Abimelech when the oaths of friendship were exchanged. The scene of the treaty is, as in J, Beersheba (Gen. 21 22-32 *a*). On Ps. 34, title, see ACHISH. T. K. C.

2. Son of Jerubbaal (Gideon). His history, as related in Judg. 9, is of very great value for the light which it throws on the relations between the Israelites and the older population of the land in this early period. His mother was a Shechemite, and after his father's death he succeeded, through his mother's kinsmen, in persuading the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem to submit to his rule rather than to that bf the seventy sons of Jerubbaal. With silver from the temple-treasure of BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*) he hired a band of bravos and slaughtered his brothers,—Jotham, the youngest, alone escaping,—and was acclaimed king by the people of Shechem and Beth-millo, at the sacred tree near Shechem. From a safe height on Mt. Gerizim, Jotham cried in the ears of the assembly his fable of the trees who went about to make them a king (see JOTHAM, 1), and predicted that the partners in the crime against Jerubbaal's house would destroy each other, a prophecy which was signally fulfilled. After a short time (three years, *v.* 22), the Shechemites rose against Abimelech. Of the way in which this came about, and of Abimelechs vengeance, the chapter contains two accounts. According to the first of these (*vv.* 23-25, 42-45), an evil spirit from Yahwè sows discord between the Shechemites and Abimelech, who takes the city by a stratagem and totally destroys it. According to the other account (*vv.* 26-41), the insurrection is fomented by a certain Gaal b. Obed (see GAAL, § 1), who shrewdly appeals to the pride of the old Shechemite aristocracy against the Israelite half-breed, Abimelech.[1] Abimelech, apprised of the situation by Zebul, his Lieutenant in the city, marches against it; Gaal, at the head of the Shechemites, goes out to meet him, but is beaten and driven back into the city, from which he, with his partizans, is expelled by Zebul (on this episode, cp GAAL). Abimelech, carrying the war against other places[2] which had taken part in the revolt, destroys Migdal-Shechem (*vv.* 46-49, sequel of *vv.* 42-45). While leading the assault upon Thebez he is mortally hurt by a mill-stone which a woman throws from the wall. To save himself from the disgrace of dying by a woman's hand, he calls on his armour-bearer to despatch him (*vv.* 50-55; cp 1 S. 31 4).

Many recent scholars gather from the story of Abimelech that Israel was already feeling its way towards a stronger and more stable form of government. Jerubbaal, it is said, was really king at Ophrah, as appears from Judg. 9 2;[3] his son Abimelech reigned not only over the Canaanites of Shechem, but over Israelites also (*v.* 55). A short-lived Manassite kingdom thus preceded the Benjamite kingdom of Saul (We., St., Ki.). This theory rests, however, on very insecure foundations. That Jerubhaal's power descended, if Abinielechs representation is true, to his seventy sons (9 2), not to one chosen successor among them, does not prove that he was king, but rather the opposite. Abimelech was king of Shechem, to whose Canaanite people the city-kingdom was a familiar form of government; that he ruled in that name over Israelite towns or clans is not intimated in the narrative, and is by no means a necessary inference from the fact that he had Israelites at his back in his effort to suppress the revolt of the Canaanite cities (9 55). Cp GIDEON. *G.* F. M.

3. 1 Ch. 18 16. A scribe's error for AHIMELECH. See ARIATHAR (end).

ABINADAB (אֲבִינָדָב, 'my father apportions,' see NAMES, §§ 44, 46, or 'the father (*i.e.*, god of the clan) is munificent,' cp Jehonadab; ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝΑΔΑΒ [BℵA], ΑΒΙΝ. [L]).

1. David's second brother, son of Jesse; 1 S. 16 8 17 13, also 1 Ch. 2 13 (αμιν. [L]). See DAVID, § 1 (*a*).

2. Son of Saul, slain upon Mt. Gilboa, according to 1 S. 31 2. The name Abinadab, however, is not given in the list in 1 S. 14 49. There may have been a mistake; Jesse's second son was named Abinadab. So Marq. *Fund.* 25 (ιωναδαβ [B]—*i.e.*, JONADAB [*q.v.* 3]), 1 Ch. 8 33 9 39; also 1 Ch. 10 2 (αμερναδαβ [B b. vid.], αμιν. [L]).

3. Of Kirjath-jearim, in whose house the ark is said to have been kept for twenty years (1 S. 7 1 *f.* 2 S. 6 3 *f.* 1 Ch. 13 7). See ARK, § 5.

4. 1 K. 4 11, see BEN-ABINADAB.

ABINER (אֲבִינֵר), 1 S. 14 50†, AV mg. See ABNER.

[1] Judg. 9 28: 'Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should be subject to him? Were not the son of Jerubbaal, and Zebul his lieutenant, subjects of Hamor (the blue blood of Shechem)? Why should *we* be subject to him?' For other interpretations and emendations of this much-vexed verse, see Moore, *Judges*, 257.

[2] On the statement (Judg. 9 22) that 'Abimelech ruled over Israel three years,' see Moore *Judges*, 253.

[3] Judg. 8 22 *f.* is considered under GIDEON. Cp also Moore, *Judges*, 229 *f.*

ABINOAM (אֲבִינֹעַם, § 45, 'the (divine) father is pleasantness,' cp Ahinoam. Elnaam; αβ[ε]ινεεμ [BAL], ιαβιν. [A in Judg. 4 12]; *ABINOEM*), father of Barak (Judg. 4 6 12 5 1 12†).

ABIRAM (אֲבִירָם, § 44—*i.e.*, 'the Father is the High One,' cp ABI, NAMES WITH, § 2; αβειρων [BA], αβηρ. [L]; ܐܒܙܪܘܢ; *ABZRON*). another form of Abu-ram, which (Abu-rāmu) is a well-attested Babylonian and Assyrian name (it occurs, *e.g.*, in a contract-tablet of the time of Abil-sin, 2324-2300 B.C., and in the Assyrian eponym-canon under B.C. 677).[1] The second element in the name (-ram) is a divine title (cp 'Ρυρας ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, Hesych.), but is also used, in the plur., of all heavenly beings (Job 21 22). Parallel Hebrew names are Ahi-ram, Adoni-ram, Jeho-ram, Malchi-ram (see also ABRAM). Aḥiramu is the name of a petty Babylonian king under Ašur-nāṣir-pal, and Malik-ram-mu that of a king of Edom in the time of Sennacherib (*COT* i. 95, 281).

1. A fellow conspirator of DATHAN (*q.v.*), Nu. 16 (αβαρων [A once], αβιρ. [F twice]); Dt. 11 6 Ps. 106 17 and (AV ARIRON) Ecclus. 45 18, 4 Macc. 2 17† (αβηρων [V^d]).

2. Eldest son of Hiel the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundation of Jericho anew; 1 K. 16 34† (*ABIRAM*; L om. verse), cp Josh. 6 26 𝔊^BAL. See HIEL. T. K. C.

ABIRON (אבירם), Ecclus. 45 18† AV. See ABIRAM, 1.

ABISEI (*ABISSEI* etc.), 4 Esd. 1 2†. See ABISHUA, 2.

ABISHAG (אֲבִישַׁג, § 45, meaning obscure; αβεισα [B], αβισακ [A], -σακ [L]; ܐܒܝܫܓ; *ABISAG*) the Shunammite, David's concubine (1 K. 1 1-4), afterwards sought in marriage (2 13 *ff.*) by ADONIJAH, 1.

ABISHAI (אֲבִישַׁי, § 45, written אַבְשַׁי[2] in 2 S. 10 10 and always [five times] in Ch., where moreover A omits final ı; meaning doubtful, cp JESSE, AMASA, and for Lag.'s view see ABNER; αβεισα [Bא; A once], αβισαι [A], -αει [A three times], αβεσσα [L, also seven times B, and three times A], -βισς. [A, 1 Ch. 2 16], ασαι [A, 2 S. 3 30], αμεσσα [L, 2 S. 20 6]), the brother of Joab, is mentioned immediately after the 'first three' and at the head of 'the thirty' in the list of David's worthies (2 S. 23 18 *f.*; 1 Ch. 11 20 *f.*; reading 'thirty' for 'three' with *SBOT* etc., after Pesh.). He was one of David's close associates during his outlawry, and was his companion in the visit to Saul's camp on the hill of Hachilah (1 S. 26 6). He was faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 16 9), commanded a third part of the army (2 S. 18 2), saved David's life when it was threatened by a Philistine (2 S. 21 16 17), and, according to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 18 12), slew 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt (but see JOAB, 1).

ABISHALOM (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם), 1 K. 15 2 10†. See ABSALOM, 1.

ABISHUA (אֲבִישׁוּעַ, § 44, for view of Lag. see ABNER; 'the (divine) father is opulence'? cp MALCHISHUA, and *Abi-išu'a*, Wi. *GI* 130 n. 3. See also Hom. *AHT* liii. 108 n. zog n. 1, *ZDMG* xlix. 525 ['95]).

1. A son of BELA (*q.v.* ii. 2), 1 Ch. 8 4 (αβεισαμας[3] [B], αβισουε [AL]; ܐܒܝܫܘܥ; *ABISUE*).

2. b. Phinehas, b. Eleazar, b. Aaron (1 Ch. 6 4 *f.* [5 30 *f.*], 50 [35], αβ[ε]ισου [BA], αβιουδ, -ισουα [L]; Ezra 7 5, αβ[ε]ισουε [BAL] = 1 Esd. 8 2, ABISUM [AV], *i.e.*, αβισουμ [243, 248], RV ABISUE (αβεισαι [B], αβισουαι A], αβισουε [L]). Called ABISEI in 4 Esd. 1 2† (*Abissei* ed. Bensly], *Abisaei* [cod. Amb.]).

ABISRUR (אֲבִישׁוּר, § 44. 'the (divine) father is as) a wall'? cp Sab. אבשור, Assyr. *Abudūrū*; αβ[ε]ισουρ [BA], αβιας. [L]; *ABISUR*), b. Shammai the' Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 28 *f.*†). Derenbourg (*REJ*, 1880, p. 58) gives אבשור as a Himyaritic divine title (Hal. 148, 5). But the second part of Abi-shur may be a corruption of שחר; cp AHISHAHAR.

ABISUM, RV **Abisue** (αβισουμ [243 etc.]), 1 Esd. 3 2† = Ezr. 7 5, ABISHUA, 2.

ABITAL (אֲבִיטַל, § 45, 'my father is dew'? cp HAMUTAL; but should not these names be Abiṭub [אֲבִיטֻב], Hamuṭub [cp AHITUB]? A name compounded with טל seems very improbable. ל and ב might be confounded in Palmyrene characters; *ABITAL*); wife of David, mother of Shephatiah; 2 S. 3 4, 1 Ch. 3 3† (αβειταλ, της σαβ. [B]; αβιτ. [A]; -ταλ, -ταμ [L]). In 2 Ch. 3 6 2, 𝔊^B reads Αβειταλ for HAMUTAL, the name of Jehoahaz's mother. T. K. C.

ABITUB (אֲבִיטוּב: perhaps properly, as in versions, ABITOB, 'the (divine) father is good,' see NAMES, § 45; cp Aram. אביטב; αβιτωβ [BAL]; *ABITOB*), b. Shaharaim (1 Ch. 8 11†).

ABIUD (αβιουδ [BA], -ουτ [א*], *i.e.*, Abihud, or Abihu), son of Zerubbabel, and ancestor of Joseph, husband of Mary (Mt. 1 13), see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 *c*.

ABNER (אַבְנֵר, § 44, but in 1 S. 14 50 אֲבִינֵר; αβεννηρ [BAL], -ενη. [A five times], αβαινηρ [A twice]; *ABNER*. Lag. *Uebers.* 75, holds that Abner = נֵר [אֲ]בֶן = 'son of Ner.' This is suggested by the 𝔊 form 'Abenner'; but cp רִבְקָה = 'Ρεβεκκα, בָּצְרָה = Βοσορρα. 'Abner' or 'Abiner' might mean 'my (divine) father is (as) a lamp'). Captain of the host under Saul and under Ishbaal. As a late but well-informed writer states, he was Saul's first cousin (1 S. 14 50, cp 9 1), Ner the father of Abner and Kish the father of Saul being both sons[1] of Abiel. The fortunes of Saul and Abner were as necessarily linked together as those of David and Joab. but tradition has been even less kind to Abner than to his master. Of his warlike exploits we hear nothing, though there was 'sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (1 S. 14 52), and tradition loved to extol the prowess of individual heroes. Even at the battle of Gilboa there is no mention of Abner, though it was a part of his duty, according to David, or at least an early narrator, to guard the sacred person of the king (1 S. 26 15). All that we hear of him in Saul's reign is that he sat next to the king at table (1 S. 20 25), that, according to one tradition, he introduced David to the presence of Saul (1 S. 17 57), and that he accompanied the king in his pursuit of David (1 S. 26 5 *ff.*). It was natural that upon Saul's death he should take up the cause of Ishbaal (DAVID, § 6). It suffices to mention here some personal incidents of that unhappy time. That Abner slew his pursuer Asahel (one of Joab's brothers) was, doubtless, not his fault but his misfortune. But his motive in passing over from Ishbaal to David was a shameful one. Ishbaal may indeed have been wrong in interpreting Abner's conduct to Rizpah, Saul's concubine, as an act of treason (cp 2 S. 16 21 1 K. 2 22); but to give up the cause of the Benjamite kingdom on this account, and transfer his allegiance to David, was

[1] See Hommel, *PSBA* xvi. 212 ['94]; Schr. *COT* ii. 187.

[2] Erman and Maspero connect this name with Ab-sha, the Egyptian form of the name of the Asiatic chief represented on a famous wall-painting at Beni-Ḥasan. But subsidiary evidence is wanting. See JOSEPH, 1, § 10, and cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 36 n. 2. Hommel (*AHT* 53) connects Ab-sha or Ebshu'a with Abishua.

[3] This presupposes אֲבִישָׁמֵשׁ, a name for which there is no parallel in the OT, cp SAMSON, SHIMSHAI.

[1] In 1 S. 14 51 read בְּנֵי for בֶּן with Jos. *Ant.* vi. 6 6, followed by Dr., Bu., Klo. The text of 1 Ch. 8 33 = 9 39 should doubtless run, 'And Ner begat Abner, and Kish begat Saul (see Kau. note in *HS*).

ignoble. The result was not what he had expected—the highest place under a grateful king. He had just left David with the view of procuring a popular assembly for the recognition of David as king of all Israel, when Joab enticed him back, and treacherously assassinated him beside the gate of Hebron (see SIRAH, WELL OF), partly perhaps from jealousy, partly in revenge for the death of Asahel (2 S. 3 30).

Abuer's death was regarded by David as a national calamity. 'Know ye not,' he said, 'that a prince and a great man is fallen this day in Israel?' He ordered a public mourning for Abner, and himself sang an elegy over his grave, a fragment of which is preserved (2 S. 3 31-39); see POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4, iii. (h). The Chronicler gives Abuer a son named JAASIEL (4.71 2).

T. K. C.

ABOMINATION, a word occurring over a hundred times in the OT as a rendering of four[1] somewhat technical expressions (sometimes paraphrased 'abominable thing,' etc.).

1. פִּגּוּל (*piggūl*) occurs four times in exilic and post-exilic writings ,(&. 4 14 [בְּשַׂר פ׳], Lev. 7 18 *μίασμα*; 19 7 *ἄθυτον*; Is. 65 4† [מְרַק פִּגֻּלִים, 'broth,' *λωμὸν . . . μεμολυμμένα*; Kt. פרק פ׳, 'scraps']) as a technical term for sacrificial flesh become stale (*κρέας ἕωλον* or *βέβηλον* in Ez. [BAQ]), which it was unlawful to eat. See SACRIFICE. In the last passage WRS regarded *piggūl* as carrion, or flesh so killed as to retain the blood in it (*RS*(2) 343 n. 3).

2. שֶׁקֶץ (*šeḳeṣ*), also confined to exilic and post-exilic writings[2] (Ez. 8 10 Lev. 7 21 11 10-42 Isa. 66 17†; *βδέλυγμα* [BA]), is a term for what is taboo. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

3. שִׁקּוּץ (*šiḳḳūṣ*, variously rendered *βδέλυγμα*, *εἴδωλον*, etc.), a much commoner word, of the same form as (1), and from the same root as (2), occurring once in the present text of Hos. 9 10, is freely used (over twenty times), chiefly from the Exile onwards, as a contemptuous designation oftenest of images of deities or of foreign deities themselves. See below, ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION and IDOL, § 2 *f*.

4. תּוֹעֵבָה (*tō'ēbāh*; *βδέλυγμα*), a word of uncertain etymology frequently occurring from Dt. onwards (esp. in Ezek.), is by far the commonest of these terms. It designates what gives offence to God (Dt. 12 31) or man (Pr. 29 27), especially the violation of established custom. The former usage is the more common; it applies to such things as rejected cults in general, Dt. 12 31 (see IDOL, § 2 *f*.), child-sacrifice (Jer. 32 35), ancestral worship (Ez. 43 8), images (Dt. 27 15), imperfect sacrificial victims (Dt. 17 1), sexual irregularities (Ezek. 22 11), false weights and measures (Dt. 25 16), etc. The latter usage, however, is not rare (esp. in Prov.). Thus J tells us eating with foreigners (Gen. 43 32), shepherds (46 34), Hebrew sacrifices (Ex. 8 26 [22]), were an abomination to the Egyptians (see EGYPT, §§ 19, 31).

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (ΤΟ ΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΗΜΩΣΕΩΣ), an enigmatical expression in the apocalyptic section (Mt. 24 15-28) of the discourse of Christ respecting His ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ (Mt. 24 15 = Mk. 13 14). The passage containing the phrase runs thus in Mt.—'When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing (*ἑστός*) in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains.' The reference to 'Daniel, however, which is wanting in Mk., is clearly an addition of Mt. (cp Mt. 2 23 4 14, etc.), and Mark's *ἑστηκότα* (masc.), being more peculiar than Matthew's *ἑστός* (neut.), is to be preferred. Both reports agree in inserting the parenthetic appeal to the trained intelligence of the reader, which, being both natural and in accordance with usage in an apocalyptic context, it would be unreasonable to set aside as an 'ecclesiastical note' (Alford). There is an exact parallel to the clause in Rev. 13 18 (cp 17 9), 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,' and a parallel of sense in Rev. 2 7 13 9: 'He that hath an ear (or, if any man have an ear), let him hear,' *i.e.*, let him understand (as Is. 33 19); the best commentary on which is a *terzina* in Dante (*Inf.* 9 61-63), 'O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani,' etc. In fact, the whole section is a *μυστήριον*, not of the class in which Jesus delighted (Mt. 13 11), nor expressed in his highly original style, and is easily separable from its context. It is probably (apart from some editorial changes) the work of a Jewish writer, and was inserted to adapt the discourse, which had been handed down (itself not unaltered) by tradition, to the wants of the next generation.

Some light is thrown upon it by the 'little apocalypse' in 2 Thess. 2 1-12, which evidently presupposes an eschatological tradition (see ANTICHRIST). It is there explained how the *παρουσία* of Christ must be preceded by a great apostasy and by the manifestation of the 'man of sin,' whose *παρουσία* is 'with lying signs and wonders,' and who 'opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the sanctuary (*ναός*) of God, setting himself forth as God,' but whom 'the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth.' The resemblance between the two Apocalypses is strong, and we can hardly avoid identifying the 'abomination of desolation' in Mt. and Mk. with the 'man of sin' in 2 Thess. That the one stands and the other sits in the sanctuary constitutes but a slight difference. In both cases a statue is obviously meant. The claimant of divinity would not, of course, be tied to one place, and it was believed that by spells a portion of the divine life could be communicated to idols, so that the idol of the false god was the false god himself. In both cases, too, there is a striking resemblance to the *θηρία* of Rev. 13, the second of whom, indeed, is said to be represented by an image which can speak, trickery coming to the help of superstition (Rev. 13 15). In fact, the 'abomination' or 'the man of sin' is but a humanised form of the original of these *θηρία*—viz., the apocalyptic dragon, who in his turn is but the Hebraised version of the mythical dragon Tiämat, which was destroyed by the Babylonian light god (see CREATION, § 2). We can now recover the meaning of *τῆς ἐρημώσεως*. The 'abomination' which thrusts itself into the 'holy place' has for its nature 'desolation'—*i.e.*, finds its pleasure in undoing the divine work of a holy Creator.[1]

But why this particular title for the expected opponent of God? It was derived from the first of the great apocalypses. In Dan. 9 27 11 31 12 11, according to the exegetical tradition in 𝔊, mention is made (combining the details of the several passages) of an apostasy, of an 'abomination of desolation' (or 'of desolations') in the sanctuary, of a time of unparalleled tribulation, of resurrection, and of glory. That the original writer meant 'abomination' to be taken in the sense described above, and the appended qualification to be rendered 'desolating' or 'of desolation,' cannot indeed be said. שִׁקּוּץ as used in Daniel means 'image of a false god' (cp 1 K. 11 5; 2 K. 23 13), and the most natural rendering of שֹׁמֵם and (if the text be correct) מְשׁוֹמֵם or מְשֹׁמֵם is 'appal-

[1] It is also used in 1 S. 13 4 for נִבְאַשׁ, the word rendered 'stank' in 2 S. 10 6 (AV).

[2] But in Is. *l.c.* Duhm and Cheyne read שֶׁרֶץ; so also Sam. and some MSS. at Lev. 7 21. In Lev. 11 10 *ff.* we may point שֶׁקֶץ, and in Ez. 8 10 read שִׁקֻּצִים (with 𝔊, *Co.*).

[1] It is no objection that in Lk. 21 20 the *ἐρήμωσις* is referred to the hemming in of Jerusalem by Roman armies; cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 7, where the passages in Dan. are explained of the desolation by the Romans. The true meaning must he decided hy Matthew and Mark, where nothing is said of injuries from invaders. The memory of the experiences of 70 A.D. suggested to Luke a new interpretation of the traditional phrase.

ling.' The phrase appears to be an intentional alteration of בַּעַל שָׁמֵם *(Baal shāmēm)*, 'heaven's lord.' That this was a current title of Zeus may be inferred from the Syriac of 2 Macc. 6 2, where the temple at Jerusalem is called by the emissary of Antiochus 'the temple of *be'el shemīn*' (see Nestle, *ZATW* iv. 248 ['84]; cp his *Marginalien u. Materialien*, 35 *f.*; G. Hoffmann, *Ueb. ein. phön. Inschr.* 1889, p. 29; Bevan, *Daniel*, 193). The author of Daniel (whose meaning is correctly given by *MT*) contemptuously says, 'Call it not "heaven's lord," but "an appalling abomination"'; and the object to which he refers is an image of Olympian Zeus, which, together with a small βωμός, the agents of Antiochus set up on the great altar (θυσιαστήριον) of burnt offerings. The statement in 1 Macc. 1 59 is not destructive of this theory, for altars and idols necessarily went together, and the phrase of the Greek translator of the Hebrew original in *v.* 54[1] (βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως; cp τὸ βδέλυγμα, 6 7) might be used equally well of both or of either.[2] All this, however, had been forgotten when the apocalyptic section in Mt. 24 and Mk. 13 was written.

Another (a highly plausible) interpretation of the little evangelical apocalypse is given by Spitta *(Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 493-497), who thinks that it was written in apprehension of the erection of a statue of Caligula in the temple (see Schür. *Hist.* ii.). This implies that τὸ βδέλ. τῆς ἐρημ. means the statue of a historical king who claimed to be the supreme God, which, considering the nature of the context, is improbable, and is not supported by the use of the Hebrew phrase in Daniel. It is, no doubt, highly probable that apocalyptic writers regarded the mad Caligula as a precursor of the expected embodiment of the principle of 'lawlessness' (ἀνομία, 2 Thess. 2 7); but, without putting some violence on their inherited eschatological phrases, they could not have said that he was ἐρήμωσις or ἀνομία in person. For, after all, a Roman emperor could not be a purely destructive or lawless agent. Spitta's view, however, is preferable to that of Weiss, who, appealing to Lk. 21 20, understands the 'abomination' to be the Roman armies; and to that of Bleek and Alford, who explain it of the desecration of the holy place by the Zelots (Jos. *BJ* iv. 3 6-8). For the criticism and exegesis of the difficult passages, Dan. 9 27 11 31, see the commentary of Bevan and the translation and critical notes in Kau. *HS*; cp also Van Lennep's treatise on the seventy year-weeks of Daniel (Utrecht, 1888), where it is proposed, on amply sufficient grounds, to change the impossible וְעַל כְּנַף (9 27) into וְעַל־כַּנּוֹ, 'and instead thereof.' The greatest problem is how to explain or rather correct שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם; in הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (11 31), for מְשֹׁמֵם we should perhaps read הַשֹּׁמֵם, or delete מ as a gloss from 9 27. There is a similar problem in 8 13. T. K. C.

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1. Name, etc. The name has no meaning in Hebrew, and seems to be another form of ABRAM (*q.v.*), due probably to a misunderstanding of an early orthography.[3] In J and P, however, the latter is represented as the original name, which was changed at a critical point in the patriarch's life into Abraham (Gen. 17 5, P, where the etymology is a mere word-play; on J's narrative, see Fripp, *Gen.* 53). It is only from the time of Ezekiel

1 See Kö. *Einl.* 482.

2 Ges., Bertholdt, Grätz, and others explain the 'abomination' of a statue of Zeus: Hitz., Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Kue., of an altar. The insertion of the didactic story of Nebuchadrezzar's golden image slightly confirms the former view.

3 Hommel maintains that ה in the Minæan (S. Arabian) alphabet represents *a* (ā) or, in some cases, *ī*. The same peculiarity (ה for *ā*) characterises the Moabite, the Hebrew, and the Samaritan script. אברהם, therefore, was originally pronounced Abrām (Hommel, *Das graphische* ה *im Minäischen* 22-24). WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 309 n. 3) finds an Egyptian proper name B-'-rā-ru-ma-u = Baal-ram.

(see Ez. 33 24)[1] that Abraham was reverenced by the Jews as their greatest ancestor; cp Is. 41 8 *f.* 51 12 63 16 Neh. 9 7 *f.* 2 Ch. 20 7 30 6 Ps. 47 9 [10] 105 6 9 42 Ecclus. 44 19 1 Macc. 2 52 12 21 Mt. 1 1 3 9 Lk. 16 24 30 19 9 Jn. 8 39 53 56 Acts 7 2 13 26 Rom. 4 1 12 16 Heb. 6 13 11 17 Jas. 2 21, cp Gal. 3 7-9. But to give time for this general reverence to have arisen, we cannot help supposing that the name and, in some form, the story of Abraham were current in pertain circles considerably earlier. Local traditions respecting him doubtless existed before the glory of the southern kingdom departed, and these traditions form the basis of the composite תּוֹלְדֹת or 'family history' of Abraham (P for a special reason substitutes Terah) contained in Gen. 11 27-25 18. That these traditions are legends, and not historical records of the times which the 'family history' appears to describe, is certain (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE). But that in their present setting they are much more than legends needs to be not less firmly held. They have been purified both by abridgment and by expansion; and, since the fusion of the original and of the added elements is by no means complete, it is not impossible to study the one from the point of view of prehistoric research, and the other from that of the history of religion. Let us, then, briefly consider these two questions: (1) What did the Abraham narratives of Genesis mean to their first editors and readers? and (2) may any of them be regarded as containing a historical element?

1. The first question can be readily answered. Abraham to J and E is not so much a historical personage as an ideal type of character.

2. Story of J and E. This theory alone will account for the 'dreamy, grand, and solemn' impression which this patriarch makes upon us. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators. A school of writers (for J and E are not merely individuals) devoted themselves to elaborating a typical example of that unworldly goodness which was rooted in faith and fervently preached by the prophets. That typical example was Abraham, who might, with a better right than the old Babylonian king, Ḫammurābi, have called himself the prophet of the heaven-god, and indeed is actually recognised by the Pharaoh (Gen. 20 7 E) as a prophet of Elohim. The 'dreaminess' which has been noticed in him is caused by his mental attitude. The Mohammedans appropriately call him 'the first Moslem.' He goes through life listening for the true *tōra*, which is not shut up in formal precepts, but revealed from time to time to the conscience; and this leaning upon God's word is declared to be in Yahwe's sight a proof of genuine righteousness (15 6 J). The *Pirqē Aboth* (*c.* 5; cp *Ber. rabba*, par. 56) reckons ten trials of Abraham's faith, 'in all of which he stood firm'; but this simply marks the intense Jewish reverence for the 'father of the faithful.' The word נִסָּה, '(he) tried,' occurs only once in the narratives (Gen. 22 1), but from the first the faith of Abraham was tried like gold in the fire. He marries a woman who is 'barren' (11 30 18 11 *f.* both J; 15 2 *f.* JE). He leaves his home at the divine bidding to seek an unknown land (12 1 J). As the climax, he is commanded to offer up the child of promise as a sacrifice (22 1-13 E). It is characteristic of the pre-exilic age that this privileged life presents no reverses of fortune (contrast Job). But prosperity does no moral harm to Abraham. He retains a pure and disinterested philanthropy, which would even, if possible, have saved wicked Sodom (18 22*b*-33*a*, a late Yahwistic passage).[2] Once, indeed, he appears as trusting in an arm of flesh, and defeating mighty kings (Gen. 14 1-17);

1 This is the earliest mention of Abraham outside the Hexateuch; for Is. 29 22 Jer. 33 26 Mic. 7 20 belong to passages inserted after the Exile.

2 See We. *CH* (2) 27 *f.*; *Documents of the Hex.* i. 26; Fripp, *Gen.* 48-50.

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but this unique narrative, so flattering to the pride of the later Jews, is evidently a fragment of a post-exilic midrash on the life of Abraham.[1] It even contains a specimen of the mystic reckoning called 'gematria,' the number 318 in **14**14 being suggested by the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer,[2] of which it is the numerical equivalent, just as it is stated in the Haggada that Abraham served God from his third year, because עקב in עקב אשר שמעת (2218) is equivalent to 172 (he was 175 when he offered up Isaac, according to the Midrash Tanchuma), and as the 'number of the beast' in Rev. 13 18 is 666 (or 616).

3. Story of P.

The narratives of P differ, it is true, in some respects from those of J and E. This writer, who is a lover of gradual, orderly progress, even in the history of revelation, represents the migration into Canaan as having been planned, without any express divine command, by Terah (Gen. 11 31), and admits no theophany before that in Abraham's ninety-ninth year (17 1). He introduces, also, some important modifications into the character of the patriarch. The friendly intimacy between Yahwè and Abraham has disappeared; when Yahwè at length manifests himself, Abraham falls upon his face (17 3 17). A legal element, too, finds its way into his righteousness, the rite of circumcision having been undergone, according to P, by Abraham and all the males of his household. Still, it may be said of P as truly as of his predecessors that he regards Abraham as the greatest of men, and exhibits him as the pattern for Israelitish piety. With this object in view, he has no scruple in dealing very freely with the traditional material. Since all things are best at their beginnings, he asserts that the ancestor of Israel was all, and more than all, that his own sober imagination can devise. Later writers attempted to supply his deficiencies. Even in the OT we have a strange reference in Is. 29 22 (post-exilic) to dangers incurred by Abraham, which agrees with the hints dropped in the *Book of* Jubilees (c. 12), and points the way to the well-known legend of the furnace of Nimrod. Not less did the enigmatical war-chronicle in Gen. **14** stimulate later writers. Nicolaus of Damascus, the court historian of Herod the Great, related (Jos. Ant. i. 7 2; cp Justin, **36** 2) that Abraham came with an army out of Chaldæa and reigned in Damascus, after which he settled in Canaan; he adds that there still exists a village called Ἀβράμου οἴκησις (see HOBAH). The only Biblical trace of such a story is in Gen. **15** 2, where, however, 'Damascus' appears to be a gloss (see ELIEZER, 1). It is bold in Ew. (Hist. i. **312**) to assume on such a basis that Damascus was a traditional link in the chain of the Hebrew migration. More probably these stories were invented by the Jews of Damascus (who were a numerous body) to glorify the national ancestor. The Moslems took up the tradition with avidity (see Ew. *l.c.*), and still point to the village of Berza, or Berzat el Halil ('the marriage-tent of Abraham'), one hour N. from Damascus, where the marriage of the patriarch furnishes the occasion of an annual festival (Wetz. *ZDMG* xxii. 105 ['68]).

4. Historical Kernel.

2. What historical element (if any) do these narratives contain? The Abraham traditions are twofold. Some belong exclusively to the great patriarch; others are also attached to one or another of his successors. The latter we can disregard: the foundation of the sanctuaries of Shechem and Bethel has a better traditional connection with Jacob (Gen. **33** 18-20 28 11-22), and that of Beersheba with Isaac (26 24 *f.*), while the story of the imperilled wife has at least as good (or as bad) a claim to be connected with Isaac (26 1-11). There remain—(*a*) the migration from Ḥarrān or from Ūr Kasdim; (*b*) the close affinity between Abraham and Sarah, Abraham and Hagar (and Keturah), Abraham and Lot; (*c*) the abode and burial of Abraham near Hebron;[1] and, underlying all these, (*d*) the existence of an ancestor of the people of Israel bearing the name of Abraham or Abram. Let us first briefly consider (*c*) and (*d*).

i. *Existence of* Abraham **and** connection with Hebron.—The tradition, as it stands, is doubtless inadmissible. So much may be conceded to that destructive criticism which, denying that the old reverence for the story of Abraham has any justification, would throw that story aside as an outworn and useless myth. But the view taken by the patient reconstructive criticism of our day is that, not only religiously, but even, in a qualified sense, historically also, the narratives of Abraham have a claim on our attention. The religious value is for all; the historical or quasi-historical for students only. In the present connection it is enough to say (but see further HISTORICAL LITERATURE) that, since Abraham may be a genuine personal name, it cannot be unreasonable to hold that there is a kernel of tradition in the narratives. Hebrew legend may have told of an ancient hero (in the Greek sense of the word) bearing this name and connected specially with Hebron. This supposed hero (whose real existence is as doubtful as that of other heroes) cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel, for the name Abraham has a different linguistic colouring from the two latter. It was natural, however, that when HEBRON (*q.v.*) became Israelitish the southern hero Abraham should be grouped with the northern hero Jacob-Israel, and that the spirits of both heroes should be regarded as having a special connection with their people, and even as entitled to a kind of national cultus (cp IDOLATRY), which, though discouraged by the highest religious teachers, has left traces of itself both in early and in late books, and is characteristically Semitic.[2] The cultus was no doubt performed at Machpelah, on the possession of which P lays such great stress (*c.* 23); but that the traditional hero was actually buried there cannot be affirmed. Even among the Arabs there is hardly one well-authenticated case of a tribe which possessed a really ancient tradition as to the place where the tribal ancestor was interred.[3]

ii. Relation *of* Abraham *to* Sarah, *Hagar, Lot.*—With regard to (*b*) it should be noted that, though an assertion of relationship may be literally correct, it may also merely mean that two particular tribes or peoples have been politically connected. If, with Robertson Smith, we may regard Sarah as a feminine corresponding to Israel, we may take the marriage between Abraham and Sarah (or rather Sarai) to symbolise the political fusion between a southern Israelitish tribe and non-Israelitish clans to the south of Hebron (see, however, SARAH, i. § 2). The relationship between Abraham and Hagar may also have a political meaning, for the close intercourse, and at times political union, between Egypt[4] and Palestine and parts of Arabia is well attested. The story of the separation between Abraham and Lot[5] may

1 Much confusion has been caused by the uncritical use of cuneiform research (see Che. *Founders*, 237 *ff.*). That the writer of Gen. 14 1-11 had access, directly or indirectly, to Babylonian sources for some of his statements is denied by none. But this does not make him a historian. See Kue. ***Hex.*** **143, 324**; We. *CH*(2) **26**; **E.** Mey. ***GA*** i. 165 *f.* and cp CHEDORLAOMER, MELCHIZEDEK, § 4.

2 So, long ago, Hitzig, following ***Ber. rabba***, par. 43.

1 It is unnecessary to discuss here P's account of the origin of circumcision (see CIRCUMCISION, § 4), or the story of the defeat of the four kings in Gen. 14 (see above, § 2), or the birth and subsequent offering up of Isaac (see ISAAC, §§ 1 *f.*).

2 See 1 S. 28 13 ('I saw Elohim'), Is. **63** 17 Jer. **31** **13**, cp Lk. 16 22 Jn. 8 56, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 352 *f.* For parallel Arabian beliefs, see Goldziher, *Rev. de l'hist.* **des** *rel.* **1884**, p. 336 *f.*, and for the later Jewish belief in the prayers of the fathers, see 2 Macc. 15 13 *f.*, and Talmudic references in Castelli, *Il Messia*, 184 *f.*

3 WRS ***Kin.*** **18.**

4 We assume provisionally that Hagar is correctly regarded, from the point ***of*** view ***of*** the original tradition, as an Egyptian. See, however, HAGAR, and especially MIZRAIM, § 2 ***(b)***, BEER-LAHAI-ROI, § 2.

5 On the details of the story, cp WRS ***Kin.*** **14 *f.***

be but a foreshadowing of the separation between Israel and Moab and Ammon; but, if Lot is to be explained by Lotan (the eponym of an Edomitish clan, Gen. 36 20-29), the asserted relationship between Abraham and Lot accords with the theory of the original non-Israelitish character of Abraham.

iii. *Connection with Ḥarrān* **or** *Ūr*.—As to (a), even if we reject the theory of the migration of a clan called after Abraham from Ḥarrān or Ūr Kasdim, it does not at once follow that the tradition is altogether unhistorical. Not only Abraham, 'but the wives of Isaac and Jacob also, are declared to have come from Ḥarrān. This cannot be a baseless tradition. Critics, it is true, are divided as to its historical value, nor can we discuss the matter here. But there is, at any rate, as Stade admits, nothing ***a priori*** improbable in the view that certain Hebrew clans came from the neighbourhood of Ḥarrān to Palestine. The fluctuation of the tradition between Ḥarrān and Ūr Kasdīm need not detain us (see special articles). Both Ḥarrān and Urn were seats of the worship of the moon-god under different names, and we can well believe that at some unknown period the moon-worship of Ḥarrān affected thé Hebrew clans (cp SARAH, i. § 2, MILCAH, 1). For what critic **of** to-day can venture to assume that it was repugnance to this worship, and in general to idolatry (cp Josh. 24 2 *f.*),[1] that prompted the Hebrew clans to leave their early homes? Surely this asserted religious movement is a specimen of that antedating of religious conditions which is characteristic of the OT narrators, and was copied from them by Mohammed. First, the insight of Isaiah is ascribed to Moses; then, as if this were not wonderful enough, it is transferred to Abraham. But how recent is the evidence for either statement, and how inconsistent is the spiritual theism ascribed to Abraham with sound views of historical development! Instead therefore of speaking of 'that life of faith which historically began with Abraham' (H. S. Holland, *Lux Mundi*, 41), should we not rather say 'that life of faith which, though germinally present from the earliest times, first found clear and undoubted expression in the writings of the prophets and in the recast legends of Abraham'?

Hommel's ambitious attempt to prove the strictly historical character of the Abraham narratives from the Arabian personal names of the dynasty of Ḥammurābi is, critically regarded, a failure. The existence in early Semitic, antiquity of personal names expressing lofty ideas of the divine nature in its relation to man has long been known, though it is only in recent years that such names have been discovered so far back in the stream of history. But hitherto scholars have with good reason abstained from inferring the extreme antiquity of Hebrew narratives in which similar names occurred, because the age of these narratives had necessarily to be first of all determined by the ordinary critical methods, and the existence of such a phrase as 'in the days of Amraphel' (Ḥammurābi?) proves only that the writer may have been acquainted with documents in which events of this period were referred to, not that his own narrative is strictly historical.

For the later Haggadic stories concerning Abraham see Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage*, **1859;** Hamburger, ***RE*** *für Bib. u. Talm.*(2) (*s.v.* 'Abraham'); also Grünbaum, *Neue Beitr. zur sem. Sagenkunde*, **1893,** pp. 89-131 (Jewish and Mohammedan legends); and, especially, a late apocryphal book called The Testament of Abraham (*Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, 1892), which presents perhaps the finest imaginable glorification of the character of the patriarch. All that he needs is to see the retributions of heaven and hell that he may learn (like Jonah) to have pity on sinners (see APOCRYPHA, § 11). For the archaeological aspects of the life of the patriarch see Tomkins, *Studies* ***on the Times*** *of Abraham* ('78; second ed. **'97).** The best critical literature is cited by Ki. *Hist.* i.; add to his list Hal. *REJ* xv. 161 *ff.* **('87)** *Rev. sém.* i. 1 *ff.* **('93)** Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israel*, i. **(1887)**; and reviews of Renan by Reinach, *REJ* xv. 302 *ff.*; and by WRS, *Eng. Hist.* ***Rev.*** iii. 128 *f.* ('88). Renan's statements that the Abraham of Genesis is the type of an Arab sheikh, and that the ancient Hebrews, represented by Abraham, worshipped a 'patriarchal, just, and universal God,' from whom the worship of Yahwè was a falling away, are fantastically erroneous. For Nöld.'s view that Abraham and Sarah are divine names, see bis essay on the patriarchs in *Im neuen* ***Reich*****, 1871,** p. 508 *ff.*, and on the other side Baethg. *Beitr. z. sem. Rel.-gesch.* 154 *ff.* See also EDOM (§ 2; supposed divine character of Abraham) and HOBAH (his connection with Damascus). T. K. C.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM (Lk. 16 22†). See HADES.

ABRAM (אַבְרָם, § **44,** Gen. 11 27-17 5*a* 1 Ch. 1 27 Neh. 9 7†; αβραμ [BADL], but -ραν [A twice in Gen.], -ρααμ [A once in Gen.; B in Ch. and B* vid. ℵL in Neh.; ܐܒܪܡ; *ABRAM*), *i.e.* probably, in the mind of the priestly writer (Gen. 17 3), 'high father' (patriarch), to which the name Sarai, if taken as another form of SARAH [*q.v.*], would be a suitable companion. If, however, the name ABRAM be a genuine traditional one, it will be related to ABIRAM [*q.v.*], as ABNER [*q.v.*] is to ABINER, and be explained similarly (cp ABRAHAM, § 1).

ABRECR (אַבְרֵךְ), Gen. 41 43†, 'Then he made him ride in the chariot next in rank to his own, and they cried before him Abrech. So he set him over all Egypt' (Kau. *HS*). The passage occurs in E's (or E_2's) version of the appointment of Joseph to be grand-vizier, and the strange word Abrech greatly puzzled the ancient interpreters. 𝔊AEL gives *καὶ ἐκήρυξεν . . . κήρυξ*; the Targums אַבָּא לְמַלְכָּא, while Pesh., omitting וְנָתוֹן, paraphrases ܐܒܐ ܘܫܠܝܛܐ [cp 45 8 Pesh.], and Vg. *clamante præcone ut omnes coram* **eo** *genu flecterent.* Jerome himself, however (*Quæst.* ***in*** *Gen.*), remarks, 'Mihi videtur non tam præco sive adgeniculatio . . . intelligenda, quam illud qnod Hebrzei tradunt, dicentes "patrem tenerum," . . . significante Scripturâ quod juxta prudentiam quidem pater omnium fuerit, sed juxta ætatem tenerrimus adolescens et puer.' *So*, in fact, the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. **90)** and the two later Targums (as an appendage to 'father of the king') expressly interpret, and in *Bab. Bathra*, 4*a* we even find this justified by the combination of רך and ***rex.*** In *Jubilees* 40 7 (Charles) the form is Abirer, ***i.e.*** Abirel ('God is a mighty one,' or, being an imaginary form, 'mighty one of God').

The different views of modern scholars can only be glanced at here. Luther is content with *Landesvater*, EV with 'bow the knee.' RV mg. adopts the view that the original word was 'similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to kneel' (so Benfey, Brugsch, Chabas). The Mas. vocalisation, however, is guess-work, and the Hiphil of ברך occurs only once again (Gen. 24 11), and then in the sense of 'to cause (the camels) to kneel down.' If we look at the context, we shall find reason to doubt whether any outward display of reverence at all (prostration would be more natural than kneeling) can be meant by Abrech. An official title is what the context most favours, not, however, such a title as 'chief of the wise men'[1] (ap-rex-u); but rather 'great lord,' or some other equivalent to 'grand-

[1] The words, 'and worshipped other gods,' belong to R. But the sense of the earlier narrators is correctly given (cp. Gen. 31 19 53 35 4). And, of course, Israel's point of religious departure must, considering primitive circumstances, have been in some sense polytheistic (cp Reinach, *REJ* xv. 311 ['87]; Boscawen, *The Migration of Abram*, 20 *f.*).

[1] Harkavy, *JAs.*, mars-avril **1870**, pp. 161-165. Le Page Renouf's explanation (***PSBA*** xi. 5 *ff.* ['88]), 'thy command is our desire' (*ab(-u)-rek*), *i.e.*, 'we are at thy service,' is much less suitable to the context.

vizier.' No such title including the letters b-r-k is quoted from the pure Egyptian vocabulary; but may it not be really a loan-word? This might account for the fact that Abrech is passed over in 𝔊. It is well known that from the fifteenth century onwards there was close intercourse between the Egyptians and the Semitic peoples, and that many technical words were borrowed from the latter. This being the case, it appears reasonable to connect Abrech with the Ass.-Bab. *abarakku* (fem. *abarakkatu*), which is applied to one of the five highest dignitaries in the empire.[1] Schrader, who once opposed this view (*COT* i. 139), now thinks that the Amarna discoveries (1888) have made it much more probable; and Brünnow has expressed the opinion that 'the Assyrian a-ba-rak-ku seem undoubtedly to be the prototype of Abrech'[2] (private letter). In spite of Dillmann's peremptory denial (1892), it has become very difficult to think otherwise. We might, indeed, correct the word out of existence; but Ball's text (*SBOT*) is hardly an improvement except in the substitution of the ויקרא of the Sam. text (cp 𝔊 Pesh.) for ויקראו, which is justified by the context, and had already been made by Geiger (*Urschr.* 463). T. K. C.

ABRONAH, AV **Ebronah** (עַבְרֹנָה), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 34 *f.*†, P; σεβρωνα [B], εβ. [AFL]). See WANDERINGS, §§ 12, 14. On *αβρωνα* [AB] in Judith 2 24, see ARBONAI.

ABSALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, § 45, or—less correctly, as Nöld. thinks—as in 1 K. 15 2 10 אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, ABISHALOM, *ABESSALOM*; probably 'the [divine] father is peace,' cp Yahwè-shalom Judg. 6 24, a title of Yahwè, but not Ps. 120 7; αβεσσαλωμ [BA, and in 2 S. 3 3, and 1 Ch., also L], -εσλ. [A, 2 S. 18 15], -εσα. [L; but in 1 K. 2 28 σολομωντος, where also [illegible], *SALOMONEM*]; [illegible]; αβεσλωμ [A], 2 S. 18 15; Jos. αβεσσαλωμος and αψαλωμος; *ABSALOM*) was David's third son, his mother being Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of GESHUR (*q.v.* 2). Born at Hebron, he grew up at Jerusalem, the idol of his father, and popular from his manly beauty and his winning manners. His tragic history is faithfully recorded by an ancient and well-informed writer in 2 S. 13-18.

We first hear of him in connection with the outrage on his sister Tamar by her half-brother Amnon, whom David, out of weak-minded affection for his first-born (2 S. 13 21, 𝔊BAL), omitted to chastise. Absalom soothed his sister, and silently bode his time. Then, after two years, he lured Amnon with the other princes to a feast of sheep-shearing on Absalom's estate at Baal-hazor (see HAZOR, 2), and at a concerted sign his servants slew Amnon during the banquet. The next three years Absalom passed in exile in Geshur (*q.v.* 2), till Joab, knowing that the king pined for the fugitive, contrived by the help of a 'wise woman' from Tekoa to bring him back. The form of the parable (2 S. 14 5-7) may belong to the 'wise woman,' but the ideas which it suggested came from Joab. Why was the king so willing to mitigate the custom of blood-vengeance for a stranger, and so hard towards his own son? We die, and are like water spilt on the ground; but God spares the life of him whose thoughts are bent on the restoration of the banished (2 S. 14 14 with Ewald's emendation). The king gave way to this gentle pressure, and allowed his son to come back to Jerusalem, but refused to see him for two whole years. Nor would Joab take any further step, till the impetuous prince set his barley field on fire, and, when Joab came in person to complain, declared that death was better than continued disgrace. He had his way. The king kissed him and restored him to full favour.

Four years followed (2 S. 15 7, L. Pesh. and Jos.; MT 𝔊BA Vg. have 'forty') during which Absalom prepared men's minds for coming events. He let his hair grow enormously long (2 S. 14 26), in token, as Robertson Smith thinks (*RS*(2) 484), of the sacredness of his person, though the ordinary view that it was merely a proof of vanity possesses the recommendation of simplicity. He rode in a chariot with horses (then scarcely known in Israel) and was accompanied by a guard of fifty men. He made every suitor's cause his own, and lamented aloud that his power did not match his desire to help (2 S. 15 1-6). At last he fired the train which had been so long and so carefully laid. On pretence of a sacrificial feast, he withdrew to Hebron, accompanied by 200 men, doubtless needy dependents, who followed him in ignorance of his plan. Here, at the old capital of Judah, amidst a people who were still unreconciled to their absorption in a larger state, he raised the standard of revolt. Ahithophel, a man of southern Judah, he made his principal counsellor; Amasa, Absalom's cousin, also from Judah, took command of the troops (cp GESHUR, 2). But an appeal was also made to the centrifugal forces always at work in the N. tribes, for, as he set out for Hebron, the rebel prince sent men through the land of Israel. At the sound of the trumpet these were to proclaim the accomplished fact, 'Absalom has been made king in Hebron.'

David, once the darling of the nation, was compelled to fly from the capital. Absalom as quickly entered it, and gave that public sign of his accession to the throne which the crafty Ahithophel recommended. The number of his counsellors was now increased by the addition of Hushai, 'David's friend' (on the epithet see HUSHAI), whose flattery he failed to see through. In reality Hushai only pretended to join the rebels. His object was twofold—to frustrate the counsel of Ahithophel, and to betray Absalom's plans to the priests, Zadok and Abiathar. These trusty friends of David were to communicate with a maid, and she was to impart her knowledge to two sons of the priests, who waited to bear it to the king. This counterplot attained its end. Ahithophel, who knew how deceptive was the popular enthusiasm, wished Absalom to 'strike David before there was time for second thoughts' (WRS). But Hushai persuaded the pretender to wait, and so David, who was informed of all that happened at Jerusalem, safely crossed the Jordan and established himself at Mahanaim, once Ishbaal's capital.

Thence, in three divisions, David's army sallied forth, and in the neighbouring forest (see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF) the rebel troops were routed. In the flight Absalom's head (hair?; Heb. ראש, cp 2 S. 14 26) was caught in the branches of a terebinth tree, and his mule left him hanging between heaven and earth. 'Not for a thousand shekels' would the soldier who saw him hanging have taken his life. How could he venture to disregard the king's charge to watch over the young man Absalom? If he had treacherously attempted Absalom's life, would not the king have found it out, and would not Joab himself have stood aloof? But Joab, who felt his courage called in question (2 S. 18 14, 𝔊BAL; see Bu. *SBOT*), with an emphatic denial of the statement, plunged three javelins into Absalom's body. The corpse of the ill-fated prince was flung into a pit, and the soldiers cast stones upon it, that the restless spirit might trouble them no more.[1] Meantime the old king was waiting at the gate of Mahanaim. The pathetic story of his broken-hearted grief at hearing the news of his dearly loved son's death is enshrined in all memories.

Such was the close of the sad tragedy which opened with the barbarous outrage upon Tamar. Just eleven years had passed since that event, so that if Absalom

[1] Friedr. Del., *Heb. in the light of Assyrian Research* (1883), p. 25 *f.*; cp *Par.* 225; *Ass. HWB* 12. This brilliant suggestion was temporarily adopted by the present writer (*Acad.* 12th Apr. 1884), who has, since the Amarna discoveries, returned to it.

[2] So also Sayce (*Acad.* 7th May 1892; *Crit. Mon.* 214 *f.*), but with an interpretation which needs fuller evidence.

[1] See Tylor's *Prim. Cult.* ii. 29.

was about twenty when he took up his sister's cause, he must have died a little over thirty. Apparently his three sons died before him (2 S 14 27 18 18). On his 'daughter,' see TAMAR, 3, and MAACAH, 3, *4*. The notice respecting Absalom's monument in 2 S 18 18 is not very clear, perhaps owing to some confusion in the text of *vv.* 17-19 (*so* Klo.). It is evidently parenthetical, and reminds the reader that Absalom had a suitable monument (erected, according to Klo.'s reading, by David) in the King's Vale (see SHAVEH, i., MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). The building close to Jerusalem, now known as Absalom's tomb, is of very late origin, as its Ionic pillars prove. W. E. A.

2. Father of Mattathias (1 Macc. 11 70; Ἀψάλωμος [AV], ψαλμωδός [ℵ]). Zöckler proposes to read 'Jonathan' for 'Mattathias' here; or else to read Mattathias in 1 Macc. 13 11 also.

3. Father of Jonathan (1 Macc. 13 11 : Ἀψάλωμος [AVℵ]), probably the same as (2).

4. An ambassador to Lysias; 2 Macc. 11 17 (Αβεσσαλωμ [A], μεσσαλα [1] A [*sic* V]). Possibly also to be identified with (2).

ABUBUS (ΑΒΟΥΒΟΣ [AℵV]; ܡܚܒܒ, cp HUBBAH, 1 Ch. 7 34 Kr.; *ABOBUS*), father of Ptolemy, captain of the plain of Jericho, and son-in-law to Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 16 11 15†).

ABYSS, THE (Η ΑΒΥΣΣΟΣ), the term substituted in RV of NT for the 'deep' and the 'bottomless pit' of AV; see Lk. 8 31; Rom. 10 7; Rev. 9 1 *f.* 11 11 7 17 8 20 1 3†. In the second of these passages, by an inexact use of the term, 'the abyss' is equivalent to Sheol; 'over the sea' in Dt. 30 13 is taken to mean 'over the world-encircling ocean into which the "rivers" of the underworld (Ps. 18 4 [5], נחלי בליעל) discharge themselves to "the place where all flesh wanders" (*i.e.*, Sheol; *Enoch* 17 6).' Elsewhere it means the deeply-placed abode of the 'dragon' or devil, of the 'beast' his helper, and of the δαιμόνια,—whether this abode be taken to be the 'deep (*tĕhōm*) that coucheth beneath' (Gen. 49 25 RV), or the 'waste place' with 'no firmament above and no foundation of earth beneath,' by which the fire-filled chasm was thought to be bordered (*Enoch* 18 12; cp 21 27). The former view is in accordance with OT usage, the *tĕhōm* of MT and the ἄβυσσος of 𝔊 being the flood or ocean which once enfolded the earth, but is now shut up in subterranean store-chambers (Ps. 33 7); and it is favoured by the use of θάλασσα in Rev. 13 1 as synonymous with ἄβυσσος. But the latter is more probably right in the Apocalypse, which agrees with *Enoch* in asserting the existence of a lake of fire, destined for the final punishment of the devil and his helpers. This fiery lake is not in either book technically called 'the abyss'; in *Enoch* 10 13 the Greek has τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, and in 21 7 διακοπὴν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ἕως τῆς ἀβύσσου. The angelic overseer of this region is Uriel, who is described in *Enoch* 20 2 (Gizeh Gk.) as ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου. 'Tartarus' occurs also in Job 41 23, 𝔊, in the phrase τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου [BℵA], which, being used in connection with Leviathan, is doubtless to be taken of the subterranean abode of Yahwè's enemy, the dragon (see DRAGON, § 4 *f.*). Cp ταρταρώσας, used of the fallen angels, 2 Pet. 2 4. T. K. C.

ACACIA (שִׁטָּה), Ex. 25 5 etc., RV. See SHITTAH TREE.

ACATAN (ΑΚΑΤΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 38† AV=Ezr. 8 12, HAKKATAN.

ACCABA (ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 30 RV=Ezra 2 46, HAGAB.

ACCAD (אַכַּד; ΑΡΧΑΔ [AL], ΑΧ. [DE]; ܐܟܕ; *ACHAD*) is one of the four cities mentioned in Gen. 10 10 as forming the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod in the land of Shinar or Babylonia. In the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Akkad is most frequently met with in the title *lugal Kingi(ki) Uri(ki)*, which is rendered in Semitic by *šar (mātu) Šumēri u (mātu) Akkadī*. This title, which implied dominion over the whole of Babylonia, was borne from the earliest times by the Babylonian kings, and was adopted by those kings of Assyria who conquered Babylon (cp BABYLONIA, § 1). The Akkad referred to in Gen. 10 10 has been identified by some with the ancient city of *Agadè* which was situated in northern Babylonia and attained a position of supremacy over the rest of the country under Sargon I. about 3800 B.C. This identification, however, is entirely hypothetical, and is based only on the superficial resemblance of the names. L. W. K.

ACCARON (ΑΚΚΑΡΩΝ [A*]), 1 Macc. 10 89† AV=RV EKRON (*q.v.*).

ACCHO, RV **Acco** (עַכּוֹ), Judg. 1 31 and (see UMMAH) Josh. 19 30†; see PTOLEMAIS.

ACCOS (ΑΚΧΩΣ [A], ΑΚΚΩΣ [ℵ], ΙΑΚΚ. [V]; same as HAKKOZ [*q.v.*]), grandfather of Eupolemus; 1 Macc. 8 17†.

ACCOZ (ΑΚΒΩΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38† AV=Ezra 2 61 RV, HAKKOZ, 1.

ACCUSER (ΚΑΤΗΓΩΡ [Ti., W & H following A], ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ [Bℵ, etc.]. The form of word found in the best texts is simply a Hebraised form [קָטֵיגוֹר] of the common word ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ. For Rabbinic usage see *e.g.* Buxt. *Lex.*), Rev. 12 10†. See SATAN, §§ 6 (3) 7.

ACELDAMA AV; RV **Akeldama** (ΑΧΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ [1] [Tisch. A, etc.], *ACHELDEMACH* [96 lat.], ΑΚΕ. [B followed by W & H], -ΔΑΙΜ. [D], *ACELDEMACH* [d]), the name according to Acts 1 19 of a field bought by Judas Iscariot for some unknown purpose. The vet. Lat. of Mt. 27 8 applies the name (not, as in the Gk. MSS., merely in translation, but in the original) also to a field bought by the priests of Jerusalem to bury strangers in.

1. The name. MS. evidence is so overwhelmingly in favour of some such form as Akeldamach that the RV is quite unjustified in rejecting it, especially when it corrects the c into *k*. Acts 1 19 states that in the language of the dwellers at Jerusalem this name meant 'the field of blood' (χωρίον αἵματος). חקל דמך (*ḥăkēl dĕmākh*), however, is obviously 'the field of *thy* blood,' an impossible expression. Klostermann has therefore argued with great acuteness (*Probleme im Aposteltexte*, 1-8 ['83]) that דמך (DMKh) is one word—viz., the well-known Aram. root 'to sleep.' All we have to do, then, is to understand it of the sleep of death, a usage known in Syr., and 'field of sleep' will mean cemetery, which, as Mt. tells us, was what the priests meant to make of the potter's field. Klostermann's argument is very strong—it is certainly natural to suppose that the name originated in some fact known to the people at large, as the transformation of a potter's field into a burying place would be—and his view was adopted by Wendt (Meyer[7] *ad loc.*). But we have no instance of a noun דמך so used, and *ch*, χ, may = א (cp ιωσηχ [Lk. 3 26, BK, etc.] = יוסי; Σειραχ, Sirach = סירא, Sira). Hence, whatever may have been the real origin of the name—we can never know—its form was probably חֲקֵל דְּמָא (Dalm. *Gram.* 161 and 105 n. 1 respectively), 'the field of blood' (so Dalm. 161 n. 6; Arn. Mey. *Jesu Muttersprache*, 49 n. 1). On the questions who bought the field and why it was called Aceldama see also *ACTS*, § 14. Cp JUDAS, 9.

2. Traditional site. Tradition which goes as far back as to the fourth century has placed Aceldama on a level overhanging the Valley of the Son of Hinnom on the NE. slope of the Hill of Evil Counsel,—a tradition which rests precariously on Jer. 18 *f.*, where the situation of the potter's house in Jeremiah's day is thought to be indicated. Potter's

1 If a Hebrew original could have been supposed for 2 Macc. μεσσαλα might have represented a transliteration of part of a participle of שלח (οἱ πεμφθέντες follows).

1 On this form see Dalm. (*Gram.* 304 n. 2), Kau. (*Gram.* 8).

material is still dug out in the neighbourhood. The traditional Aceldama was used to bury Christian pilgrims in at least from 570 *(Anton. Plac. Itin.* **26)**: especially during the Crusades, but, according to Maundrell, who says it was then called Campo Santo, even as late as **1697.** A charnel house into which the bodies were let down from above has stood here from very early times. The best history and description of the site (with plans) is that by Schick, *PEFQ,* 1892, pp. **283** *ff.*

G. A. S.—H. W. H.

ACHAIA (αχαια [Ti.WH]). It is a fact of some interest that both at the beginning and at the end of their history the word 'Achæan' was used as the general designation of the inhabitants of Greece proper. During the classical period Achaia denoted only the narrow strip of coastland and the adjoining mountain stretching along the S. shore of the Corinthian gulf from the river Sythas (mod. Trikalitikos) 20 m. west of Corinth, to the river Larisus near Cape Araxus (mod. Kalogria). In the time of Paul, Achaia signified the Roman province—*i.e.*, the whole country south of Macedonia and Illyricum, including some of the adjacent islands. The name Achaia was given to it in consequence of the part played by the Achæan League in the last spasmodic effort which occasioned the sack of Corinth and the downfall of Greek independence, **146** B.C. (Paus. vii. 16 10). Whether the formation of the province dates from that year, or not, is of no consequence to the student of the Bible. It was in 27 B.C. that Augustus definitely settled the boundaries of Achaia, assigning to it Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, and part of Epirus (Strabo, p. **840).** The Achaia of Paul is, therefore, practically synonymous with the modern kingdom of Greece, but a little more extensive towards the north-west. The combination 'Macedonia and Achaia' embraces the whole of European Greece, as in Acts 19 21, *διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν* (see also Rom. **15** 26 1 Thess. 1 7 *f.*). From 27 B.C. Achaia naturally ranked as a senatorid province-i.*e.*, its governor was an ex-prætor, with the title proconsul (Strabo, *l.c.*). In 15 A.D., however, owing to their financial embarrassments, both Achaia and Macedonia were taken charge of by Tiberius; and it was not until **44** A.D. that Claudius restored them to the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76; Suet. *Claud.* 25). The writer of Acts 18 12 is thus quite correct in speaking of Gallio in **53** or **54** A.D. as *ἀνθύπατος*—*i.e.*, proconsul. The fiasco of Nero's proclamation made all Greece free, but this state of things lasted only a short time. With this exception, a proconsular governor was stationed in Corinth, the capital of Achaia, until the time of Justinian.

In the NT we hear of only three towns of Achaia—ATHENS, CORINTH, and CENCHREA;—but the Salutations of the two Corinthian Epistles (esp. 2 Cor. 1 1 *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ*) imply other Christian communities in the province. In 1 Cor. 16 15 the 'house of Stephanas' is called the 'first-fruits of Achaia' (*ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας*). In this place, for 'Achaia' we should expect 'Corinth'; for, according to Acts 17 34, Dionysius the Areopagite and other Athenians must have been the first-fruits of teaching in the province of Achaia. In Rom. 16 5, where, according to the Text. Rec., Epaenetus is spoken of as the *ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας*, the best texts read *Ἀσίας* [Ti. W & H, following BAℵ, etc.]. The charity of Achæan converts is praised in 2 Cor. 9 2 Rom. **15** 26; but the reference may be merely to the church at Corinth (cp 2 Cor. 8 10).

W. J. W.

ACHAICUS (αχαϊκος [Ti.WH]), a member of the Corinthian church, who, along with Stephanas and Fortunatus, had carried to Paul at Ephesus news of the Corinthians which had gladdened and refreshed him (1 Cor. 16 17 *f.*). He is enumerated as one of the Seventy (Lk. 10 1) in *Chron. Pasc.* (Bonn ed. i. **402).**

ACHAN (עָכָן, Josh. 7), called **Achar** (עָכָר—*i.e.*, 'troubled'—, cp OCRAN, עָכְרָן) in 1 Ch. 2 7 and (*ACHAR* [ed. Bensly]) in **4** Esd. **737** [107] RV. 𝔊's readings are αχαρ [BF and (except Josh. 7 1, αχαν) L], αχαν [A; but αχαρ in Josh. 7 24 1 Ch. 2 7]); the son of Carmi b. Zabdib. Zerah b. Judah, who unlawfully took possession of some of the 'devoted' spoil of Jericho (see BAN). His breach of a taboo had involved the whole host in guilt (*RS*(2) **162),** and the community had to free itself of responsibility by destroying not only Achan but also his whole family (Josh. 7). This is quite in accordance with primitive notions (*RS*(2) 421), although our present text is due to later insertions in *v.* **24** *f.* With the variety in the form of the name is to be connected the word-play in Josh. 7 25. Cp CARMI, 1.

ACHAZ (αχαζ [Ti], αχας [WH], Mt. 1 9), RV AHAZ (*q.v.* 1).

ACHBOR (עַכְבּוֹר, § **68**, *i.e.*, MOUSE [*q.v.*]; cp Ph. עכבר, עכברא, עכברם; αχοβωρ [BAL]).

1. Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom (Gen. 36 38, *χοβωρ* [A*D]; 39; 1 Ch. 1 49, עַכְבֹּר [Bä. Ginsb.], *αχωβωρ* [B], *χ.* [L]); also *v.* 50 in 𝔊BA. See EDOM, § *4.*

2. b. Micah; a courtier of King Josiah (2 K. 22 12 14; Jer. 26 22, MT and Theod. in Q mg. [BAR om.]; Jer. 36 12, *ακχοβωρ* [Bℵ?], *-βη* [ℵ*], *ακοβωρ* [Q]); in 2 Ch. 34 20 named ABDON [*q.v.*, 4] (*αβδοδομ* [B], *αβδων* [AL]).

ACRIACHARUS (αχιαχαρος [BA]; see further below).

1. The prosperous nephew of Tobit (see TOBIT). He was cup-bearer, signet-keeper, steward, and overseer of accounts to Esarhaddon at Nineveh (Tob. 1 21 *f.*).

In 1880 George Hoffmann pointed out[1] the identity of the Achiacharus of Tob. 1 21 *f.* 11 18 14 10† with Aḥīḳār (on the name see below), a legendary sage and vezir of Sennacherib, who is the hero of a romance found in certain Syriac and Arabic MSS. According to this romance, he almost lost his life through the base treachery of his sister's sou (cp Pesh. in Tob. 11 18), Nadan (= Aman of Tob. 14 10—cp [*ἐποίησεν*] *αδαμ* [B], *ναδαβ* *(K)*; see AMAN—and probably = Nabal [or Laban or other form] of Tob. 11 18; see NASBAS), whom he had adopted. Restored to favour, he gave sundry proofs of his marvellous wisdom, especially in connection with a mission to a foreign king. Assemanni had already observed (*Bib. Or.* 3, pt. 1 286 *a)* that in the Arabic story 'de Hicaro eadem fere narrantur quae de Æsopo Phryge'; chaps. *23-32* of the legendary *Life of Æsop* (Maximus Planudes) in fact tell of Æsop and his kinsman Ennos a quite similar story. There can be little doubt that the story is oriental in origin; but it has been argued by Meissner (see below) that the Æsop romance has preserved in some respects a more original form. The Greek recension, however, that must be assumed as the basis of certain Roumanian and Slavonic versions still surviving, was probably an independent version now lost, made from the Syriac. Allusions to an eastern sage *αχαϊκαρος* are found elsewhere (*e.g.*, Strabo, p. **762);** and traces of his story seem to have made their way into the Talmud (*ZDMG* **48** 194 *f.* ['94]). The mutual relations of these various recensions are still obscure; but there seems little reason to question that the allusions in Tobit are to an already well-known story. M. R. James *(Guardian,* Feb. *2,* **1898,** pp. 163 *f.*) suggests parallels to the same story in the NT.

Of the allusions, that in 11 18 is wanting in the It.; those in 11 18 and **14** 10 are absent from the 'Cbaldee' and Heb. texts; while the Vg. omits all save that in 11 18 (*Achior*)—perhaps the allusions were felt to have little to do with the story of Tobit.

Greek variants of the name are *αχειχαρος* [ℵ in c. 1, *-ειαχ.* once in ℵc.a], *αχε[ι]κ.* [ℵ in *14* 10], *αχεικαρ* [ℵ* in **11** *18*, *αχειαχαρος* ℵc.a], cp It. *Achicarus,* and in **14** 10 *Achicar.* The equivalent Hebrew **would** be אחיקר, and Meissner has pointed out that Pesh. has ܐܚܝܩܪ for יְקָר in 1 Ch. 6 5. The name remains obscure however. Pesh. has ܐܚܝܩܪ; 'Chald.' H2, אקיקר; H1 אחי אהרון; **Vg.** *Achior,* and Pesh. in 1 21 *f.* ܐܚܝܩܪ.

1 'Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischen Märtyrer,' in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes,* 7, no. 3, p. 182.

In the romance the forms are حيقار ; سحاؤ [cod. Sach.]; سحو [cod. in Brit. Mus.].

Published texts—(1) Semitic: Arabic, A. Ṣalḥani, *Contes arabes*, 2-20 (Beyrouth, 1890); Ar. and Neo-Syr., M. Lidzbarski, from cod. Sachau 339, in *Ergänzungshefte zur ZA* Hefte 4-5, 1 Teil, with Germ. transl.; English transl. of Syriac (compared with Ar. and Neo.-Syr.), E. J. Dillon, *Contemp. Rev.* March '98, p. 369-386; cp also versions of the Arabian Nights—*e.g.*, Sir R. F. Burton, *Alf Laylah wa Laylah*, supplemental volumes, 6 3-38. Æthiopic (precepts), C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch der weisen Philosophen*, 19-21, 40-44. (2) Slavonic: Germ. transl. V. Jagić, *Byzant. Zeitsch.* 1 111-126. (3) Armenian, printed at Constantinople, in 1708, 1731, and 1862.[1] (4) *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, Camb. 1898 (Gk. text; Armen., Syr. and Arab. texts and transl.; Slav. and Eth. transl.) appeared as these sheets were being passed for press.

Discussions: Bruno Meissner, *ZDMG* 48 171-197 ['94]; Jagić (*op. cit.* 107-111); Ernst Kuhn (*ib.* 127-130); Lidzbarski (*l.c.* 3 *f.*); Bickell, *Athenæum*, 22nd Nov. 1890, p. 700, and 24th Jan. 1891, p. 123; cp also 20th Nov. 1897, p. 711, and 27th Nov., p. 750; J. R. Harris in *Story of Aḥiḳar* (see above), pp. vii.-lxxxviii.

2. 'King of Media' (Tob. 14 15 [א*]; It. *Achicar*) = NEBUCHADNEZZAR (*ib.* [B]) = AHASUERUS (*ib.* [A]). See TOBIT, BOOK OF.

ACHIAS (*ACHIAS*), 4 Esd. 1 2†. See AHIJAH, 1.

ACHIM (αχειμ [Bא*], -ν, αχιν, -ην [A etc.], αχιμ [א^b etc.], cp αχειμ = אחיאם, AHIAM, 1 Ch. 11 35 [BHA], and = יָכִין, JACHIN, Gen. 46 10 [A*vid.], 1 Ch. 24 17 [16] [B]), a name in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt. 1 14). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 *c*.

ACHIOR (αχ[ε]ιωρ [BHA], § 44), in the romance of JUDITH (*q.v.*), 'captain of all the sons of Ammon.' Having dared to warn Holofernes of the danger of attacking the Israelites, he was handed over to them to share their fate on the expected triumph of the Assyrian arms (6 5 *ff.*). He was hospitably received, and ultimately became a Jewish proselyte—no doubt to the great edification of Jewish readers of the story.

In some versions of Tobit his name takes the place of that of ACHIACHARUS (*q.v.*)—an error due to the similarity of *k* and *w* in Syriac.

ACHIPHA (αχειβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† RV = Ezra 2 51, HAKUPHA.

ACHISH (אָכִישׁ, αγχους [BA], ακχ. [L]), a Philistine, son of Maoch (1 S. 27 2) or Maachah (1 K. 2 39 *f.*; αγχις [A]); a king of Gath, with whom David and his band took refuge from the persecution of Saul (see DAVID, § 5). He is described as a credulous man whom David found it easy to deceive, representing that his raids against Bedouin tribes were really directed against the Judahites and their allies, and taking care not to leave any of his captives alive to reveal the truth to Achish. At Ziklag, which had been assigned to him as his place of residence, David lived as a freebooter in vassalage to Achish for a year and four months (𝔊 only four months). The confidence, however, with which his suzerain regarded him was not shared by the Philistine lords, who prevailed upon Achish to dismiss David from his army when starting to meet Saul at Gilboa. See 1 S. 27 1-28 2 29 1-11, a connected passage of date prior to 800 (*SBOT*). In another passage (1 K. 2 39 *f.*), where the execution of Shimei [1] is accounted for by his having gone to Gath in search of some runaway slaves, it is said that the fugitives went to Achish. No doubt the same king is meant (son of Maacah, *v.* 39), though the reference to Achish has the appearance of being a later ornamental insertion made in oblivion of chronology.

To a very much later writer (see 1 S. 21 10-15 [11-16]) the account in 1 S. 27-29 seemed to reflect on David's patriotism. He therefore devised an entertaining and unobjectionable story, in the style of the Midrash, which he hoped would supplant the no longer intelligible historical tradition. According to him, David went alone, and was compelled to feign madness for safety till he could escape. The author of the title of Ps. 34 accepted this story, but by mistake (thinking of Gen. 20 2) wrote 'Abimelech' for 'Achish' (αβ[ε]ιμελεχ [BאAR], αχειμ. [U], *Achimelech*; Pesh. quite different).

T. K. C.

ACHITOB (αχειτωβ [B]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = 4 Esd. 1 1† AV = Ezra 7 2, AHITUB, 2.

ACHMETHA (אַחְמְתָא), Ezra 6 2†, the capital of Media; see ECBATANA.

ACHOR (עָכוֹר; αχωρ [BAL]), a valley on the N. boundary of Judah (Josh. 15 7), which, as we may infer from Josh. 7 (Εμεκαχωρ [BAL]) combined with Hos. 2 15 [17], led up from Jericho into the highlands of Judah. In Is. 65 10 it represents the E. portion of Canaan on this side the Jordan, To an Israelite its name naturally suggested gloomy thoughts. Hosea promises that in the future, when Israel has repented, the evil omen shall be nullified, and a much later prophetic writer (Is. *l.c.*) that the valley of Achor shall become *a* resting-place of flocks. Early legend connected the name with the sin of Achan the 'troubler' of Israel (Josh. 7 24-26†, *JE*). Many (*e.g.* Grove, very positively, in Smiths *DB*) have identified the valley with the Wādy el-Kelt, which leads down through a stupendous chasm in the mountains to the plain of the Jordan, and is, to unromantic observers, dark and dismal. This wādy, however, is scarcely lifeless enough to he Achor, for its slender torrent-stream rarely dries up. It is also scarcely broad enough; it would never have occurred to the most ecstatic seer that flocks could lie down in the Wādy el-Kelt. Some other valley must be intended. According to the *OS* (217 25 89 34) the valley was to the N. of Jericho, and its old name still clung *to* it. This cannot be reconciled with the statement in Josh. *l.c.* respecting the N. boundary of Judah.

ACHSAH (עַכְסָה, § 71, 'anklet'; ασχα [B], αχσα [AL]), according to Josh. 15 16-19, and (αζα [B], ασχα [B^ab mg.A]) Judg. 1 12-15 (cp 1 Ch. 2 49; AV **Achsa**, οξα [L]), a daughter of Caleb, who offered her in marriage to the conqueror of Kirjath-sepher. She was won by his younger brother Othniel. At her petition, because her home was to be in the dry southland (Negeb), Caleb bestowed upon her certain coveted waters called the Upper and the Lower Golath (see below). The simple grace of the narrative holds us spell-hound; but we must not, with Kittel (*Hist.* 1 299), pronounce the story historical on this account. That some clans should have been named after individuals is not inconceivable; but it is most improbable that we have any true traditions respecting the fortunes of such possible individuals, and it would be throwing away the lessons of experience to admit the lifelikeness of a narrative as an argument for its historicity. According to analogy, Achsah must represent a Kenizzite clan, allied in the first instance to the Calebites of Hebron, but also, very closely, to the clan settled at Debir and called Othniel; and the story arose in order to justify the claim of the Achsah clan to the possession of certain springs which lay much nearer to Hebron than to Debir (so Prof. G. F. Moore, on Judg. 1). That the cause is amply sufficient, can hardly be denied (cp the Beersheba and Rehoboth stories in Genesis). It only remains to discover the right springs. We know where to look, having identified Debir with the highest degree of probability. And our search is rewarded. In all other parts of the district the water supply is from cisterns; no streams or springs occur. But about seven miles (Conder) N. of *ed-Ḍāherīyeh* (the true Debir), and near Van de Velde's site for Debir (*Kh. ed-Dilbeh*), are beautiful springs (worthy of being Achsah's prize), which feed a stream that runs for three or four miles. and does not dry up.[1] The springs, which are fourteen, are in three groups,

[1] According to information received from Mr. F. C. Conybeare, there are two Armenian recensions, the earlier of which appears to be in some respects more primitive than the Syriac. There is also, probably, a Georgian version.

[1] *PEF Mem.* 3 302; see also GASm. *Hist. Geog.* 279 (cp p. 78), who speaks of only two springs.

and the two which are nearest to the head of the valley may be presumed to be the Upper and Lower Golath. · The identification is certainly a valuable one. See, further, GOLATH-MAIM.

ACHSHAPR (אַכְשָׁף, *i.e.* 'sorcery' ; αζειφ [B], αχcαφ [A], αχαc [L]), one of the unknown sites in the book of Joshua. It lay, according to P, on the border of the Asherite territory (Josh. 19 25 ; κεαφ [B]). Its king (if the same Achsbaph is meant) joined the northern confederation under Jabin, king of Hazor (11 1 ; αχιφ [A], αχειβ [F], [βασιλεα] χασαφ [L]); and shared the defeat of his allies (12 20). Rob. (*BR*, 4 55) connects it with the modern Kesāf, a village near the bend of the river Līṭāny where there are some ruins of uncertain date ; this identification would suit Josh. 11 1, but not 19 25. Maspero, on the other hand, followed by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 154, cp 173), identifies Achshaph with the *Aksap* of the name-list of Tbotmes III. (*RP*(2), 5 46). In this part of the list, however, there are names of localities in the region of Jezreel, which is outside the land of Asher. Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Eg.* 2 326) connects Aksap with *'Asāfeh*, 9 m. SSW. of Jeba, which is hazardous. At any rate there were probably several places noted anciently for their sorcerers and therefore called Acbshaph. The form κεαφ (see above) has suggested a most improbable identification with Haifa (*PEF Mem.* 1 165). The statement of Eus. in OS, 218 54 *ff.* (ακσαφ) is geographically impossible.

ACHZIB (אַכְזִיב ; probably 'winter-torrent ').

1. A town of Judah in the Shephēlah, mentioned with Ke'ilah and Marēshah, Jos. 15 44 (ακιεζει κ. κεζειβ [B], αχζεκ [A], αχζειβ [L]), also Mic. 1 14†, where 𝔊BAQ, losing the intended paronomasia, renders 'the houses of Achzib' οἴκους ματαίους. The name becomes CHEZIB (כְּזִיב; Samar. text, Chazbab; χασβι [AEL]) in Gen. 38 5†, where the legend presupposes that Chezib is the centre of the clan of Shelah ; and since in 1 Ch. 4 22† 'the men of Cozeba' (כֹּזֵבָא ; χωζηβα [AL] ; but σωχηθα [B], cp σωχα = Socoh) are said to belong to the same clan, we may safely recognise COZEBA (so RV ; AV CHOZEBA) as another form of the same name. The name may perhaps linger in *'Ain el Kezbeh*, between Yarmiik (Jarmuth) and Shuweikeh (Socoh), but to the E. of both (*So*GASm., after *PEF Mem.* 3 36). Conder's identification of Cozeba with the ruin of Kuweiziba, 2½ m. NE. of Halhiil towards. Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 3 313) is therefore superfluous. Buhl wisely doubts the proposal to identify it with Ḳuṣṣābe SE. of Tell el-Hesy (*Pal* 192).

2. A Canaanite town, 9 m. to the north of Accho, like which city it was: claimed but not conquered by the tribe of Asher, Josh. 19 29 (εχοζοβ [B], αχζειφ [A1], αζειφ [A''], αχαζειβ [L]), Judg. 1 31† (ασχαζει [BL], -χενδει [A]). Sennacherib mentions Akzibi and Akku together in the Taylor inscription (*RP*(2) 6 88). Achzib (Aram. *Achdib*) is the Ecdippa, ἔκδιππα, of *OS*, 95 13 224 77, the εκδιππων [*BJ* 1 13 4], εκδειπους (*Ant.* v. 1 22, where it is said to have been also called ἄρκη) of Jos., the modern *ez-Zīb*. T. K. C.

ACIPHA (αχειβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† AV = Ezra 2 51, HAKUPHA.

ACITHO (ακιθω [A]), Judith 8 1†. RV, AHITUB (*q.v.*, 4).

ACRA (ακρα [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 1 33 etc., AV 'stronghold,' RV 'citadel.' See JERUSALEM.

ACRABBIM (עַקְרַבִּים), Josh. 15 3†, RV AKRABBIM.

ACRE (צֶמֶד, ζευγος in Is.; for 𝔊 in 1 Sam. cp We. Dr. *ad loc.*), Is. 5 10, 1 S. 14 14 AV mg. RV. The Heb. word seems to denote the amount of land which a span or YOKE [*q.v.*] of oxen could plough in the course of a day (cp below) ; perhaps, like the Egyptian ἄρουρα, it ultimately became a fixed quantity (cp Now. *Arch.* 1 202). Even at the present day the fellāḥīn of Palestine measure by the *faddān* (= Syr. *paddānā* 'yoke' ; cp *ZDPV* 4 79) ; cp also Lat. *jugum, jugerum.* The term is not restricted, to arable land, being applied in Is. *l.c.* to a vineyard. Winckler, however (*AOF*, 2nd ser., 2 90), derives *ṣemed* from Bab. *ṣamādu* (= *šaḳālu*) to weigh, properly to measure off (which is at any rate barely possible), and attempts to show that *ṣemed* in Is. can denote only a liquid measure (which is by no means obvious). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Apart from scanty notices supplied by the N T epistles, this book is our only source for the history of Christianity during its first thirty or thirty-five years. The question of its trustworthiness is, therefore, of fundamental importance.[1]

1. The 'We' sections or Journey Record.

The sections in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (16 10-17 20 5-15 21 1-18 27 1-28 16) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book. In the sections named, the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with other very unimportant details (20 13 21 2 *f.* 16 28 11, etc.) ; outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so minutely in 2 Cor. 11 24 *f.* cp 23 (Acts 14 19 16 22 23 *f.*). Even had the writer of the book as a whole (assuming him to have been a companion of Paul) been separated from the apostle — remaining behind, *e.g.*, in Macedonia during the interval between 16 17 and 20 5 — he would surely afterwards have gathered the needful details from eye-witnesses and embodied them in his book, instead of satisfying himself with such extraordinarily meagre notes as we have in 18 21-23 20 1-3 or 16 5-8. Even were be following an old journal, he could never have passed over so many important matters in silence simply because they were not to be found in his notes. Further, be contradicts the Epistle to the Galatians so categorically (see GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO, § 5 *f.*, and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM) that, if we assume his identity with the eye-witness who writes in the first person, we are compelled (see below, § 6) to adopt one of two courses. We must either make Galatians non-Pauline or pronounce the writer of Acts as a whole to be a 'tendency' writer of the most marked character — hardly less so than a post-apostolic author who should have simply invented the 'we' sections. To suppose that the 'we' sections were invented, however, is just as inadmissible as to question the genuineness of Galatians. If the sections had been invented, they would not have been so different from the rest of the book. We must therefore conclude that the sections in question come from a document written by an eye-witness, the so-called 'we' source, and that this was used by a later writer, the compiler of the whole book.

It is upon this assumption of a distinct authorship for

[1] On title see below, § 3 n.

the 'we' sections that we are best able to pass a comparatively favourable judgment on the compiler's deviations from historical facts in other parts of the book. But there is one charge from which he cannot be freed, viz., that he has followed the method of retaining the 'we' without change. In the case of so capable a writer, in whom hardly a trace can be detected, either in vocabulary or in style, of the use of documents, this fact is not to be explained by lack of skill, such as is sometimes met with in the Mediæval chroniclers. The inference is inevitable that he wished—what has actually happened—that the whole book should he regarded as the work of an eye-witness. An analogous case is to be found in the 'I' taken over from the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 7 27-8 34 91-15; Neh. 1 1-7 5 12 31 13 6-31; also in Tob. 13-36, and in *Protevangelium Jacobi*, 18 *f.*). Just as Ezra 10 and Neh. 8, as well as the sections just mentioned, must be held to rest on those Memoirs, although modified and with the 'I' dropped out, so in Acts we may assume much other matter to have been drawn from the source from which the 'we' sections are derived. Any attempt, however, to assign to this source whole sections of the book not having the 'we,' and to use the conclusion so gained as a proof of the trustworthiness of everything thns assumed to belong to it, must he postponed until this trustworthiness has been investigated by the means otherwise at our command.

In this investigation we begin with certain obvious inaccuracies—first of all with those which cannot be traced to the influence of any tendency. Let us take the manifestation of Christ to Paul near Damascus. According to 22 9 his companions see the light from heaven but do not, hear the voice of Jesus; according to 9 7 they hear the voice but see no one and do not fall down; according to 26 12-18 they fall down indeed with Paul, but it is he alone who sees the heavenly light, and hears the voice. This last account, moreover, represents him as having received at the time an explanation of what had occurred; according to 22 14 *f.*, he did not receive the explanation until afterwards, through Ananias.

2. Inaccuracies uninfluenced by tendency.

Further inconsistencies of statement are to he found when we compare the explanation of the departure from Jerusalem in 9 26-30 with that in 22 17-21; the account in 10 44 (ἔτι) with that in 11 15 (ἄρξασθαι); the explanation of the offering in 21 20-26 with that in 24 17 *f.*, the accounts in 21 31-34 22 23-29 23 27 with 28 17, according to which Paul was, in Jerusalem, a prisoner of the Jews and not as yet of the Romans; the occasion of the appeal to Cæsar in 25 9-11 with that in 28 18 *f.* The liberation of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi (16 23-40) is not only a very startling miracle (with resemblances to what we read in Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 436-441, 502 *f.*, 606-628 [cp Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 45 262-285], and as regards Acts 16 35-39, in Lucian, *Toxaris*, 27-33), hut is scarcely reconcilable with 1 Thess. 2 2, where the language of the apostle hardly suggests that his 'boldness in God' was in any measure due to an occurrence of this kind.

So much for inaccuracies that cannot be attributed to any tendency on the part of the writer. There are others—and these of much greater importance—which can only be so explained. Before discussing these, let us ascertain clearly what the tendency of the writer is.

Every historian who is not simply an annalist must have 'tendency' in the wider sense of that word. His trustworthiness is not necessarily affected thereby: indeed, it has actually been urged by one of the apologists for Acts,[1] as an argument for the trustworthiness of the book, that it was designed to be put in as a document at the trial of Paul, and was written entirely with this view—a position that cannot, however, be made good. Now, it is clear that the book does not profess to be a history of the first extension of Christianity, or of the Church in the apostolic age: it covers really only a small portion of this field. It is equally certain that the title πράξεις (τῶν?) ἀποστόλων does not express the purpose of its author, who relates hardly anything of James and John, and of nine of the apostles mentions nothing but the names.[1] Neither is the hook a history of Peter and Paul, for it tells also of John, of both the Jameses, of the deacons, of Stephen, Philip, Apollos, and others. Nor is it a history of the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome; for the founding of the Roman church is not described but presupposed (28 15). and all that has any interest for the writer is the arrival there of Paul (19 21 23 11). It is often supposed that the aim of the book is expressly formulated in 1 8, and that the purpose of the author was to set forth the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem, through Samaria, and to the ends of the. earth. This is much too indefinite to account either for the difference in scale of the various narratives, sometimes so minutely detailed and sometimes so very vague, or for their marked divergences from actual history.

3. Tendency of the book.

It is, therefore, no prejudice on the part of critics, but the nature of the book itself, that leads us to ascribe tendency to the writer. Only (1) we must not, with the Tübingen School, consider it 'conciliatory.' According to that view, Acts was an attempt from the Pauline side, by means of concessions, to bring Judaism to a recognition of Gentile Christianity. A reconciliation of the two was thus to be effected in face of the danger that threatened both, from Gnosticism on the one side and from state persecution on the other. This cannot have been the purpose. Acts is much too harsh towards non-Christian Jews, for whom Christian Jews continued to retain a certain sympathy (2 23 7 51-53 18 5 *f.* 12-17 19 13-16 21 27-36 23 12-15, etc.); besides, most of the details which it gives have no relation to any such purpose. The main point on which the supposed reconciliation turns, the Apostolic Decree (15 28 *f.*), is to be explained otherwise (*see* COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10). (2) On the other hand, the book is not a mere apology for Paul. If it were, much of its contents would be unsuitable (*e.g.*, the enumeration of the conditions required in an apostle [1 21 *f.*], which were not fulfilled in Paul); it does not even give such a view of the personality of Paul as the facts known to us from the epistles demand (see below, §§ 7, 14). There remains only (3) one other possible view of the author's tendency. His aim is to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism, and he seeks to do this by means of an account of the origin of Christianity. The apostles, including Paul, are the historical foundation of Christianity, and 4 32 *a*, where we are told that all Christians were of one heart and soul, may be regarded as forming a motto for the book.

A whole series of demonstrable inaccuracies becomes comprehensible when viewed as resulting from this tendency. Paul never comes into conflict with the original apostles or their followers as he does in Gal. 4 17 5 7 10 12; 2 Cor. 10 14 *f.* 11 13-15 18-23.

4. Inaccuracies resulting from this tendency.

The one misunderstanding (Acts 15) that arises is cleared away by the original apostles; the attempt to enforce the circumcision of Titus (Gal. 2 3-5)—nay, the whole personality of Titus—is just as carefully passed over in silence as are the dispute with Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2 11-21; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM., § 3) and the Jndaising plots to impose on the Galatians and Corinthians another Gospel, that of circumcision (Gal. 1 8 *f.* 6 12 *f.*), and another Christ (2 Cor. 11 4 *f.*). Apart

[1] Aherle, *Tüb. Theol. Quartalschr.* 1863, pp. 84-134.

[1] It is not to be inferred from the absence of the article from the title in good MSS (πραξεις αποστολων [BD]) that the author meant to say that it was with the acts of only some of the apostles that he proposed to deal; for it would he very strange that he should admit such an incompleteness in the very title of his work. The article before ἀποστόλων is omitted because πράξεις is without it; and that is so simply because such is the usual practice at the beginning of hooks (cp Mt. 1 1 Acts 1 1 and see Winer (8), § 19 4, 10). Since therefore no form of the title can he assigned to the author of the book we conclude that the title must date from the time when the book was first united with others in one collection—its first occurrence is in the last third of the second century (Mur. Fragm. Tert. Clem.Al.). The simple πράξεις [א], common since Origen, is meaningless as an original title, and intelligible only as an abbreviation.

from the Gentiles, who seldom show hostility to Paul (14 5 16 16-23 19 23-41), it is (notwithstanding the end of 2 Cor. 11 26) only at the hands of non-Christian Jews that Paul meets with difficulties (13 45 18 6 19 9 28 24) or persecutions (9 23 *f.* 29 13 50 14 2 5 19 17 5-8 13 18 12 *f.* 20 3 19 21 27-36 23 12-21 24 1-9 25 2-9 24). For further illustrations of the operation of this tendency in the writer of Acts see SIMON and BARJESUS.

On the other hand, Paul brings forward nothing whatever in which the original apostles had not led the way: far from going beyond them at all, he appears to be entirely dependent on them.

His journeys to Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia (Gal. 1 17 21) are passed over in silence, and thus it is made out that not he but Peter gains the first Gentile convert, for Cornelius, in opposition to 10 2 22 35, where he is a semi-proselyte is represented in 10 28 45 11 1 18 15 7 as a pure Gentile. (Historically, however, after Peter had, in face of the doubts of the primitive church, so completely, and as a question of general principle, justified the reception of Cornelius into the Christian community without his being subjected to the requirements of the Mosaic law, as is related in 11 1-18, the question that led to the Council of Jerusalem could never again have sprung up.)

Again, whenever Paul comes into a strange city, he seeks (as we should expect him to do) to establish relations first of all with the synagogue, since, through the proselytes who might he looked for there, he could obtain access to the Gentiles: our view agrees also with Rom. 10 18-21. According to Acts, however, in almost every place where Paul betakes himself with his message to the Gentiles as distinct from the Jews, he has to purchase anew the right to do so, by first of all preaching to the Jews and being rejected by them (13 14 45 *f.* 18 4-6 19 8 *f.* 28 17 24-28). The only exceptions to this rule are Berœa (17 10-12), Paphos, Lystra, and Athens (13 6 14 7 17 17)—where the narrative passes at once to a quite singular incident—and towns so summarily dealt with as Derbe and Perga (14 21 25), along with Iconium, where Gentiles are brought to Christianity through the sermon in the synagogue (14 1). In 28 17-28, in order to make the right to preach to the Gentiles dependent on the rejection of the gospel by the Jews, the very existence of the Christian church, already, according to 28 15, to be found in Rome, is ignored. Such a dependence of Paul's life-work—his mission to the Gentiles—on the deportment of the Jews, and that too in every individual city, is quite irreconcilable with Gal. 1 16 2 7 *f.*, and with the motives which the author himself indicates in Acts 13 47 28 *&*, as well as with 9 15 26 17 *f.*

After the appearance of Jesus himself to Paul near Damascus, the apostle has yet further to be introduced to his work by human agency (in the first instance by Ananias [9 6 10-19 22 10 14-16], and subsequently [11 25] by BARNABAS [*q.v.*], a member of the original church), and this happens after the church of Antioch—the first Gentile Christian Church, and Paul's first important congregation—had already been founded by Christians from Jerusalem (11 20-24). (Both of these statements are contradicted by Gal. 1 16; the latter of them also by the order in which Syria and Cilicia are taken in Gal. 1 21.) Moreover, at the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM (*q.v.* § 6) Paul has only to give in a report and to accept the decisions of the primitive church.

The tendency we have pointed out throws light also on the parallel (which is tolerably close, especially where miracles are concerned) between the acts and experiences of Peter and of Paul.

Both begin by healing a man lame from birth (3 2-10 = 14 8-10), and go on to the cure of another sick man (9 33 *f.* = 28 8); they heal many men at once, both directly (5 16 = 28 9) and mediately (5 15 = 19 12), besides doing signs and wonders generally (2 43 5 12 = 14 3 15 12 19 11); both bring a dead person to life (9 36-42 = 20 9-12); both perform a miracle of judgment (5 1-10 = 13 6-11); both, by the laying-on of hands, confer the gift of the Holy Ghost (8 14-17 = 19 1-7), and in doing so also impart the gift of tongues (10 44-46 = 19 6); both have a vision corresponding with one experienced by another man (10 1-22 = 9 3-16); both are miraculously delivered from prison (5 18 *f.* 12 3-11 = 16 23-34); both are scourged (5 40 = 16 22 *f.*); both decline divine honours in almost identical words (10 25 *f.* = 14 11-18, cp 25 6).

The life of Paul included many more incidents of this kind than that of Peter; but from what we have already observed we can understand how the author's wish not to allow Peter to fall behind Paul must have influenced the narrative. Still, he has by no means wholly sacrificed history to his imagination; had this been so, he would certainly have brought his narrative into much closer agreement with his own ideals. He has not, for example, introduced in the case of Peter, as in that of Paul, a stoning (14 19), or threats against life (9 23 *f.* 29 14 5), or an exorcism (16 16-18). And in like manner the omission of many of the items enumerated in 2 Cor. 11 23-27 12 12 may be explained, at least in part, by the supposition that he had no definite knowledge about them. He has, it would seem, at least in the main, confined himself to matter preserved by tradition, merely making a selection and putting it into shape.

5. Subsidiary tendencies. The author has two tendencies in addition to the religious-theological one.

1. There is first the *political* tendency, the desire to say as little as possible unfavourable to the Roman civil power.

In the Third Gospel we already find Pilate declaring that he finds no fault in Jesus, and he has this judgment confirmed by Herod, who in the other gospels is not mentioned at all in connection with the examination of Jesus. Pilate declares thrice over that he will release Jesus, and he is prevailed upon to pass adverse sentence only by the insistence of the Jews (Lk. 23 1-25). In Acts (which has even been regarded by some as an apology for Christianity intended to be laid before Gentiles; see above, § 3 n.), the first converts of Peter and Paul are Roman officers (10 1 13 7), while it is the Roman authorities who definitely declare Paul to be no political criminal as the Jews would have it (18 14 *f.* 19 37 23 29 25 18 *f.* 26 31 *f.*); it is by them also that he is protected (in more than one instance at any rate) from conspiracies (18 12-17 19 31 21 31-36 23 10 22-33 25 2-4).

When this political tendency is recognised, the conclusion of the book becomes intelligible. Otherwise it is a riddle. Even if the author meant to add still a τρίτος λόγος (third treatise)—which is pure conjecture—he could not suitably have ended the δεύτερος λόγος (second treatise) otherwise than with the death of Paul: that he did not survive Paul is even less likely than that he was otherwise interrupted at this point of his work. When we take account of this political tendency, however, 'none forbidding him' (ἀκωλύτως) is really a skilfully devised conclusion. The very last word thus says something favourable to the Roman authorities, and, in order not to efface this impression, the writer leaves the death of Paul unmentioned.

2. Secondly, he has in his mode of narration an *æsthetic* as well as a political tendency: he aims at *being graphic.*

This end is promoted very specially by the 'we,' and the details, otherwise purposeless, appropriated from the Journey Record; but it is also served by much in chaps. 1-12 that, without having any claim to be regarded as historical, contributes to the enlivening of the picture of the primitive Christian community (see below, § 13); also by the speeches (see § 14), and particularly by the miracle-narratives, which in almost every case where they are not derived from the 'we' document (see § 8) are characterised by touches of remarkable vigour (1 9-11 2 1-13 43 3 1-11 5 1-11 12 15 *f.* 17-25 6 8 8 6 *f.* 13 39 *f.* 9 3-19 33-42 10 1-22 12 3-11 13 11 14 3 8-13 16 23-34 19 11 *f.*).

The total influence of all these tendencies not having been so great as to lead the author wholly to disregard the matter supplied to him by tradition,

6. Total effect of these tendencies on the history. it has often been supposed possible to affirm that he had no such tendencies at all. The inaccuracies of the book are in this case explained simply by the assumption that the writer was not in possession of full information, and that, in a naïve yet still unbiassed way, he first represented to himself the conditions of the apostolic age, and afterwards described them, as if they had been similar to those of his own, when the conflict of tendencies in the primitive Christian Church had already been brought to an end. Certain it is that in his unquestioning reverence for the apostles, it was impossible for him to conceive the idea of their having ever been at variance with one another. On the other hand, it cannot possibly be denied that he must at the same time have either passed over accounts that were very well known to him or completely changed them. It is hard to understand how any one can airily say that to this writer, a Paulinist, the Pauline epistles remained unknown. Paradoxical as it sounds, it is certainly the fact that such a lack of acquaintance would be more easily explicable had he been a companion of Paul (a supposition which, however, it is impossible to accept; see above, § 1) than it is on the assumption that he lived in post-apostolic times. It is conceivable, though not probable, that Paul might sometimes have been unable to communicate his epistles to his companions

before sending them *off*. But a companion of Paul would at least he familiar with the events which are recorded in the epistles — events with which the representation in Acts is inconsistent. If we ark not prepared to declare the whole mass of the Pauline epistles to be spurious, and their statements about the events to which they allude unhistorical, there is no way of acquitting the writer of Acts from the charge of having moulded history under the influence of 'tendency.' Only this tendency must be understood as being simply a consistent adherence to the view of the history that he had before he studied his sonrces.

The tendencies of the author once established in regard to points where his historical inaccuracy admits of definite proof from a trustworthy source, one may perhaps found on them presumptions in regard to matters that admit of no such control. Did Paul circumcise Timothy (16 3)? Since Timothy's mother is called a Jewess, and Paul held the principle laid down in 1 Cor. 9 20, it is impossible to deny categorically that he did. Nevertheless, it remains in the highest degree improbable, especially after Paul had, just before (Gal. 2 3-5), so triumphantly and as a question of principle, opposed the circumcision of Titus. The difficulty of the case is not much relieved even by the supposition that the circumcision happened *before* the Council of Jerusalem, and only on account of the Jews of that place (16 3) and therefore, notwithstanding the statement of the same verse, not with a view to the missionary journeys. Again, did Paul take a Nazirite vow? We leave 18 18 out of account, since the text does not enable us clearly to decide whether that assertion concerns Paul or Aquila, and since a Nazirite could shave his head only in Jerusalem. In 21 20-26, however, Paul is represented as having taken such a vow, not only without waiting for the minimum period of thirty days required by traditional law (21 27 24 1 11, cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 15 1 [§ 313]; Num. 6 13-21; see NAZIRITE), hut also, and above all, with the expressly avowed purpose of proving that the report of his having exempted the Jewish Christians of the Diaspora from obligation to the ceremonial law was not true, and that he himself constantly observed that law (cp 28 17). This would, for Paul, have been simply an untruth, and that, too, on a point of his religious conviction that was fundamental (Gal. 4 9-11; Rom. 10 4, etc.). Just as questionable, morally, would it have been had he really described himself, especially before a court of justice (23 6, cp 24 21 26 5-8 28 20), simply as a Pharisee, asserted that he was accused only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and held his peace about his Christianity.

7. Possible further influences of tendency.

In view of the tendencies that have heen pointed out, there is. unhappily, some room for the suspicion that the author has not held himself bound to appropriate the 'we' source in its integrity. This is indeed made antecedently probable bv the fact that he has already in the Third Gospel passed over much that lay before him in his sources, and that the sections of the Journey Record actually adopted supply for the most part only superficial notices of the stages passed, or miracle stories. Add just in proportion to the freedom of the latter from legendary embellishments (16 16-18 20 9-12 28 3-9), and to their credibility even in the eyes of those who wholly reject the supernatural (although, of course, the narrators thought them miraculous), must be our regret at every instance in which the Journey Record has been set aside, or even in which its words (as has been conjectured to be sometimes the case; see above, § 1) are not reproduced exactly.

8. The Journey Record: *a.* its treatment.

This free treatment of the Journey Record increases the difficulty of ascertaining who was its author. Had the record been adopted intact, we should have been certain that it was not composed by any of those who appear among the companions of Paul in the sections where the narrative 'we' does not occur. But this means of solution is out of the question. And if the source came into the hands of the author of Acts as (let us say) an anonymous document, or if, in the interest of greater vividness, he used the 'we' without regard to the person originally meant, he may also at the same time have spoken of the writer of the Journey Record in the third person, even when he was otherwise following the document. Yet 20 5 is a strong indication that by the 'we' he does not wish us to understand any one at least of the seven mentioned in the immediately preceding verse. Thus the text at all events gives nowhere any ground for thinking of *Timothy*, who, moreover, is mentioned in 17 14 *f.* 18 5 in the third person. If we are to regard the record as coming from *Silas*, the author of Acts must have used it-without the 'we,' and, in a very fragmentary way indeed, for long periods during which, according to his own statement (15 40 16 19 25 29 17 4 10 18 5), Silas was with Paul. This, though not quite impossible, is very unlikely. Moreover, Silas is never again mentioned in Acts after 18 5; neither, from the same period — that of Paul's first stay in Corinth (2 Cor. 1 19)—is he again mentioned in the Pauline Epistles; and in 1 Pet. 5 12, he appears by the side of Peter. Whoever attributes the Journey Record to *Titus* must in like manner assume that much of it has been either not used at all or used without the 'we.' For Titus was with Paul at the time of the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2 1), and continued to he his companion at least during the latter part of the three years' stay at Ephesus, as also during the subsequent stay in Macedonia (2 Cor. 2 13 7 6 8 16 *f.* 23 12 18[1]). Besides, the writer of Acts would use a work of Titus somewhat unwillingly, for he completely suppresses his name (see above § 4[2]). Still, if so valuable a writing by Titus had been really available, the author of Acts would scarcely have completely neglected it.

9. *b.* Its author.

If it is thus just possible that Titus wrote the Journey Record, it is perhaps still more conceivable that it was written by ***Luke.*** In this way we should best he able to explain how, ever since the time of the Muratorian Fragment and Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 14 1), the entire book of Acts as well as the Third Gospel came to be ascribed to him. It is true that, in the Pauline Epistles, the first mention of Luke is in Col. 4 14; Phil. 24; 2 Tim. 4 11 — in other words, not before Paul's imprisonment and the closing years of his life. Nevertheless, he may have been one of Paul's companions at an earlier period, if we are allowed to suppose that he occupied a subordinate position. The most suspicious fact is that, whilst Luke (see LUKE), if we may trust Col. 4 11 14, was, like Titus (Gal. 2 3), uncircumcised, the writer of the Journey Record not only uses Jewish specifications of date (Acts 16 13 20 6 *f.* 27 9), and goes to the synagogue or the Jewish place of prayer (16 16), but also includes himself (16 13) among those who taught there (Ἰουδαῖοι, 16 20, must not he pressed, as it may rest on an error on the part of the speakers; cp 16 37). We must thus, perhaps, abandon all attempt to ascribe the Journey Record to any known companion of Paul.

Other sources for Acts, in addition to that just mentioned, have long been conjectured: *e.g.* a Barnabas source for chap. 13 *f.* Here the naming over again of Barnabas and Saul, and the omission of John Mark (13 1), notwithstanding 12 25, are indeed remarkable, as are also

10. Other Sources.

1 Add to this that, if 2 Tim. 4 10 is to he taken as accurately preserving an incident in Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, it could hardly have heen Titus that accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 27 28). The notices in the epistle to Titus are too untrustworthy to serve as a foundation for historical combinations.

2 It is just as incorrect to suppose that he is named in Acts 18 7 as it is to identify him with Silas.

the circumstance that, apart from 11 30 12 25 15 12 25, it is precisely in these two chapters that Barnabas is often (13 2 7 14 14; contrast 13 43 46 50 14 20) mentioned before Paul, and that it is only here (14 4 14) that Paul (with Barnahas) is called an 'apostle' (see APOSTLE).

Of primary importance would be the establishment of sources for chaps. 1-12.

Many traces of distinct sources can be detected. In addition to what is said under GIFTS, SPIRITUAL, and under COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1-4 two themes had been long recognised as running through the speech of Stephen: viz. refutation of the idea that the blessing of God depended on the possession of the temple (7 48-50), and censure of the national rebellion of the people against the divine will (7 51-53). The stoning of Stephen, moreover, is narrated twice (7 58*a* and 59*a*), in a very confusing way, and his burial does not follow till 8 2, after the mention of the great persecution and the flight of all the Christians except the apostles (8 1*bc*). In 8 3, the persecution is resumed, hut, as in 8 1*a*, only Saul is thought of as persecutor. The mention of Saul seems thus throughout (7 58 6 8 1*a* 3) to be a later insertion into a source in which he was not originally named. Resides, 8 1*bc* seems also to be an interpolation into the account of the last hours of Stephen. In as far as this interpolation speaks of the dispersion of the Christians it is continned in 11 19, while 8 4 may easily be an ingenious 'transition of some editor leading up to the story of Philip. 11 19 is further followed by the statement (11 22) that the church at Jerusalem elected a ***delegate***. This representation of the right of the church to elect delegates, which is found also in 6 5, seems to he more primitive than that in 8 14, according to which such an election was made by the apostles. Further in 8 15-17 the apostles are raised to a rank unknown to the 'earliest times. For, that Christians did not receive the Holy Ghost by baptism, hut only through subsequent laying-on of hands, and those the hands of the apostles, is disproved by Gal. 3 2 4 6, and even by the presupposition underlying Acts 19 2 *f.*, although the same notion reappears shortly afterwards (19 6). In like manner, finally, the words 'except the apostles' (8 1) may have been subsequently inserted, to preserve the dignity of the apostles and the continuity of their rule in Jerusalem. In 11 30 the friendly gifts destined for distribution during the famine come into the hands of the presbyters, not, as 6 1-6 would have led us to expect, into those of the deacons.

Observations such as the preceding have of late been expanded into comprehensive theories assigning the whole book to one source or to several sources, with additions by one editor or by several editors.

11. Theories as to Sources.

So R. Weiss, *Einl. in das NT* (1886, 3rd ed. '97), § 50, and ***Ap.-gesch.***, **1893** (vol. 9, pts. 3 and 4, of Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte u. Unters.*); Sorof, ***Entstehung der Ap.-gesch.* (1890)**; Ban Manen, *Paulus*, 1: ***de handelingen der Apostelen*** (1890); Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung* **des *Lucas***, 1891 (only on chaps. 1-12), Spitta ***Ap.-gesch.***, 1891; Clemen, ***Chronol. der Paulin. Br.*** 1893 and' (for chaps. 1-5) in *St. Kr.*, **1895**, pp. 297-357; Joh. Weiss, **St. *Kr.***, **1893**, pp. 480-540, 'Das Judenchristenthum in der Ap.-gesch.', etc., and 1895, pp. 252-269, ' Die Chronol. der Paulin. Rr.'; Gercke in *Hermes*, **1894**, pp. 373-**392** (only on the first chapters); Jüngst, ***Die Quellen der Ap.-gesch.***, **1895**; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, **1895**, pp. 65-115, 186-217, 384-447, 481-517; 1896, pp. 24-79, 177-216, 351-386, 517-558.

No satisfactory conclusion has as yet been reached along these lines; but the agreement that has been arrived at upon a good many points warrants the hope that at least some conclusions will ultimately gain general recognition. It is certainly undeniable that this kind of work has sharpened the wits of the critics, and rendered visible certain inequalities of representation, joints and seams, even in places where they are not so conspicuous as in 7 58-8 4.

Thus the tumult in Thessalonica is told in 17 8 for a second time after 17 5 in a disturbing way that leaves it impossible to say who it was that the Jews were trying (17 5) to drag before the people, or why it was that Jason (17 5 *f.*), whose part in the affair does not become clear till 17 7, was brought before the authorities. It is probable that 13 52 originally followed immediately on 13 49. Similarly, the account of the wholesale miracles of the original apostles (5 12*a* 15 *f.*) is interrupted by the interpolation of a fragment (5 12*b*-14) which is itself not homogeneous. The least that could be done here would he to arrange as follows: 5 12*a* 15 16 14 12*b* 13. But that the text should have become so greatly disarranged by transposition is much less likely than the supposition of several successive interpolations. On 18 24-28 15 1-34, see APOLLOS, and COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, §§ 4 5. In the latter passage (15 1-34) the attempt has been made, hy separation of sources, to solve questions to which otherwise only tendency-criticism seemed to provide an answer. Similarly in the case of 21 20*b*-26. After the presbyters have just praised God for the success of Paul's mission to the Gentiles (21 20*a*) the proposal that he should put it in evidence how strictly legal he is in his views follows with but little fitness. And had Paul been engaged in carrying out a Nazirite vow, it is hardly likely that his presence in the temple (21 27-29) could have led to an attempt on his life. A reason for this attempt is found (21 28 *f.*) in the alleged introduction of a Gentile within the sacred precincts of the temple, a proceeding which no one would guess to be simultaneous with the presentation of an offering. Since, moreover, for a Nazirite vow at least thirty days are necessary (see above, § 7), it has been proposed to detach 21 20*b*-26, and to refer the seven days of 21 27 to the duration of the feast of Pentecost which Paul, according to 20 16, was to spend in Jerusalem: 21 19 20*a* 27 *ff.* would then also, along with 20 16 and 21 1-18, belong to the Journey Record.

We come now to the question how far this distribution of the matter among various sources affects the credibility of the book. It is indeed true that, in the case last mentioned, the archaeological mistake of assigning only seven days for the Nazirite rites would become more comprehensible if we recognised a variety of sources; yet even so we should have to admit that there is an error, and that the editor had been guilty of the oversight of incautiously bringing the two accounts together. And he, as well as the source from which 21 20*b*-26 is perhaps taken, would still remain open to the reproach of having, under the influence of a tendency of the kind described above (§ 6), ascribed to Paul a repudiation of his principles of freedom from the law. It cannot be too strongly insisted that in as far as Acts, viewed as a homogeneous work, has to be regarded as a tendency writing, it is impossible to free it wholly of this character by distributing the matter among the various sources: the most that can be done is in cases of excessive misrepresentation to put this in a softer light. In general, however, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unlucky hit in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted. It has been a practice among some of the scholars enumerated above to claim absolute trustworthiness for the whole of an assumed source which they suppose themselves to have made out, irrespectively of the nature of some of the contents, as soon as they have found it trustworthy in some particulars. Such an abuse of discrimination of sources in the interest of apologetics is not only illegitimate: it speedily revenges itself. These very critics for the most part find themselves compelled to attribute to their secondary sources and their editors an extraordinary amount of ignorance and awkwardness. In particular, all theories according to which a single assumed source (of which the 'we' sections form part) is taken as a basis for the whole of Acts must from the outset be looked upon with distrust. There is nothing to suggest that any diary-writing companion of Paul also wrote on the beginnings of the church at Jerusalem, and, even if there were, any assumption that his information on such a subject would be as trustworthy as his assertions founded on his own experience, would be quite unwarranted.

12. Bearing of these theories on trustworthiness.

The results then with reference to the trustworthiness of Acts, as far as its facts are concerned, are these. Apart from the 'we' sections no statement merits immediate acceptance on the mere ground of its presence in the book. All that contradicts the Pauline epistles must be absolutely given up, unless we are to regard these as spurious. Positive proofs of the trustworthiness of Acts must be tested with the greatest caution.

13. Trustworthiness of narrative.

Ramsay thinks he has discovered such proofs in the accuracy with which geographical names and contemporary conditions are reproduced in the journeys of Paul *(Church,* 1894, 1-168; *St. Paul,* 1895). Some of the most important of these points will be considered elsewhere (GALATIA, §§ 9-13, 22). Of the other detailed instances many will be found to break down on closer examination.

For example, Ramsay goes so far as to say (*St. Paul*, chap. 11, 4): 'Aquila, a man of Pontus, settled in Rome, bears a Latin

name, and must therefore have belonged to the province and not to non-Roman Pontus. This is a good example of Luke's principle to use the Roman provincial divisions fur purposes of classification.' As if a Jew from non-Roman Pontus, settled in Rome, could not have assumed a subsidiary Roman name, as countless other Jews are known to have done! And as if Luke would not have found it necessary to call him Ποντικός even if he were from non-Roman Pontus !

But it is not necessary to go thus into details which might be adduced as proving the author's accurate acquaintance with localities and conditions. For Ramsay attributes the same accuracy of local knowledge also to one of the revisers of the text, assigned by him to the second century A.D., whose work is now preserved to us in D, and also to the author of one source of the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* (§ 3), assigned by him to the second half of the first century, whose work, however, he declares to be pure romance *(Church*, 2 5 6 4). If so, surely any person acquainted with Asia Minor could, even without knowing very much about the experiences of Paul, have been fairly accurate about matters of geography, provided he did not pick up his information so late in the second century as to betray himself by his language, as according to Ramsay (23 64 [end] 5 [end] 759 83-6; *St. Paul*, see Index under 'Bezan Text') the above mentioned reviser, whose work lies at the foundation of D, has done. In point of fact, Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 239 *f.*, 2nd ed. 230 *f.*; ET 1 274 *f.*) thinks that in Acts 13 *f.* the account of the route followed does come from an authentic source, but yet that the contents of the narrative are almost legendary.

Such, for example, are the incidents at Paphos in Cyprus, 13 6-12 (see BARJESUS), also 13 14 46 *f.* 14 1 *f.*, spoken of above (§ 4); the speech in 13 16-41 (see below, § 14); the healing of a lame man, 14 8-10, recorded after the model of 3 1-11; the paying of divine honours to Barnabas and Paul, 14 11-13, after the manner of the heathen fables *(Philemon and Baucis*, in adjacent Phrygia, see Ov. *Met.*, 8 621 626 *f.*); and the institution of the presbyterial organisation, 14 23. In the first main division of the BOOK (1-12), great improbability attaches to the publicity with which the Christian community comes to the front, to the sympathy that it meets with even among the masses, although not joined by them (2 47 4 21 5 13), and to the assertion that only the Sadducees had anything against it, and they only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection (4 1 *f.*), while the Pharisees had given up all the enmity they had displayed against Jesus, adopting a slightly expectant attitude. See, further, BARNABAS, BARSABAS, GIFTS, COMMUNITY OF GOODS PHILIP, PETER, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, and also, for the journeys of Paul to Jerusalem, and the attempted rearrangement of them, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1.

But, after every deduction has been made, Acts certainly contains many data that are correct, as, for example, especially in the matter of proper names such as Jason (17 5), Titius Justus, Crispus, Sosthenes (18 7 *f.* 17), or in little touches such as the title πολιτάρχαι (17 6), which is verified by inscriptions[1] for Thessalonica, as is the title of πρῶτος (28 7) for Malta, and probably the name of Sergius Paulus as proconsul for Cyprus (13 7). Only, unfortunately, we do not possess the means of recognising such data as these with certainty, where confirmation from other sources is wanting.

14. Trustworthiness of speeches.

With regard to the speeches, it is beyond doubt that the author constructed them in each case according to his own conception of the situation. In doing so he simply followed the acknowledged practice of ancient historians. (Thucydides [i. 22 1] expresses himself distinctly on this point; the others adopt the custom tacitly without any one's seeing in it anything morally questionable.) This is clearly apparent at the very outset, in Acts 1 16-22.

It is not Peter who needs to recount these events to the primitive Church already familiar with them :[2] it is the author of Acts who feels called on to tell his readers of them. And it was only for the readers of the book that there could have been any need of the note that the Aramaic expression Aceldama belonged to the Jerusalem dialect, for that was the very dialect which the supposed hearers were using (cp. further THEUDAS, and JUDAS OF GALILEE).

The speeches of Paul in Acts embody a theology quite different from that of his epistles.

A thought like Acts 17 28 is nowhere to be found in the epistles. Paul derives idolatry, not, as in Acts 17 29 *f.*, from excusable ignorance, but from deliberate and criminal rejection of God (Rom. 1 18-32). Only in Acts 13 38 *f.* 16 31 20 28, do some really Pauline principles begin to make themselves heard. The most characteristically Pauline utterances come, in fact, from Peter (15 7-11), or even James (15 19; see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 8). The speeches of Paul, especially that in 13 16-41, are so like those of Peter in idea, construction, and mode of expression, that the one might easily be taken for the other. For example, Paul's speech in 13 38 *f.* resembles Peter's in 10 43. Or cp 3 17 13 *f.* (Peter) with 13 27 *f.* (Paul); 2 25-31 with 13 35-37; or ὁ δίκαιος for 'Christ' in 3 14 with 22 14, but also with Stephen's in 7 52. For the speeches of Paul, especially 13 16-41, show affinities also with that of Stephen : see 13 17-19 22 as compared with 7 2 6f: 36 45 *f.* In like manner, the apologetic discourses of Paul in his own defence betray clearly an unhistorical origin (see § 7).

In short, almost the only element that is historically important is the Christology of the speeches of Peter. This, however, is important in the highest degree. Jesus is there called παῖς θεοῦ—that is to say, according to 4 25, not 'son,' but 'servant' of God (3 13 26),—holy and righteous (3 14 4 27 2 27); he was not constituted Lord and Messiah before his resurrection (2 36); his death was not a divine arrangement for the salvation of men, but a calamity the guilt of which rested on the Jews (3 13-15 5 30), even if it was (according to 2 23 4 28) fore-ordained of God ; on earth he was anointed by God (4 27) with holy spirit and with strength, and he went about doing good and performing cures, but, according to 10 38, only upon demoniacs; his qualification for this is in the same passage traced to the fact that God was with him. God performed miracles through him (2 22). A representation of Jesus so simple, and in such exact agreement with the impression left by the most genuine passages[1] of the first three gospels, is nowhere else to be found in the whole NT. It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source. It is, nevertheless, a fact sufficiently surprising that it has been transmitted to us by a writer who in other places works so freely with his sources. At the same time, however, the *Didaché* or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, especially 9 *f.*, also bears evidence that in the second century, in spite of Paul, and of the Epistles to the Hebrews, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians, and of the Gospel of John, an equally simple Christology still reappeared at least in many Christian circles. That the writer of Acts also respected it may be conjectured from the fact that he has not put into the mouth even of Paul any utterances that go beyond it (13 23 22 14).

15. Authorship.

It has already been repeatedly assumed in the preceding sections that the writer of Acts is identical with the writer of the Third Gospel. The similarity of language, style, and idea, constantly leads back to this conclusion. Differences of spirit between the two writings are so difficult to find that their existence at any time can be held only on the assumption of a subsequent revision of the Gospel, with a view to their removal, by the author of Acts. The most important divergence between the two books is that according to Acts 1 3 (cp 13 31) the ascension of Jesus did not occur till forty days after his resurrection, while according to Lk. 24 13 29 33 36 50 *f.*, as also the Epistle of Barnabas (15 9) and probably even Jn. 20 17, it was on the very evening of the resurrection. According to the original view, as indicated by the absence of any special separate mention of the ascension, in 1 Cor. 15 4-12; Rom. 8 34; Heb. 1 3 10 12 12 2; Eph. 1 20 2 5 *f.* 4 9 *f.*; 1 Pet. 3 19 22, and perhaps even also in Acts 2 32-35 (see οὖν 2 33) the resurrection and the ascen-

[1] A detailed discussion by De Witt Burton will be found in the *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1898, pp. 598-632.

[2] Unless the passage be indeed a legendary development of Mt. 27 3-10.

[1] Such passages as Mk. 10 17 *f.* 3 21 13 32 6 5; Lk. 11 29-32; Mt. 16 5-12 11 5 *f.* 12 31 *f.* as contrasted with those in the same gospels which already present secondary reproductions of the same facts—viz., Mt. 19 16 *f.* 12 23 (ἐξίσταντο : see below, § 17 *i.*) 24 36 13 58 12 40 14 15-21; Lk. 7 21; Mk. 3 28-30.

sion were the same act, and all appearances of the risen Jesus were thought of as being made from heaven. Whether thisfollowsalso from 'goeth before' (προάγει) in Mk. 16 7 and in Mt. 28 7, maybedoubted. Inanycasethe forty days indicate a significant development of the idea, already at work in the Third Gospel, that before his ascension Jesus must have continued on earth to maintain intercourse with his disciples, in order that he might instruct them as to matters which he had not been able to take up before his death. A development of this kind in the story of the ascension required time. Even the repetition of the list of apostles in 1 13 'from Lk. 6 14-16 marks Acts as a new work. It is, accordingly, very rash to suppose that Lk. 1 1-4 applies to Acts also, or to draw conclusions from this.

As the book is dedicated to Theophilus, Blass thinks (*Neue kirchliche Zeitsch.*, 1895, pp. 720-725) that the latter must, according to the custom that prevailed in antiquity, have been named in the title (that the title πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων is not original, see above, § 3 n.). The same custom, too, he argues, would require the author to mention his own name in the title. Accordingly as, since the end of the second century, the anthor has been believed to be Luke (see abbve, § g), Blass thinks he is justified in restoring the title thus—Λουκᾶ Ἀντιοχέως πρὸς Θεόφιλον λόγος δεύτερος. But this pure conjecture cannot overthrow the proof that the book does not come from a companion of Paul. On the contrary, had the title really run thus, it must have been regarded as a fiction. We should have had to suppose that the author, not content with suggesting (by retaining the 'we' of his source [see $ 1]) that he had been a companion of Paul on his missionary journeys, desired to make this claim expressly in the title.

The date of composition of Acts thus falls at least some time later than that of the Third Gospel. **16. Date.** The latter is now, on account of its accurate allusions to actual incidents in the destruction of Jernsalem (Lk. 19 43 *f.* 21 20), almost universally set down to a date later than 70 A.D., and on some other grounds, which, however, it must be said, are less definite, even considerably later (see GOSPELS). Similarly, for Acts, the dying out of all recollection of the actual conditions of apostolic times—in particular, the ignorance as to the gift of tongues (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL) and the approaches to hierarchical ideas (1 17 20 8 14-17 15 28 20 28)—points only in a general way to a late period. Hence the surest datum is the author's acquaintance with the writings of Josephus.[1] For an instance see THEUDAS. Josephus completed his *Jewish War* shortly before 79 A.D., his *Antiquities* in 93 or 94, the work *Against Apion* after that, and his *Autobiography* somewhat after 100. As to the inferior limit, Marcion about 140 A.D. had the Third Gospel, but not Acts, in his collection: but we are not aware whether he rejected it or whether it was wholly unknown to him. As for the Apostolic Fathers, 1 Clem. 18 1, if it have any literary connection with Acts 13 22, can just as easily be the earlier as the later; and as regards the rest of their writings, apart from Polycarp 1 2 (=Acts 2 24), dating from about 150 A.D., we can find traces only of the'speech of Stephen; in the Epistle of Barnabas (16 2 9 4 *f.* 5 11 48 14 3=Acts 7 50 51 52 40-43), which in 16 4 speaks of Hadrian's projected building, about 130 A.D., of a heathen temple in place of the Jewish temple as imminent.[2] In Justin, about 152 A.D. (not 137; see *Acad.* 1896, No. 1239, p. 98), the points of contact are more marked. If Acts 20 18-35 has many ideas in common with those of the Pastoral Epistles, the indiscriminate use of πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι (20 17 28) shows that the author has not yet reached the stage in the development of church government which characterizes the First Epistle to Timothy, the latest of the Pastoral Epistles, which wishes to see the bishop, conceived of as a sole ruler and represented in the person of Timothy as apostolic vicar, set over the presbytery (1 Tim. 5 1 19). The date of Acts must, accordingly, be set down as somewhere between 105 and 130, or, if the gospel of Luke already presupposes acquaintance with all the writings of Josephus, between 110 and 130 A.D.

[1] The evidence for this has of late been brought together with very great completeness by Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, 1894): see also the *Fortnightly Rev.* 22 485-509 ['77].

[2] The reference cannot be to the (historically very doubtful) rebuilding of the Jewish temple (about 120-125?). The καί after αὐτοί must he deleted, according to the best MSS and indeed as the connection demands.

The conclusions reached in the foregoing sections would have to be withdrawn, however, and the author of Acts regarded as an eye-witness, if the **17. Blass's Theory.** views recently put forth by Blass[1] should prove to be correct. According to Blass, the markedly divergent readings of D, and those of the same character found in some other authorities,[2] all came from the author's rough draft of the book (which he calls β), while the ordinary text, *a*, found in B, ℵ, A, C, etc., comes from the fair copy of this intended for Theophilus, which the author (being a poor man) made with his own hand. In doing *so* he changed his original—without special tendency or motive—and, still more, abridged it as only authors do in copying their own work. And here, as we have intimated, Blass says, the author can be no other than the eye-witness who can give his narrative in the first person with 'we.'[3] To pronounce upon this certainly interesting hypothesis is, however, not nearly so simple a matter as Blass allows himself to suppose.

(*a*) Blass himself says that D and the additions or marginal readingsin Syr.hl. in many cases already exhibit *a combination of a* **and** *β*, and that—as is witnessed by 15 5 18 19, etc., where both sources coincide—this occurred even in the archetype itself from which both (directly or indirectly) are derived.

But there are many cases where Blass ought to have expressly recognised this combination, where, instead of doing so, he simply deletes something in β without giving further explanation. For example, ἔκθαμβοι at the end of 3 11 comes from ***a*** alongside of οἱ δὲ θαμβηθέντες ἔστησαν ἐν in β, before τῇ στοᾷ; but Blass does not recognise the ἔκθαμβοι as incorporated in β (*i.e.*, by the process of combination just mentioned), though it is supported by the best witnesses for this text. Similarly, πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (11 17), coming from ***a***, is an expression parallel to πιστεύσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ after τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ἅγιον in β at the end of the verse. Here Blass wrongly questions the well-supported πιστεύσασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

He 'points out ***other** corruptions* also ***in** the **witnesses*** *to* p.

For example, in cod. 137 and Syr.hl. after Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνος (27 2), instead of Θεσσαλονικέως, the words Θεσσαλονικέων 66 Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σεκοῦνδος, which can originally have taken their place in the margin only as a reminiscence of 20 4 and not as avariant. He does well to put all such things on one side when trying to reconstruct an old recension β as distinct from ***a***.

[1] *St.Kr.* 1894, pp. 86-119; *Acta Apostolorum*, editio philologica, Gött., 1895; and *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam . . Romanam*, Leipzig, 1896. The theory oh Blass finds a supporter in Joh. Belser, *Beitr. zur Erklär. a Ap.-gesch.* ***auf** Grund **der** Lesarten des **Cod.** D **u. seiner** Genossen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897); it is argued against by Bernhard Weiss, *Der **Codex** D in der Ap.-gesch.*, 1897, vol. 17 part 1 of Gebh. and Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (well worthy of attention, though not comprehensive enough). On Ramsay, see above § 13.

[2] The additions and marginal readings of the Harklensian version (syr.hl.); the Fleurypalimpsest (ed. Sam. Berger, 1889); an Old Latin text of Acts 1 1-13 6 and 28 16-31, inserted in a MS of the Vg. from Perpiguan (also edited by Berger; ***Un ancien texte latin des actes des apôtres***, 1895, reprinted from ***Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale***, Paris, tome 35, 1 partie); Cyprian, and Augustine, and in a secondary degree the composite texts E, 137, Gigas Lihrorum (ed. Belsheim, 1879), Sahid., Irenæus, etc.

[3] In his second book Blass no longer calls β the rough draft of Luke himself, but says: 'Actorum primum exemplar postquam Romæ confectum est vel mansit ibidem vel Christianis Romanis ab auctore ad describendum commodatum est; altera autem forma orientis ah initio fuit ubi Theophilum illum vixisse . . . puto' (pp. vii. *f.*). Insupport of this, heappeals especially (p. xi.) to the more detailed description in ***a*** of the journey on the coast of Crete (Acts 27), which would be more interesting in the East than in Rome and on the other hand to the greater precision in β with regard to the journey by sea to Malta and to Italy, which would he interesting to people at Rome. This seems, however, to he no improvement on his earlier view, since (to mention no other reason) the dedication to Theophilus is to be found also in β.

(*b*) Further, before putting forward this alleged recension as the original draft of Luke the eye-witness, he ought to haveestablished it from the witnesses on objective principles; but there is often no indication of his having done so.

From the very witnesses in which he gets his readings for β—readings often indeed found in only one of them—he omits a great many additions and readings which, judged by the criteria mentioned above under (*a*), show no signs of a secondary character but stand on exactly the same footing with those which he adopts. It is very misleading when in *St. Kr.* (where he deals with only a selection of instances) it is made *to* appear (p. 117) as if there were strictly only four passages (**227 839 9 4 27 2**) which from their attestation should belong to **β**, but are open to the suspicion of having been interpolated, and value is attached to the fact that D and the Fleury palimpsest are free of them. For although Blass, in his second edition, admits such additions as **ἀπόστολοι** after **οὖν (541), τῶν μαθητῶν** before **καὶ ἐξελέξαντο (65), τῷ ἁγίῳ** after **πνεύματι** (6 10), which these two authorities agree in supporting, he still, in spite of the attestation of the same documents, rejects the addition **ἐν Κορίνθῳ** before **ἐνιαυτόν** (18 11), and the reading **ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκύλα** instead of **ἐκεῖθεν** (18 7). Moreover, in spite of weighty testimony, Blass rejects, for example, the Hebraism **ἀντιλέγοντες καί** before **βλασφημοῦντες in 13 45**, which even Tischendorf (in **a**) accepts (in his second edition he substitutes on the authority of the Latin of the Gigas a reading, **ἀντιτασσόμενοι**, for which there is no support in Greek MSS); on the single testimony of Augustine he adds before **καὶ πρηνὴς** in **118** the words *'et collum sibi alligavit'*; on that of the Fleurypalimpsest alone he deletes 9 12. In these last two cases, as well as in many others, it is difficult to repress a suspicion that Blass allowed his decision to be influenced by his hypothesis. The credibility of the author and the possibility of making him out to have been Luke would have been called in question had he not intended to convey, in agreement with Mt. 27 5, that Judas had hanged himself, with the additional implication that the rope had broken, and had he recorded in **9 12** a vision of so remarkable a character that even Blass finds it too marvellous. This last, therefore, he questions even in **a**. That it might also have struck the scribe of the Palimpsest or one of his predecessors as too marvellous, and that Augustine or one of his predecessors could have hit upon the reconciliation between Mt. and Acts adopted by Blass is not taken into consideration. It is, however, a reconciliation that cannot be maintained, for assuredly Luke would not have left out the most important particulars of all—namely, that the rope had broken, and that Judas had hanged himself over the edge of a precipice —without which his fall could not have had the consequences described. Enough has been said to show what caution requires to he exercised with respect to the establishment of Blass's 5 text, quite apart from any judgment as to the manner of its origin.

(c) The very greatest difficulties present themselves when it is attempted to establish **β** in a really objective way. In many cases, more than two readings present themselves—so many sometimes that Blass in his first edition silently gives **np** the attempt to settle **β**; though in the second edition, as he (here) prints only **β**, he has been compelled to determine its text throughout.

Take, for example, **1418** or 10 11. Cases such as these are the first indication we meet with that we have to deal *not with two* ***6ut with several forms of the text***, and thus that Blass's hypothesis is false because insufficient. But, more particularly, there is an entire group of MSS—HLP—which on Blass's own admission contains, if not so many various readings, readings quite as independent in character as those in **β : erg., 16 6** the **διελθόντες** etc., which has found its way into the TR, and plays so important a part in the criticism of the epistle to the Galatians (see GALATIA, § **9**; also below, under *m*). In its divergent readings E comes still closer than HLP to D; in D and E the substance is often the same and only the expression different. Blass conjectures, therefore, 6 a t in the text fromwhich **E** was copied additions from β had once been inserted in Greek and Latin, and that the Greek had afterwards faded; they had therefore to he restored by translating back from the Latin. In point of fact, this would explain very well why the addition of D in **147** (**καὶ ἐκινήθη ὅλον τὸ πλῆθος**) becomes in E **καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο πᾶσα ἡ πολυπλήθεια**, and would apply equally well to some ten other examples pointed out by Blass. But such readings as the **τούτων λεχθέντων** of **E** in **123** after the first **καί**; or the subj. **καὶ ῥυσθῶσιν** in **E** instead of the ind. **ἀπηλλάσσοντο yip** (**ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσθενείας**) in D's addition after **5 15**; or **ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς** in E instead of **ἀκούσαντες δέ** in 521—such readings do not admit of this explanation: thev are simply instances of the same kind of freedom **as** that with which **a** changes **β** (or **β** changes **a**). The same freedom may have manifested itself in other cases where Blass's hypothesis about **E** would in itself be considered adequate enough; the hypothesis therefore demands fuller investigation[1] before it can be accepted (see further below, under ***e***).

(*d*) On the other hand, it is proved that *the Greek* ***text of D rests*** *partly on retranslation from* ***the Latin.***

Of the many passages adduced in support of this by Rendel Harris, indeed (***Codex Bezæ*** in ***Texts and Studies,*** ed. Robinson ii. 1, 1891), the present writer holds only nine to be really valid proofs. But it is surely worthy of remark that three of these (**3 26 532 18 2**) are not even mentioned by Blass in his list of variants—where so much that is less important is to be found—ut simply passed over as *et vitiosa et emendatu facilia*; while f two others, one (14 6) is mentioned only in the first ed., and ıe other (15 26) only in the second; Harris's hypothesis is merely by Blass, and not taken further account. This would from his point of view have been excusable if the Latinisms in D had been merely such as even an author writing in Greek might himself have employed, and in point of fact has employed. in, for example, 17 9 (in **a** and β **λαμβάνειν τὸ ἱκανόν**=*satis accipere*). It is to this category that the only instances from D discussed by Blass belong: **ἐπιθέντες**=*imponentes* for **ἐπιβαλόντες (18 12), εἶναι** for **οὖσαν** (19 35), and, especially, **κεφαλή**=*caput* for **πρώτη** (16 12). But these last two Blass himself does not venture to attribute to Luke. Thus we are led, according to his own view, to the much more serious result that there are Latinisms in D which cannot have proceeded from the author of Acts. The same holds good of **all** Harris's nine passages referred to above. In 13 29 21 21, we find an **εἰσίν** meaninglessly added to an expression in which **τά** or **τούς** occurs, because the original expression had been rendered into Latin by a sentence with *sunt* (in like manner 5 38—only, the *sunt* is now wanting in the Latin text); in **3 26 18 ■**, the infinitive preceded by the article has its subject in the nominative instead of the accusative, because the construction had been changed in the Latin by the employment of a subordinate clause; in **15 26** we have **παραδεδώκασιν** instead of **παραδεδωκόσιν**, because the participle had been rendered by ***qui tradiderunt;*** **14 6** has **συνιδόντες καὶ κατέφυγον**=***intellexerunt et fugerunt;***[1] **5 32** has **πνεῦμα ὄν** (instead of **ὅ**)=***spiritus quem.*** Lastly, **19 29** directly concerns one of the readings of β. According to Blass this runs: **καὶ συνεχύθη ὅλη ἡ πόλις**, instead of **καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἡ πόλις τῆς συγχύσεως** (so **a**). But this is found only in the Gigas--a secondary authority—and in Pesh., which according to Blass is to a still less extent an authority for β. D, in this case the sole authority (in the proper sense of the .word) for **β**, has: **καὶ συνεχύθη ὅλη ἡ πόλις αἰσχύνης**. As Harris has pointed out, this **αἰσχύνης** can only be a retranslation from the Latin text of D: ***et repleta est tota civitas confusione(m).*** This is a correct rendering of the Greek of **a** as above. But ***confusio*** is **also** used for **αἰσχύνη**—compare, for example, Lk. **14 9**—and *confundi* (often) for **αἰσχύνεσθαι. αἰσχύνης**, however, could in the present instance have been employed in retranslation only if the verb was ***repleta est*** (**ἐπλήσθη**). **συνεχύθη**, therefore, can only have come in later, from another copy, to take the place of **ἐπλήσθη**. One sees how precarious a proceeding it is to seek for the most original form of Acts in a MS the text of which has passed through such vicissitudes. If Harris has in any instances proved retranslation from the Latin, the other instances also, though in themselves incapable of proof, gain in probability. We mention only **ἐμοῦ** for **ἐμέ** (3 22), **ἥν** for **ἧς** (3 25), and the additions **καί** before **προσκαρτερῶν** (8 13), **αἰτίαν** (4 21), **ἦσαν** (4 34), **αὐτούς** (7 52), **as** also **καὶ ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον** (1 2), the last four again being like 19 29 readings of β. In **fact,** it becomes a possibility that even such passages as reveal no error in retranslation were nevertheless originally Latin, and the suspicion falls naturally in the first instance upon the additions in **β**.

(e) *Other passages* ***in β*** we cannot accept **as** original, for the reason that they ***are plainly derived from a fusion of two texts.***

Is it possible that Luke can have actually written: **(16 39) παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰπόντες· ἠγνοήσαμεν τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἐστὲ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι. καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες· ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε, κ.τ.λ.**? Cod. 137 and the interpolation in Syr.hl. prove conclusively the inadmissibility of this repetition, by omitting **(καὶ) ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες**. The probability is rather that **παρεκάλεσαν** stood, in the one **MS** with indirect speech, and in the other with direct (so also, for example, in **21** 36 direct varies with indirect narration in the MSS); in this case **ἐξελθεῖν** had reference originally to the city, like **ἐξέλθατε**, and not, as now, to the prison. In *20* 18 the addition in **β—ὁμόσε ὄντων αὐτῶν**—wholly tautological as it is after As **δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτόν**, is certainly not to be attributed to the author: it is a variant of **ὡς δέ κ.τ.λ.** which was at first noted in the margin and after-

[1] In Acts 2, which we have specially examined with this view, we find that Blass omits no fewer than seven readings of **E** which on his principles ought to have been noted as variants; besides three others which he does notice (**2 33 41 47**), four of these seven (2 22 **ὑμεῖς πάντες** instead of **αὐτοί**; 2 24 **δι' αὐτοῦ** after **λύσας; 243 οὐ μικρά** after **σημεῖα**, and **τῶν χειρῶν** before **τῶν ἀποστόλων**) are unsusceptible of explanation by means of his hypothesis.

[1] As another instance we may add **διαρρήξαντες . . . καὶ ἐξεπήδησαν (14 14)**=*consciderunt et exilierunt*. So also 5 21 *f.* **7 4 13 29 16 17 34 20 10**. Moreover **ὅς** (for **ὅ**) **λαλήσας (425)** is due to retranslation of *qui [locutus est]*; similarly **3 11 4 12 11 1** And the As of 1125 (**ἐξῆλθεν ἀναζητῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς συντυχὼν παρεκάλεσεν ἐλθεῖν**) can hardly he explained otherwise than as derived from the parallel Latin text: ***cum (invenisse[n]t deprecaba[n]tur venire).***

wards crept into the text of **DA** Vg. Gigas, hut in **E**, on the other hand, with skilful avoidance of tautology was changed to **ὁμοθυμαδόν**. The case is similar with the addition in 5 21 (found only in D)—ἐγερθέντες τὸ πρωΐ—an addition which, moreover, comes in very awkwardly after **παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ**, especially as, instead of **συνεκάλεσαν**, D goes on to say **καὶ συγκαλεσάμενοι**. Here even Blass asks whether perhaps **παραγενόμενος** may have been wanting in *β*.

Yet, it may be said that, in this and in the similar cases here passed over, the hypothesis of Blass is simply deprived of one of the arguments on which its demonstration rests, while there appear to be enough of them left.

(f) Decisive, however, against this appearance, is the fact that *precisely the most characteristic of the variations of text* ***between*** *a and β* ***bear*** *witness against Blass's* ***theory.*** This confutation of his hypothesis follows inevitably from the hypothesis itself.

Just in proportion to the clearness and pointedness of *β* and the weakness of *α* in these respects, is the improbability of the author's having with his own hands obscured and perverted the sense. And here in the meantime we can leave altogether out of account the question whether or not he was also the eye-witness. In any case, after writing in his draft of **24** 27 that it was on account of his wife Drusilla that Felix left Paul bound, he would not have said in his fair copy simply that it was on account of the Jews—even if, as Blass thinks, both statements were correct. If in his draft he had stated that Paul had proclaimed the apostolic decree, not only in the later course (16 4), but also at the outset, of his new missionary journey (15 41), he would not in his fair copy have omitted to state this in the first and therefore more important of the places. In this instance even Blass considers an interpolation in *β* as conceivable in 15 41, hut chiefly because the expression seems to him to he somewhat obscure. In 22 29 *f.*, although the officer is in fear because a Roman citizen has been bound, Paul is not released, according to *a*, till the following day, not—as in *β*, immediately (**παραχρῆμα**). Blass himself says (*St. Kr.* 108); 'one cannot but be astonished at the carelessness of the abridgment in *a*.' All the more readily might it have occurred to him that it was the writer of *β* that perceived and corrected the defects **of a**. In his *Editio philologica* Blass wishes **τῇ ἐπαύριον** without any authority either deleted or changed to **τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ**. This would be justifiable only if it were perfectly certain that the narrative, even in *a*, is all of one piece and absolutely to the point. But such critics as Spitta, Clemen, and Jiingst have assigned 22 29 and 22 30 to two separate sources. **If** it is only the addition **ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔδωκεν ταχὺ εἰρήνην** after 14 2 in the draft that enables **us** to understand how it was that in spite of the disturbance (or, according to *β*, persecution) mentioned in 14 2, Paul and Rarnabas remained in Iconium, why does the author omit the words in his fair copy? More accurately considered, they are to be regarded as an interpolation, designed to do away with the contradiction, an interpolation which carried with it the further change of **ἐσχίσθη δέ** (14 4) into **ἦν δὲ ἐσχισμένον** and, in 14 5*a*, the interpolation of *iterum* and *secundo*. It is not in D, however, that this interpolation occurs, but only in Syr.hl., which elsewhere also smoothes away the evidences of the work of various hands in D—as for example, in 19 14 by the introduction of *qui* before **ἔθος εἶχον**, in **186** by the omission of δὲ after **ἀντιτασσομένων**, and in 14 2 by omitting the last two words in the quite tautological expression **οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς**. If, as Blass supposes, it were necessary to hold that Syr.hl. has preserved the original, whom could we possibly imagine, for example, to have added the words **τῆς συναγωγῆς**, or omitted the words *iterum* and *secundo*? But, moreover, in 14 2-5 the changes mentioned above would not have been at all necessary unless first 14 2 had been wrongly interpolated between **14 1** and **14 3**. Even though it may perhaps be a fragment from another source, 14 2 has its immediate continuation in 14 4. Here even Ramsay supposes a 'corruption': only it is 14 3 which he takes for a gloss. Thus we come again upon one of the many cases in which Blass holds *β* to be the original simply because it never occurs to him to bring the unity of Acts into question. Similarly, for example, he drops from *β*, and also even from *a*, the **ἑπτά** of **19 14**, which is irreconcilable with the **ἀμφοτέρων** of 19 16, on the sole authority of D, without recognising that the omission in D may have been **a** late expedient for removing the contradiction just as much as the *duo* for ἑπτά in Gigas. If the author in his draft had already written, after Ἰουδαίας in 15 1, the words **τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων**, and in ***15 5*** had referred to this (by **a** simple οἱ δέ), why is it that in the clean copy his first use of the expression is in 15 5, so as almost inevitably to suggest the thought that a piece derived from another source begins at this point? (see COUNCIL **OF** JERUSALEM, **§ 4**. If, according to the rough draft (not only in 16 6 *f.*, hut also in 17 15 **19 1 20 3**), the journeys **of** Paul were determined by inspiration, why in his clean copy does the author leave this out in the last three of these passages? Here too, we can see the inapplicability of another of Blass's assertions,' **viz.** that nowhere in *a* or *β* is the narrative changed so as to become more interesting or more marvellous. Further the author of this three-fold mention of divine inspiration has fallen into an oversight—that, namely, of attributing to Paul (19 1) the intention of making a journey to Jerusalem just after he had returned from that city, without even the slightest reference to what had been said immediately before. For it is not possible to agree with Blass in regarding the journey of 19 1 as identical with that which had been intended by Paul, according to the addition of @ in 18 21 (found also in **TR**). This last was actually carried out (18 22, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1). And even if it had not been, the inspiration which hindered it must have been mentioned in 18 21, and not in **19 1**, after he had already got back to Phrygia from Cæsarea, which is only a few miles from Jerusalem. Cp further BARJESUS, § 1 6.

(g) Over against these instances, the list of which could be greatly increased, there are *a few* ***rare*** *cases in which β might really* ***be*** *held to* ***be*** *the original.*

The additions **κατέβησαν τοὺς ἑπτὰ βαθμοὺς καί** before **προῆλθον** (12 10), **τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον** before 16 11 and in 27 1, **ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης** after 19 9, **καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τρωγιλίῳ** after **Σάμον** (20 15) **δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπέντε** before **κατήλθομεν** (27 5) **do** not seem to be 'inventions. And yet Blass not only opposed, at least in his first edition, the quite similar addition of **καὶ Μύρα** after **Πάταρα** (**21 1**) in D, Sah., and Gigas, inasmuch as it could have been introduced from 27 5, but also refused to accept the *sequenti autem* die which we find in *d* (**21 5**) instead of **ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἐξαρτίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας** (the Greek text of D is wanting here). On the other hand, in 21 16 the text of *a* is not materially inferior to that of *β*, to which Blass attaches a very high value; for the imperf. **ἀνεβαίνομεν** of 21 15 does not mean "we went and arrived at Jerusalem" (this follows in 21 17), but "we took the road for Jerusalem," and thus, even according to *a*, Mnason may very well be thought of as living in a village between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, as is expressly stated in *β*. The author—in this instance the author of the 'we' source—has here quite naturally taken for granted that the journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem cannot well be made in a single day.

(h) After what has been said, it is clear that *there is not the slightest necessity for assuming the bulk of the remaining variations in β, which are indecisive, to* ***be*** *original.*

They consist partly of what are simply changes in the construction, or periphrases without changing the sense (for both see for example **16 19** *f.*), partly of a somewhat more vivid way of expressing the situation which, however, in the cases we have in view—much more than seventy—could have been derived by **a** simple copyist from the adjoining context. Compare, for example, the very well-devised addition **τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσφαλισάμενος** after **ἔξω** in 16 30.

(i) But do not these changes—materially so unimportant, but in form so considerable—at least prove that both forms of the text, no matter which is the earlier, emanate from the author of the book itself? They do not.

After having seen that precisely in the most significant passages of the hook (see above *e* and *f*) this does not hold, one must further remember that in HLP, and also in E, equally important variations are met with (see above, *c*). These, like those in *β*, resemble the variation by which one gospel **is** distinguished from another. Here, accordingly, transcribers have allowed themselves liberties which are usually regarded as permissible only to the authors of independent works. However surprising this may seem to **us**, the fact cannot he denied. When in Mk. 3 21, for **ὅτι ἐξέστη** (a reading which is **a** stumbling-block to many theologians even of the present day) D substitutes **ὅτι ἐξέσταται αὐτούς**, 'that he has evaded them,' or at least 'that he has stirred them up,'—is not the liberty taken with the text just as bold as Mt.'s in the exactly corresponding place, 12 23 (*i.e.*, just before the reference to a league with Beelzebub), when he changes it to **ἐξίσταντο**? But this freedom of treatment is by no means without analogies elsewhere in the literature of the time. The text of Plato in the Flinders-Petrie papyri (*Cunningham Memoirs* ***of*** *the Academy* ***of*** *Dublin*, **1891**) shows similarly pronounced deviations from the ordinary text—deviations which, according to Usener (*Nachr. d. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1892, pp. 25-50, 181-215), are to be attributed to the copyists of the papyri, perhaps as early as within 120 years after Plato's death. **In** the papyrus text of Hyperides, Against *Philippides* (*Classical Texts* ***from*** *Papyri* in *Brit.* ***Mus.***, ed. Kenyon, 1891), Blass himself discovers 'very often . . . interpolation and arbitrary emendation,' and in the third Demosthenes letter published in the same collection, 'extensive variation' (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, 1892, p. **42**, and 1894, **p. 447**).

In order more easily to comprehend the possibility **of** changes in the text on the part of a transcriber, it may be allowable to conjecture that he may have been accustomed to hear the book recited or even himself to recite it (with variations of the kind exemplified), on the basis of a perusal ***of*** it, but without its being committed to memory. Such recital was by no means impossible in the second century.

(k) The question *whether D shows in the gospels the same variations as in Acts* may be left **out** of account.

It would he important only if it could he answered in the affirmative for Mt., Mk., and Jn. For, that in these cases also the rough draft should have gone into circulation as well as the clean copy is really very improbable. But the independent variations are too few to warrant an affirmative answer. If the same he the case with the Third Gospel, then, according to Blass's hypothesis, we must assume that the draft of it was not copied ; but if they are sufficiently numerous, as Blass has recently declared (*Hermathena*, 21, 1895, pp. 121-143 ; and 22, 1896, pp. 291-313 ; *Evangelium secundum Lucam . . . secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, 1897; *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898), there is nothing to hinder our applying to them the judgment applied to those in Acts, however that judgment may go.

Neither is it decisive of the question that β is frequently not fuller but briefer than a (*e.g.*, **2626 74**).

(*l*) Very important, on the other hand, is Blass's assertion that the *uniformity of expression in a and* β is a 'very strong proof' that both recensions come from the hand of the author. But it is sufficiently met by Blass's own index.

According to this, there occur in the divergent 'passages of β (which are by no means of great compass) **64** words never elsewhere met with in Acts or the Third Gospel. If we deduct from these, besides 5 proper names, the 9 vouched for only by the Latin text (although Blass himself has not succeeded in giving them a Greek form that suggests the authorship of Luke), there still remain 50 (not **44**, as is stated in Blass's *Editio philologica*, **p.** 334). After deduction of 4 numbers, and the expressions *ἰστίον* and *στρατοπεδάρχης*, for which no other word could possibly have been chosen, the number stands at **44.** So also in his second edition (see the enumeration in his *Evang. sec. Luc.* p. xxvii.), although, from the somewhat different form of text adopted, the words that appear to be peculiar to β are not quite the same.

(*m*) In support of Blass's highly important assertion that ***the eye-witness Luke alone*** *could* ***have given his work in both the forms which we have in a*** *and* β, the most that can be adduced — out of all that has been remarked on in the course of the section — are the passages referred to under (*g*). But of the 'seven steps' in Jerusalem, Luke, according to Blass's own view, gained his knowledge not from personal observation, but only from the written (or oral) testimony of an eye-witness.

All the same he takes the liberty, according to Blass, of leaving the note out in writing his fair copy. This being so the omission of the five other details, even if with Blass one carries this back to the author of the hook, does not prove that they had formed part of his own experience; he may equally well have obtained them from a written source. Four of them (16 11 20 15 27 1 5) belong, in point of fact, to the 'we' source. It is not at all easy to see why **a** transcriber might not have ventured to omit them, with ***so*** much else, as of inferior interest. We may therefore thankfully accept them, as well as other data in β which have been shown or may ultimately appear to he more original than ***a***, as contributions to our historical knowledge ; but they do not prove more than this—that in such cases β has drawn more faithfully from a true source than ***a*** has. There remains, accordihgly, in favour of the eyewitness as author of Acts, only 11 28, where D (along with, essentially, the Perpignan Latin text, and Augustine), instead of **ἀναστὰς δέ**, has **ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις· συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἔφη**, and then **σημαίνων** instead of **ἐσήμανεν.** This might possihly he from the 'we' source- hut the inference is not that it can only have been by an eye! witness that the 'we' in ***a*** was set aside. Or why is it that 'we' is set aside by L in 16 17, by ℵ* (and differently by ABCH) in 21 10, by H in 28 16, by P and Vg. in **27 1** (**τοὺς περὶ τὸν Παῦλον**, or *eum*, for ἡμᾶς), hy HLP in 20 7 21 8*a* 28 1 16 13, by C[3] also in 28 1, by **D** also in 16 13 (**ἐδόκει** for **ἐνομίζομεν**)? And why, on the other hand, in 27 19 does it stand only in HLP Pesh.? **In** all of these cases (except **27 1**, see below) Blass has the same reading in β as in ***a***. (In ***16* 13**, he has, it is true, in β the **ἐδόκει** mentioned above, but he likewise obtains in ***a*** also [by the conjecture **ἐνόμιζον & προσευχῇ εἶναι**] a reading in the third person.) He thus acknowledges that it is copyists, not the eye-witness, that allowed themselves to remove the 'we,' or to introduce it. Only in 11 28 does Blass assume that it was Luke himself who changed into the third person in ***a*** the 'we' which he had written in β. So also it is only in one place, and even that only in his second edition, that Blass regards the third person in place of 'we' as a reading of β—namely, in 20 5 (on the authority of **D),** for in **27 1** it is only through a change of the whole of the first part of the verse, rendering **ἡμᾶς** impossible, that the third person is introduced. At all events, it is impossible that 11 30 as well as 11 28 can he derived from the 'we' source (see COUNCIL OF **JERUSALEM,** § **1).** Even the 'we' of 11 28 may possibly have been the insertion of a transcriber who knew (with Eus. ***HE*** iii. 46, Jer. ***De Vir.*** *Ill.* 7, and the Prologue [earlier than Jerome] to the Third Gospel in codd. Corbeiensis, Colbertinns, Amiatinns, Fuldensis, Aureus, etc.) that Luke was understood to have been a native of Antioch. Or has Blass himself not recognised that Irenæus also (iii. 14 1), or one of Irenaens's predecessors, has permitted himself on his own responsibility to say ***nos venimus*** instead of **κατέβησαν** in 16 8? The insertion of 'we' in 11 28 would not be bolder than the other infelicitous changes in β. It ought to he noted that Syr.hl. is not implicated in this insertion ; and the text of D is by no means in order, for it has ἔφη without telling what it was that Agabus did say (in the sense of **ἐλάλει),** while in the whole of the NT it is direct speech, or, as in four isolated exceptions in the case of Paul, at least indirect speech, that is connected with *φημί*. In Acts 11 28 the indirect speech depends rather on *σημαίνων*.

(*n*) **A** very dangerous support to the theory of Blass has been contributed by Nestle.[1]

In his view **ἐβαρύνατε** in D (Irenaeus has ***aggravastis***), instead of **ἠρνήσασθε** in 3 14, comes from a confusion of כבר (Job 35 16 15 10) and כפר in the *Semitic* ***source of Acts*** 1-12 (similarly, before him, Harris, p. 187, but otherwise pp. 162 *f.*), and in like manner **κόσμος,** instead of **λαός** in 2 47, from confusion of עָלַם and עַם (or in Aramaic עָלְמָא and עַמָּא). In itself considered, all evidence for the existence of a source (now pretty generally conjectured ; see above §§ 10 *f.*) for Acts 1-12 cannot be otherwise than welcome; hut) in the form thus suggested the evidence points rather to the conclusion (which Nestle leaves also open) that some person other than the author himself had, in transcribing, adopted another translation of the Semitic text.

(*o*) No happier is an attempt of Conybeare to provide a new prop for Blass's theory.

He points out in the *American Journ. of Philology* (17 2 [1896], pp. 135-171) the most interesting fact that the Greek commentary of Chrysostom, and, to an even greater extent, the many extracts from it in an Armenian Catena on Acts. follow or at least presuppose a series of β readings to he found partly in D (and other witnesses for the β text), partly only in Syr.hl. or in cod. **137.** He thinks he can thus prove that originally all the β readings were united in a single cod., in the copying of which they were partly removed to secure greater agreement with the prevailing text. But the number of β readings used by Chrysostom is insignificantly small when compared with those of which he shows no trace; and ***of such*** **as** ***do not appear in D*** Conybeare has adduced only five. Chrysostom accordingly furnishes no stronger support for Conybeare's thesis than any other witness for β would, for each of them shares some of its readings with D and some with other witnesses for β. But to explain this there is no need of Conyheare's assumption that all β readings are from one hand : it would he explained equally well by supposing them due to the labours of successive copyists (or editors). Conybeare, however, goes much further, and asserts that Luke himself is the author of all these β readings. He ventures to rest this assertion on a single passage—a very small foundation for such a structure. Moreover, it would have been just as easy for another as for Luke to add '*so* natural a phrase' as, according to Conybeare, **συντεχνῖται is** in 19 25.

Blass's theory, then, it would seem, is so inadequately proved that it cannot be held to have subverted any of the conclusions regarding Acts in preceding sections of this article. It has the merit, however, of having called attention in **a** very emphatic way to the importance of β. It has also raised new problems for the science of textual criticism — not to speak of the many valuable contributions it has itself made to that science and to the interpretation of the Book of Acts.

18. Estimate of Blass's theory.

19. Religious value of Acts.

The value of Acts as a devout and edifying work, cannot be impaired by criticism. Indeed, the book is helped by criticism, which leads not only beyond a mere blind faith in its contents, but also beyond the unhistorical assumption that one is entitled to impose on the author the demands of strict historical accuracy and objectivity. Its very ideal, in apostolic times unhappily not reached, according to which the company of believers were of one heart and one mind (**4** 32), shows that the author knew where the true worth of Christianity was to be found. The early Christians pray everywhere with and for one another ; they accompany the apostles and take pathetic farewells of them; they distribute their possessions and have all things in common. Particularly beautiful figures are those of Stephen, Cornelius, Lydia, and the jailer at Philippi. The jailer knows that most important question of religion, 'What must I do to be saved?' (16 30), and Peter also (4 12), as well as Paul, expresses the conviction that Christianity alone has a satisfactory answer to give. The writer. of Acts is able to rise above all

[1] *Expositor*, Sept. 1895, pp. 235-239 ; *St. Kr.*, 1896, pp. 102-104.

narrowness of sympathy (10 15 34 *f.* 15 10); and the conception of God in 17 28, which cannot be attributed to Paul, is really much more apt, and is more closely in accord with the results of philosophically purified thought, than that apostle's, still hampered as it was by Jewish modes of thinking. Lastly, sayings such as we find in 24 16 4 20 20 24 14 22 21 13 *f.* are of the deepest that can be said about the inner Christian life.

20. Literature. As Lightfoot remarks, the literature which has gathered round Acts is too large to catalogue profitably. To his own list (Smith's *DB* 2) may be added Holtzmann's comm. in the *Hand-comm. zum NT* (1889, 2nd ed. 1892). In the criticism of the book the most important landmarks are as follows: Schneckenburger (*Zweck der Ap.-gesch.* 1841), whilst maintaining its absolute trustworthiness, credited it with tendency to vindicate Paul against Judaisers. Baur (*Paulus*, 1845) and Zeller (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1854) regarded its tendency as 'reconciling' (*unionistisch*) in its scope, and its contents as untrustworthy. Bruno Bauer (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1850), whilst holding the same view as to its tendency, went much further as regarded its contents, taking them to be free and often even purposeless invention. Overbeck, in his revised 4th edition of De Wette's *Handbuch* (1870), propounded a modification of the tendency theory substantially identical with that which has been set forth in the present article. Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*, 1873, 2nd ed. 1890; *Urchristenthum*, 1887), Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, and ed. 1892; ET, 1894-95), and Jülicher (*Einl. in das NT*, 1894) urge, often with justice, that the author wrote in simple faith, and has much that is trustworthy. The most thorough-going apologist have been Mich. Baumgarten (*Ap.-gesch.*, 1852, 2nd ed. 1859), Karl Schmidt (*Ap.-gesch.* i. 1882), and Nösgen (*Comm.*, 1882). The most promising new phase of the criticism of the book is that which has for its task a separation of the sources (see above, § 11). In this connection mention must be made of a very remarkable return to tendency-criticism in a Marburg University Program of Johannes Weiss (which appeared after the present article was in type) entitled *Ueber die Absicht u. den literar. Char. der Ap.-gesch.* (1897). Weiss regards Acts as 'an apology for the Christian religion (against the accusation of the Jews) addressed to pagans, showing how it has come about that Christianity has taken over from Judaism its world-mission.' P. W. S.

ACUA, RV Acud (ακουδ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 30† = Ezra 2 45, AKKUB, 4.

ACUB (ακουφ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31† = Ezra 2 51, BAKBUK.

ACUD, see above, ACUA.

ADADAH (עֲדְעָדָה), Josh. 15 22†, probably (We., Di.) a corrupt reading for עַרְעָרָה *'Ar'ārah—i.e.*, Aroer (ערער); see AROER, 3.

(Αδαδα [AL]; αρουηλ [B], implying ערועל; cp ραγου. [1 S. 30 28, 𝔊L].)

ADAH (עָדָה; αδα [ADEL], *ADA*).

1. Wife of Lamech (Gen. 4 19-23†, *αδδα* [L]). See CAINITES, § 9.

2. Daughter of Elon the Hittite, and wife of Esau (Gen. 36 2 4 10 12 16 [R?]); called Basemath in Gen. 26 34 [P]. See BASHEMATH, 1.

ADAIAH (עֲדָיָה, § 35, once עֲדָיָהוּ [No. 8]; 'Yahwè passes by,' cp. ADIEL; αδαια [BAL]).

1. Grandfather of king Josiah, 2 K. 22 1 (εδεινα [B]; ιεδιδα, [A], *i.e.* יְדִידָה, the name of Josiah's mother; οζιου [L]).

2. 1 Ch. 6 41 [26], see IDDO, iii. 2.

3. b. Shimei, in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 21 (αβια [B], *ahara* [A]).

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 12 (σαδιας [A]) = Neh. 11 12 (BN* om., *αδαιας* [L]). This name should perhaps be read instead of JEDAIAH (*q.v.* i. 1) in Neh. 12 6 or 7.

5 and 6. Two members of the b'ne BANI [*q.v.* 21 in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 29 (αδα [B], αδαιας [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 30, JEDEUS (ιεδαιος [BA], αδαιας [L]), and Ezra 10 39 (αδειαμ [N], αδαιας [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 (αδδαιας [L], om. [BA, EV]).

7. b. Joiarib, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 5 (δαλεα [B], αχαια [A]).

8. The father of Maaseiah [4], 2 Ch. 23 1 (עֲדָיָהוּ, *αζεια* [B], αδεια [Bab], αδαιου (gen.) [L]).

ADALIA (אֲדַלְיָא), son of Haman, Est. 9 8† (Βαρεα [B], Βαρελ [NA], -εα [L]). See ESTHER, §§ 3. 7.

ADAM (אָדָם, to which Kt. prefixes ב, Kr. מ [so 𝔊L Symm. Targ. Pesh. Vg., and many MSS and editions]; Kt. is to be preferred; see Di.'s note [1]) is mentioned once, if not twice. In Josh. 3 16 it is the name of the place beside or near which the descending waters of the Jordan 'stood and rose up in one heap'; here it is followed by the words (which may possibly be a gloss) 'the city that is beside Zarethan.' An echo of this name may very plausibly be found in *Tell ed-Dāmieh* and *Jisr ed-Dāmieh*, names of a hill and bridge at the confluence of the Jabhok (*Zerkā*) with the Jordan, some 16 m. in a direct line above the ford opposite Jericho. Indeed it is possible that for אָדָם (Adam) we should read אֲדָמָה (Adāmāh), the ה having dropped out owing to the circumstance that the following word begins with ה (so Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 14). In this case the resemblance of the ancient and the modern name will be closer. The same spot seems to be referred to in 1 K. 7 46, where, for 'in the thickness of the ground' [2] (AV mg.), we should probably read, 'at the crossing of Adamah,' [3] the name of some definite locality, not a description of the soil, being plainly required by the context (so G. F. Moore and Clermont-Ganneau).[4] This gives us a definition of the site of Adam or Adamah. It was at a ford of the Jordan between Succoth and Zarethan. Putting all the evidence together, we may hold that the Succoth of 1 K. 7 46 was E. of the Jordan on or near the Jabbok; while Zarethan was W. of the river, in the valley opposite Succoth. Beside Zarethan, at the 'crossing' or ford, was a town called Adam or Adamah (cp SUCCOTH, 2; ZARETHAN, § 1).

The second mention of a place of this name is in Hos. 6 7 where, for *k'ādām* (RV 'like Adam,' RV mg. 'like men'; ὡς ἄνθρωπος [BAQ]), we must at any rate read *b'ādām—i.e.*, 'at Adam'—to suit 'there' in the next clause, and to correspond to the localisation of Israel's sin in *v.* 8 (so in the main We.). 'There' the Israelites 'were traitors to Yahwè' and 'broke his covenant.' Of course there may be a doubt which of the places called Adam or Adamah is meant, and it may even be surmised that the letters אדם (ADM) are incorrect.[5] The fact, however, that the ford of *Dāmieh* is on the direct route (so we must believe) to the place called Gilead in *v.* 8, suggests that the 'city Adam' of Josh. 3 16 is intended. The confluence of two important streams may well have been marked by a sanctuary.

ADAM AND EVE.[6] The use of Adam and Eve as proper names within the Reformed Churches symbolises a theory of the Paradise story which is distinctively modern and western.

1. Reformation antipathy to allegory. 'The Reformers, always hostile to allegory, and in this matter especially influenced by the Augustinian anthropology, adhered strictly to the literal interpretation, which has continued to be generally identified with Protestant orthodoxy.' This was a necessary reaction against that Hellenistic allegorising which transmuted everything that seemed low or trivial in the early narratives into some spiritual or theological truth. The reaction had begun no doubt in pre-reformation days. Bonaventura, for instance, says that 'under the rind of the letter a deep and mystic

1 The σφόδρα σφοδρῶς of 𝔊B may be safely neglected, though if σφοδρῶς (which is wanting in A) be correct, it testifies to the antiquity of the inferior reading (מאדם). Symm., according to Field's restoration from the Syr. Hex., gives ἀπὸ αδομ; 𝔊L ἀπὸ αδαμη (interpolated)', Vg. *ab urbe quæ vocatur Adom.* Bennett in *SBOT* (crit. notes) regards the name 'Adam' and the description of it as 'the city,' as suspicious. But 'Adam' should perhaps rather be 'Adamah,' and 'the city,' etc. looks like a gloss. The text on the whole is correct.

2 במעבה הארמה. The ‖ 2 Ch. 4 17 has בַּעֲבִי הארמה.

3 במעברת ארמה.

4 Moore, *JBL* 13 77-79 ['94], cp *Judges*, 212 ['95]; Clermont-Ganneau, *PEF Qu. St.*, Jan. 1896, p. 80.

5 One might conjecturally read Dumah—*i.e.*, the Edmna of the OS (255 74; 119 22, cp Guérin, *Sam.* 2 14 *f.*), which is described as a village about 12 R. m. E. from Neapolis (Nāblus), and is the modern *Daumeh* (see Rob. *BR* 4 292 *f.*). This is obviously not the 'city' intended in Josh. 3 16. It is also not very likely to be meant by Hosea.

6 On the names see below, § 3.

meaning is hidden,' but states also that 'he who despises the Ietter of sacred Scripture will never rise to its spiritual meanings.' Still the completion of the movement (within certain limits) was reserved for the great exegetes of the Reformation — Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin. Thus Luther explicitly says — 'It were better to read mere poetic fables than attach one's self to the so-called spiritual and living sense to the exclusion of the literal;' and again, 'We should stay by the dry clear words, except where the Scripture itself, by the absurdity of the simple meaning, compels us to understand some sayings figuratively' (quoted by Diestel, *Gesch. des AT in der chr. Kirche*). This predilection for a grammatical and historical interpretation was closely connected with the revival of classical studies, but had its primary justification in the endorsement which the NT appeared to give to the historical accuracy of the story of Paradise. It is the correctness of the historical acceptation of that story which criticism denies, and before proceeding to consider the results of criticism (see CREATION, § 1 and PARADISE), Protestant students may ask whether Jesus Christ and the NT writers really attached importance to the story of Eden as a piece of history. Our conclusion will of course have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the other early narratives.

2. NT views. Let us turn to (i.) passages spoken or written from a purely *Jewish* point of view. (*a*) In Mk. 10 6-8 (Mt. 19 4-6) we have a combined quotation from Gen. 1 27 2 24. Jesus passes over the facts of the Paradise story altogether, and fastens attention on the statement that man was from the beginning differentiated sexually, and that, by divine ordinance (so no doubt Jesus interprets Gen. 2 24), the marriage union was to be complete. His silence about the facts may no doubt be explained by the circumstances; elsewhere Jesus appears to many to accept the historical character of the deluge story (Mt. 24 37-39; Lk. 17 26 27). But one must be cautious; the reference to the deluge story presupposes the typical character of the early narratives, a theory which is inconsistent with a strictly historical point of view. (*b*) In Rev. 2 7 22 2 14, a literalistic view of the tree of life is presupposed. But these passages are undeniably based, not so much on Gen. 2, as on the apocalyptic description in Enoch 24 *f.* (*c*) In Rev. 12 9 20 2 we have a description of SATAN (*q.v.* § 6) as 'the ancient serpent,' alluding to Gen. 3 1; it is also said that he will 'deceive' the world as he deceived the first man. It is certain, however, that the writer also draws from a well of popular belief, enriched from a wider Oriental source, to which he gives as implicit a belief as to the biblical statement.

Passing to (ii.) the *Pauline* writings, we find (*d*) and (*e*) in Rom. 5 14 and 1 Cor. 15 22 45 references to detail: in the story of Adam; but the reference is made in a didactic interest. Paul accepts (as also probably does Luke) the Alexandrian idea of the typical character of the early narratives, and of the double creation of a heavenly and an earthly Adam. The latter doctrine, which the Alexandrian theology founded on the two separate accounts of creation in Gen. 1 and 2, Paul professes to base on the language of Gen. 2 7. There are also other anthropological ideas which he supports by reference to the fall of Adam. His real interest is in these ideas, not in the story of Paradise. He did not deduce them from the Eden story, and only resorts to that narrative as containing material which may, by the methods of Christian Gnosis, be made to furnish arguments for his ideas. (*f*) In Phil. 2 6 we have probably a contrast between the first Adam who thought equality with God an ἁρπαγμός (an object of grasping) and the second Adam who, thinking far otherwise, humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and thereby actually reached equality with God (Hilgenfeld). Here the story of Eden is only illustrative of an idea, though the illustration is suggested by the favourite typical view already referred to. (*g*) In 2 Cor. 11 3 there is a mere casual illustration.

(iii.) *Other* NT writers. (*h*) In Lk. 3 38 Adam is the last human link in the genealogy of the Saviour. The evangelist suggests a contrast between the first and the second Adam (see Lk. 3); but, scholasticism apart, what he really values is, not the historical character of Adam, but the universal Saviourship of Jesus. (*i*) John 8 44 contains a reference to Satan which presupposes the reality of the temptation and fall of the first man, but is simply and solely dogmatic, and belongs to the peculiar dualism of the Fourth Gospel. (*k*) In 1 Tim. 2 12-14 the social doctrine of the subordination of women is *apparently* inferred from the story of the first woman's temptation.

The conclusion to which these phenomena point could be fully confirmed by a similar examination of (iv.) *Apocrypha* passages — even, the references in 4 Esd., which imply so much brooding over the Paradise story, being in close connection with the typical theory of the early narratives, and the whole system of thought being quite as much based on the imaginative book of Enoch as on the sober narrative in Gen. 2-3. As a final proof that a historical character could not be assigned to the latter in the early Christian age, it is enough to refer to the Book of Jubilees (first cent. A.D., but before 70), which, at any rate in its view of the biblical narratives, represents the mental attitude of the times. Here the biblical stories are freely intermixed with legendary and interpretative matter (see Charles's translation).

We conclude, therefore, that the NT writers, whether purely Jewish or touched by Greek influences, regard traditional facts chiefly from a didactic point of view, as furnishing either plausible evidence for theories derived from other sources or at any rate homiletical illustrations.

3. Names 'Adam' and 'Eve.' The literal and historical acceptation of the story in Gen. 2 4*b*-4, which strong church authority still considers 'nearer to the truth than any other interpretation as yet propounded,'[1] may be supposed to be required by the phenomena of the narrative itself. Is this the case? First, are the proper names Adam and Eve found in the original story of Eden? The facts are these.

(*a*) Adam (אָדָם; αδαμ), as a quasi proper name for the first man (cp ENOSH), belongs with certainty only to P_2 (Gen. 5 3-5),[2] who has used it just before generically, in the sense of 'man' or 'men' (Gen. 5 1 ἀνθρώπων [AL]) followed by τὸν Αδαμ [*ib.*] (cp 1 26 27). The Yahwist (J) habitually uses the term הָאָדָם, 'the man. Once, however, if the text be correct,[3] we find אָדָם (ādām) used generically for 'man' or 'men' (2 20*b*), and once in lieu of a proper name subsequently to the birth of Cain and Abel (4 25), if we should not rather refer 4 25 *f.* to an editor. The conclusion is obvious. It is a true insight which is expressed in the quaint old couplet in Exeter Cathedral,

> Primns Adam sic pressit Adam, salvet Deus illum,
> Is qui venit Adam quærere factus Adam.

'Adam' can be used only in one of two senses (1) mankind, (2) the first man (apart from all historical reference), and to compare a supposed proper name Adam[4]

[1] Bp. John Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (Bampton Lectures for 1881), p. 138. So Bp. H. Browne in the *Speaker's Comm.* and Dr. Leathes in Smith's *DB*(2).

[2] In Gen. 2 19-23 3 8 *f.* 20 4, RV has rightly 'the man (=הָאָדָם) for 𝔊 AV 'Adam'; so in Dt. 32 8 'children of men' for 'sons of Adam': so EV mg. in Job 31 33 'after the manner of men' for 'as [like] Adam' (𝔊 otherwise 1 25). In 𝔊AL the article is omitted in Gen. 2 19 6 20*a* 23 3 12 [L] 20 4 1 25 Dt. 32 8 1 Ch. 1 1 (𝔊B also in the last two passages).

[3] In 2 20*b* 3 17 21 read לָאָדָם 'for the man' (τῷ Αδαμ [AEL]) with Schr., Dillm., and Kau. *HS*.

[4] The present writer can see no probability in the view of Hommel (*PSBA*, 7th March 1893, pp. 244 *f.*) that Adam in Gen

to that of the Babylonian divine hero Adapa (Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 94), or, stranger still, to the Egyptian Atum (Lefébure, *TSBA* **91**) are specimens of equal audacity. The word *'ādām* is of course earlier than any developed creation-myth (*sit venia verbo*), though it implies (cp Ass. *admu*, 'child'—*i.e.*, 'one made' by God),[1] the existence of the central element of all such mythic stories (see CREATION, §§ 20 *f.*).

(b) We must now proceed to consider the name Eve (Hawwah חַוָּה; Gen. 3 20 AV mg. CHAVAH. RV mg. HAVVAH, ζωη [AL], Aq. ***Aua,*** Symm. **Ζωογόνος**, elsewhere ευα [BAL]; ܚܘܐ; *HEVA*). This undoubtedly occurs as **a** proper name (**3 20 4 1**); but it is most probable that *3 20* formed no part of the original story, and that in **4 1** the name Eve is a later insertion.[2] Can its meaning be recovered? According to 3 20 Eve was so called 'because she was the mother of all living' (חַי). This suggests the meaning '**a** living being,' or, less probably, because an abstract conception, 'life' (𝔊AEL Ζωή).[3] It is also possible, no doubt, to compare 1 S. 18 18 (Kau. *HS*) and render 'mother of every kindred,'[4] in which case Eve (חַוָּה) will mean 'kinship,' or more strictly 'mother-kinship,' the primitive type of marriage being supposed to be based on mother-kinship (cp Gen. 3 20). It is best, however, to adhere to the first explanation, if we qualify this with the admission that Hawwah may possibly be a Hebraised form of a name in a non-Hebraic story.

Next, did the writer of the Eden story understand it *historically*? There are at least three points which must be regarded as decisive against this view.

4. The Narratives.

(1) The *naïveté* of the description. The same writer (J), in Nu. 22 28, ascribes the speaking of Balaam's ass to a special divine interference; but the speaking serpent and the enchanted trees in Gen. 2 *f.* appear as if altogether natural. Why? Because the author has no fear of being misunderstood. He knows, and his readers know, that he is not dealing with the everyday world, but with a world in which the natural and the supernatural are one. (2) The idealism of the narratives. The writer chiefly values certain ideas which the narrative is ***so*** arranged as to suggest. '(3) The total disregard of the contents of these stories in the subsequent narratives of the Yahwist. To these most critics will add (4) the licence which the Yahwist appears to have taken of adding certain features to the primitive story, *e.g.* at any rate the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It is not safe to add ***(5)*** the poetical *form* of the story in Gen. 2 4b-3 (Briggs), for all that seems probable is that this story is ultimately based to some extent on lost poetical traditions.

It is equally certain, however, that the writer of our Eden story did not explain it *allegorically*. Reverence for tradition must have assured him that the kernel of it at any rate was trustworthy. After purifying the traditional story by the criticism of his religious sense, he must have supposed it to give **an** adequate impression of what actually took place once upon **a** time. Kant, among his other services in refutation of the nnhistorical rationalism of the last century, has the merit of having forcibly recalled attention to the fact that the narrative of Genesis, even if we do not take it literally, must be regarded as presenting a view of the beginnings of the history of the human race (*Muthmasslicher Anfang* **der** *Menschengeschichte*, **1786**).

What, then, is the Eden story to be called? It is a problem which there is a growing disposition to solve by adopting, in one form or another, what is called the *mythical* theory. The story cannot indeed be called **a** myth in the strict sense of the word, unless we are prepared to place it on one line with the myths of heathenism, produced by the unconscious play of plastic fancy, giving shape to the impressions of natural phenomena on primitive observers. Such a course is to be deprecated. The story of Gen. 2 4b-3 has been too much affected by conscious art and reflection to be combined with truly popular myths. Hermann Schultz has coined the expression 'revelation-myth'; but this is cumbrous, and may suggest to some an entirely erroneous view of the pre-Deuteronomic conception of revelation (cp Smend, ***AT*** *Rel.-gesch.* **86,** ***292***). The truth is that the story of Eden cannot be described by a single phrase. The mythic elements which it contains have been moralised far enough for practical needs, but not so far as to rob it of its primeval colouring. The parallel story in the Zoroastrian Scripture called Vendidad (Fargard ii.) is dry and pale by comparison. In its union of primitive concreteness with a nascent sense of spiritual realities our Eden story stands alone.

There is therefore no reason for shutting our eyes to the plain results of historical criticism. It is only when, as was the case when the late George Smith made his great discoveries (see his *Chaldean* ***Genesis)***, Babylonian myths are adduced as proofs of the historicity of Gen. 1-11, that they may truly be called ἄδωρα δῶρα. It is not the mythic basis, but the infused *idealism* of the Eden story, that constitutes its abiding interest for religious men; and it was owing to **a** sense of this, quite as much as to **a** desire to harmonise Greek philosophy with Scripture, that the allegoric spiritualism of Alexandria found so much favour in Greek Christendom. From the point of view of the pre-critical period this system could not but commend itself to earnest and devout thinkers. Who, said Philo, could take the story of the creation of Eve, or of the trees of life and knowledge literally? The ideas, however, which the sage derives from the stories are Greek, not early Jewish. For instance, his interpretation of the creation of Eve is plainly suggested by a Platonic myth. The longing for reunion which love implants in the divided halves of the original dual man is the source of sensual pleasure (symbolised by the serpent), which in turn is the beginning of all transgression. Eve represents the sensuous or perceptive part of man's nature, Adam the reason. The serpent therefore does not venture to attack Adam directly. It is sense which yields to pleasure, and in turn enslaves the reason and destroys its immortal virtue. These ideas are not precisely those which advocates of **a** mystical interpretation would put forward to-day. There is an equal danger, however, of arbitrariness in modern allegorising, even though it be partly veiled by reverence for exegetical tradition. It is only by applying critical methods to the story, and distinguishing the different elements of which it is composed, that we can do justice to the ideas which the later editor or editors may have sought to convey.

For a discussion of 'Biblical Mythus' see Schultz, *OT Theol.*, c. 2, and cp Smend, ***AT*** *Rel.-gesch.* **113**, 119-122; WRS *RS*(2) 19, 446. On the Avesta parallels, see Darmesteter, ***Le Zendavesta,*** tome *3*, pp. 57 *ff.*, and Kohut, 'The Zendavesta and Gen. 1-11,' *JQR* ['90], 223-229. On apocryphal romance of Adam and Eve, see below, APOCRYPHA, § 10. T. K. C.[1]

ADAMAH (אֲדָמָה). 1, One of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19 36† αρμαιθ [B], αδαμ[ε]ι [AL]).

5 1-5 is altered from Adon *i.e.* Yahu or Ea. We have no right to take our critical startink-point in **a** list given to **us** only in P, apart from this, the theory that the lists of the patriarchs in Gen. **4** and ***5*** are derived, as they stand, from Babylodian lists is scarcely tenable (see CAINITES, §§ 4 *ff.*).

1 To the proposal of Wi. (*AOF* 344, following Stucken) to connect אדם with Ar. *adamat*[un], *adīm*[un], 'skin,' Del.'s note on Gen. **27** (*Gen.*(5) **77**) will suggest a probable answer.

2 **Cp** Bu. *Urgesch.* 141, 212 *f.*; St. ***ZATW***, 1894, pp. 266 *ff.*

3 Nöld. however (with We. [see now *Heid.*(2) 154] and St.), thinks that חַוָּה properly meant 'serpent' (Aram. חִוְיָא), *ZDMG* **42** 487. The Midrash (***Ber. rab.*** par. 21, on Gen. **3** 20) actually compares the same Aram. word, explaining the name thus, 'She was given to Adam to glorify his life, but she connselled him like **a** serpent.' This hardly favours Nöld.'s suggestion.

4 **WRS** *Kin.* 177. But note that כָּל־חַי and כָּל־הָחַי are standing Hebrew phrases (see BDB ***Lex.)***.

1 The above article **is** written on the lines and sometimes **in** the words of **WRS.**

Apart from its being mentioned along with Chinnereth and Ramah and Hazor we have no clue to its site (cp Di. *ad loc.*). Cp ADAMI.

2, see ADAM, i.

ADAMANT (שָׁמִיר, *adamas;* see below, § 4). In modern English poetry and rhetorical prose—for the word is now not otherwise *used*—*adamant* is simply a term for 'the embodiment of surpassing hardness.'

1. Modern corundum. In the EV of OT it can be retained only if understood in the sense in which it is employed by Theophrastus—*i.e.*, in the sense of corundum (see § 2). This is crystallised alumina (Al_2O_3), an excessively tough and difficultly frangible mineral; transparent or translucent; vitreous, but pearly to metallic on basal face. Emery is a compact, crystalline, granular variety—grey to indigo-blue. In a purer state corundum occurs in transparent crystals of various tints of colour—red (Ruby), blue (Sapphire), green (Oriental Emerald), yellow (Oriental Topaz), purple (Oriental Amethyst), colourless (White Sapphire)—little inferior to the diamond in brilliancy, though they do not disperse rays of light to the same extent.

The term ἀδάμας, which is not known to Homer, was applied by the Greeks to that substance which from time to time was the hardest known.

2. *adamas* of the Greeks. In Hesiod it means hardened iron or steel, and the adamantine bonds by which Prometheus was fastened to a peak of the Caucasus (Æsch. *PV* 6, 64) must have been of this material, for the manufacture of which the tribes near the Caucasus, such as the Colchians and the Chalybes, were famous. The ἀδάμας of Theophrastus, however, though it is not included in his list of twelve stones used for engraving on, nor mentioned as employed in the art of engraving—was (1) a stone and (2) probably the white sapphire (a corundum). This is probable from the fact that a particular kind of carbuncle (ἄνθραξ) found near Miletus and described as hexagonal (γωνιώδης ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ τὰ ἑξάγωνα) was compared to it. For noble corundums (sapphires, rubies, oriental topaz, and oriental emerald) are, as a matter of fact, found as hexagonal prisms. It is most unlikely that Theophrastus meant the true diamond (see DIAMOND, § 1), though Pliny (*NH* xxxvii. 415) confuses with this his *adamas,* which—being hexagonal (whereas the diamond would be rather described as octohedral, or a double pyramid)—was, like that of Theophrastns, the white sapphire. As, however, Manilius (1st cent. A.D.) knows the real diamond—he says 'sic adamas, punctum lapidis, pretiosior auro est' (*Astronom.* iv. 926)—it is quite possible that Jerome (in the Vg.) meant by *adamas* the actual diamond; though in that case he was almost certainly wrong (see DIAMOND, § 1).

In the three places where Vg. uses *adamas, adamantinus,* it is to render the Hebrew *shāmīr,* a word which

3. *Shamir* of OT = corundum. may mean either 'sharp-pointed' or 'tenacious.' In each passage the reference is not to a brilliant gem but to something extremely hard: 'harder than flint' (Ezek. 39); parallel to 'a pen of iron' (Jer. 171); similarly Zech. 7 12. In the Pesh. *shāmīr* appears in the Syr. form *šammīrā.* Although the Arabic forms *sāmūr^un^* and *šammūr^un^* are identified by the native lexicographers with *'almās,* 'diamond,' the Syriac *šammīrā* is used not only of ἀδάμας as the 'hardest stone'—employed in cutting others (Bar Bahlūl, *Lex.* col. 39 *l.* 14, col. 863 *l.* 1), or in similes, for something hard (Isaac of Antioch, ed. G. Bickell, 2 62, *l.* 39)—but also definitely as = σμύρις or σμίρις, ܫܡܝܪܐ ܣܡܝܪܝܣ (Duval-Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge,* 2 9, *l.* 5). There is some probability, therefore, in Bochart's suggested connection of שמיר with σμύρις (whence the English emery), which meant both corundum itself and granulated corundum, emery. Diosc. (v. 166) says:—'σμύρις is a stone with which gem-engravers polish gems,' and Hesychius (*s.v.* σμύρις), 'a kind of sand with which hard stones are polished.' The σμιρίτης λίθος of 𝔊 (Job 41 7 [15] [BKC]; -τος λ. [A]; = חותם צר of MT = 'a close seal' of EV, *v.* 15) is the same as the σμύρις of Dioscorides, by which he meant corundum in mass. Hesychius plainly means cotundum in grains—*i.e.* emery. The latter, called Naxium by the Romans (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 7 10) from the island of Naxos, where it is still produced in great quantities, was much used by the Greek gem-engravers of the fourth century B.C. Indeed corundum and emery were the only means of cutting gems known to them up to that time. For Theophrastus (*Lap.* 44), writing in 313 B.C., speaks of it alone as used by the engravers. He identifies it with the stone from which whetstones were made, and says that the best came from Armenia. Both corundum and emery are found in many places in Asia Minor, as well as in several of the Greek islands.

EV renders *shāmīr* by *adamant* only in Ezek. 3 9 and Zech. 7 12. In the remaining passage, Jer. 171, it less

4. The versions. happily renders it *diamond.* The word adamant occurs also in Ecclus. 16 16 AV; but RV, following 𝔊^BℵA^, omits the passage.

Vg. and Pesh. have been already dealt with (§ 3). 𝔊 in Ezek. 3 9 (διὰ παντός [BAQ]) and Zech. 7 12 (ἀπειθῆ [BℵAQΓ]) represents another reading, while in the case of Jer. 17 1 it omits the whole passage [BAℵQ] (though the verses appear in the Compl. Polygl. and, following Orig. and Theod., on the mg. of Q, where שמיר is rendered by [ὄνυχι] ἀδαμαντίνῳ). Wid Zech. 7 12 cp 4 Macc. 16 13. Strangely 𝔊 renders אֲנָךְ by ἀδάμας in Am. 7, EV PLUMBLINE. In the Targum שמיר is identified with חלמיש (see FLINT), although the Talm. regards it as a worm, abont which extraordinary legends are told (see reff. in Buxt. *Lex.* or Levy (*NH W-B s.v.*),[1] and Paul Cassel in a monograph ('56) tried to show that שמיר was an excessively fine, dust-like substance. W. R.

ADAMI. See below, ADAMI-NEKEB.

ADAMI-NEKEB, as RV, or more correctly, ADAMI-HANNEKEB (אֲדָמִי הַנֶּקֶב), *i.e.* the pass Adami, on the frontier of Naphtali, Josh. 19 33†; cp Vg. *Adami quæ est Neceb.* AV makes two names, 'ADAMI, NEKEB.' So 𝔊, αρμε και ναβωκ [B], or αρμαι και νακεβ [A]; L, however, αδεμμη αννεκβ. The Jer. Talm. (*Meg.* 1 1) also divides the expression, Adami being represented as *Dāmīn,* and Hannekeb as *Caidatah.* Neub. (*La Géog. du Talm.* 222) and GASm. (*HG* 396) identify Adami with Dāmieh, 5 m. W. of Tiberias, the site which the PE Survey proposes for the 'fenced city' Adamah of *v.* 36 (*Mem.* 1384). This, however, seems much too far S. when we consider that the 'tree of Bezaanim' (see BEZAANANNIM) was close to Kedesh, while JABNEEL (*q.v.* n. 2) appears to have been a north Galilæan fortress. These are the two localities between which Adami-nekeb is mentioned in Josh. 19 33. It is probable that the name Nkbu in the Karnak list of Thotmes III. (*RP*^(2)^ 547) means the pass Adami. T. K. C.

ADAR, RV, more correctly, ADDAR (אַדָּר; [εις] σαραδα [B], αδδαρα [AL]), an unknown site mentioned after HEZRON (*q.v.*) as one of the points on the southern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15 3†).

ADAR (אֲדָר [Aram.], Ezra 6 15†; אֲדָר [Heb.]), Esth. 3 7 13 8 12 9 1-19; 1 Macc. 7 43 49; 2 Macc. 15 36). See MONTH, §§ 3, 5.

ADASA (αδαςα [AKV]), the scene of the victory of Judas the Maccabee over Nicanor (1 Macc. 7 40 45), lay, as is implied in the narrative, not very far from Beth-horon. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 105) makes its distance from Beth-horon 30 stadia, and Jer. and Eus. call it a village near Gophna (OS, 93 3 220 6). Gophna being obviously the modern *Jifna* between Jerusalem and Shechem, it is reasonable to identify Adasa with the ruin *'Adaseh,* on a bare shapeless down, 8 m. S. of that place (*PEF*

1 Cp Leopold Löw, 'Graphische Requisiten n. Erzeugnisse bei den Juden' ('70), pp. 181-83, in *Beitr. z. jüd. Alterthumskunde,* Bd. 1 of the Leipzig 'Institut zur Forderung d. israel. Literatur.'

Mem. 3106). The remark of Eus. that Adasa belonged to Judah, at which Jer. expresses so much surprise, rests on a confusion between ἀδασα, the 𝔊^A reading of HADASHAH (*q.v.*) in Josh. 15 37, and the place of like name in the passage before us.

ADBEEL (אַדְבְּאֵל, ΝΑΒΔΕΗΛ [AEL in Gen., A in Ch.]; -ΔΑΙΗΛ [*D* in Gen., B in Ch.]; ΑΒΔΙΗΛ [L in Ch.]; ΑΒΔΕΗΛΟϹ [Jos. *Ant.* i. 12 4]; cp Sab. אדבל; see Ges.-Bu. *s.v.*), one of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gen. 25 13; 1 Ch. 1 29†). Doubtless the Arabian tribe Idibi'il, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. (*KB* 2 20 *l.* 56) with Tema, Sheba, and Ephah, but distinct from the Idibi'ilu named in inscriptions of the same king, who was a *Ḳipu*—*i.e.*, not 'warden of the marches' but 'governor' (of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri. See MIZRAIM II. [*b*]). Cp Wi. *Altor. Forsch.* 25. For a slightly different view, see ISHMAEL, § 4 *(3)*.

ADDAN (אַדָּן, § 57, connected with the divine name Addu; see HADAD, ADONIRAM), the name, or part of the name, of an unidentified town or district in Babylonia, mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 59 (ΗΔΑΝ [BAL]) = Neh. 7 61, ADDON (ΗΡΩΝ [BℵA], ΗΔΑΝ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 36, where אדן is represented by *-alar*, *-alan* of AV CHARAATHALAR, RV CHARAATHALAN (. . . αλαν [B], [AS] αλαρ [A], . . . ιδαν [L]). Cp CHERUB, ii.

ADDAR (אַדָּר), Josh. 15 3† RV, AV ADAR (*q.v.*).

ADDAR (אַדָּר), 1 Ch. 8 3†. See ARD.

ADDER. The details are given under SERPENT (§ 1, nos. 2, 4, 5, **6, 7)**. The Hebrew names are :

1. עַכְשׁוּב, *'akšūb* (Ps. 140 3 [4]†), generally believed to be a kind of adder. See SERPENT, § 1 (4).

2. פֶּתֶן, *pethen* (Ps. 58 4 [5] 91 13, AV **mg.** 'asp,' like AV elsewhere), also believed to be some species of adder or viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (5).

3. צִפְעֹנִי, *ṣiph'ōnī* (Pr. 23 32; mg. like text elsewhere, AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' 𝔊^BℵA, κεράστης; also Is. 11 8 59 5 EV mg.), likewise some kind of viper. See SERPENT, § 1 (7).

4. צֶפַע, *ṣepha* (Is. 14 29 EV mg.). See SERPENT, § 1, no. 6.

5. שְׁפִיפֹן, *šĕphīphōn* (Gen. 49 17†, AV mg. 'arrow-snake,' RV mg. 'horned snake'), the *cerastes.* See SERPENT, § 2 (2).

ADDI. 1. The sons of Addi in 1 Esd. 9 31 (αδδειν [B], αδδι [A], εδνα [L]) appear to take the place of the b'ne Pahath Moab of Ezra 10 30; but the name probably represents ADNA (*q.v.*, no. 1), the first in the group. In 𝔊^L the missing name is restored, but without 𝔊^L's usual ἡγουμένου (see PAHATH-MOAB).

2. Twenty-fourth in the ascending genealogical series, which begins with Joseph, Mary's husband, in **Lk.** 3 **23-38** (αδδει [Ti. WH following BℵA]). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADDO (ΑΔΔΩ [A], etc.), 1 Esd. 6 1. See IDDO, iii. *3.*

ADDON (אַדּוֹן), Neh. 7 61 = Ezra 2 59, ADDAN.

ADDUS. 1. The sons of Addus, one of the groups added in 1 Esd. 5 34 [BA] (αδδους, see Swete; perhaps corresponding to Αττιλ [L]) to the 'sons of the servants of Solomon' (see LEVITES) in the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5; see EZRA, ii. § 8.

2. 1 Esd. 5 38. RV JADDUS. See BARZILLAI, 3.

ADER (עֵדֶר), 1 Ch. 8 15†, RV EDER (*q.v.*, ii. 1).

ADIDA (ΑΔΙΔΑ [A]), 1 Macc. 12 38 13 13. See HADID.

ADIEL (עֲדִיאֵל, § 38, 'God passes by'?—cp Adaiah).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meunim (see RV), 1 Ch. 4 36† (εδιηλ [A], αδαηλ [L], perhaps αωσαλ [B]). See GEDOR, 2, and HAM, ii.; and Cp AMALEK, § 4.

2. A priest in the genealogy of Maasai (1 Ch. 9 12† αδιηλ [BAL]).

3. Ancestor of AZMAVETH, *q.v.*, ii. 4 (1 Ch. 27 25† ωδιηλ [BAL]).

4. See ADUEL.

ADIN (עָדִין, § 57, perhaps shortened from יְהוֹעַדִּין, 'Yahwè is pleasant,' cp JEHOADDAN, EDEN 1; ΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝ [BA], ΑΔΔΕΙ [L], *ADIN*).

The b'ne Adin, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 15 (αδιν [B], αδδ. [A], εδδει [L]) = Neh. 7 20 (ηδ[ε]ιν [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5 14 (αδειλιου or -ιας [B], αδινου [A], RV ADINU). A band of fifty males of this family came up with Ezra; Ezra 8 6 = 1 Esd. 8 32 (ADAN αμιναδαβ [L], *i.e.*, Adin and Ebed, the name of their head). The family was represented among the signatories to the covenant, Neh. 10 16 [17] (ηδ[ε]ιν [BℵA], αδειν [L]). See EZRA: i. § 7.

ADINA (עֲדִינָא, 'blissful,' cp under ADIN; ΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝΑ [BAL]; *ADINA*), a Reubenite chieftain in David's service (1 Ch. 11 42†). See DAVID, § 11 *a*, ii.

ADINO, 'the Eznite,' is appended unexpectedly in EV of 2 S. 23 8 to the description of David's principal hero.

The readings of 𝔊 are: αδεινων ο ασωναιος [B], αδειν ο -ναος [A], with the doublet (ουτος) εσπασατο την ρομφαιαν αυτου [in B, though not in A] from 1 Ch. 11 11 (BℵAL], where A* has εσπατο . . . . 𝔊^L, however, gives the single rendering [of a different text], ουτος διεκοσμει την διασκευην αυτων.

A comparison of *v.* 18 shows that what is required to make sense is 'brandished his spear,' עוֹרֵר אֶת־חֲנִיתוֹ, and these words are actually given in 1 Ch. 11 11 in lieu of עדינו העצנו, the words out of which MT (reading העצני) and its followers including EV vainly attempt to extract sense. Modern critics (except Klo.) correct MT in accordance with 1 Ch.

Klo.'s correction, 'He is our pride, he is our terrible one' (after which he ventures to render עַל 'because of') = הוּא עֶדְיֵנוּ הוּא עָרְצֵנוּ, words which are supposed to be a quotation from a warlike song referring *to* this hero, is too ingenious. The words might, it is true, be viewed as a misplaced marginal quotation relative to *David;* but then we should still have to supply some verb as a predicate to complete the account of David's warrior. See ISHBAAL; JASHOBEAM.

ADINU (ΑΔΙΝΟΥ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 14 RV; AV, RV mg. ADIN.

ADINUS, RV IADINUS (ΙΑΔ[Ε]ΙΝΟϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7, JAMIN.

ADITHAIM (עֲדִיתַיִם; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; ΑΓΕΘΘΑΙΜ [L]; BA om., but in v. 34 A has ΑΔΙΑΘΑΕΙΜ and B has ΙΛΟΥΘΩΘ for 'Tappuah'), an unknown site in the Shephēlah of Judah, apparently somewhere in its NE. portion (Josh. 15 36†).

ADLAI (עַדְלַי; ΑΔΑΙ [BA]; ΑΔΛΙ [L]; *ADLI;* 1 Ch. 27 29†), see SHAPHAT, 5.

ADMAH (אַדְמָה, ΑΔΑΜΑ [BAL]) and Zeboim (Hos. 11 8 EV, Gen. 10 19 AV, Dt. 29 23 [22] AV), or, as in Gen. 14 2 8 EV and everywhere RV except in Hos., Zeboiim (Hos. 11 8 Kt. צְבֹאִים, probably = צְבֹעִים [see below]; Gen. 10 19 Kt. צְבִיִם; 14 2 8 Dt. 29 23 [22] all Kt. צְבֹיִים; Kr. everywhere צְבוֹיִם; ϹΕΒΩΕΙΜ [BAL]; Samar. text om. both names in Gen. 10 19; σαδαμα [E] in Gen. 14 2), are mentioned together in passages of the Pentateuch and in Hos. 11 8. In Gen. 14 2 8 they are stated to have had kings of their own (see SHINAB) who joined in the revolt of certain southern peoples against Chedorlaomer king of Elam; in Dt. 29 23 [22] (σεβωειν [AF]) to have shared the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. In Gen. 10 19 (σεβωιμ [A]) they are mentioned in the definition of the boundaries of Canaan proper—*i.e.*, the land W. of the Jordan. Except in Hos. 11 8 the names Admah and Zeboim are always preceded by those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of the Pentateuch passages all except Gen. 10 19 are certainly post-exilic, and it is very possible that Kautzsch and Socin are right in regarding the mention of Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim in Gen. 10 19 as interpolated. In this case we have no right to assume it as certain that Admah and Zeboim were among the cities which an early Hebrew tradition stated to have been destroyed by brimstone and fire out of

heaven. Hos. 11 8 (imitated perhaps in Is. 15 9[1]) only implies that Admah and Zeboim had suffered some terrible destruction. As to the mode of their destruction and as to their locality no information is given. It is, in fact, not at all likely that the least famous of the 'cities of the plain' should have been selected by Hosea as representatives; Amos (4 11) and Isaiah (1 9 10) mention only Sodom and Gomorrah. It is possible that there was once some distinct legend respecting the destruction of Admah and Zeboim. Possibly, too, Zeboim was not a town, but the name of the district in which Admah was situated. Against this we must not appeal to Gen. 14 2, since the names of the kings there given are probably unhistorical. Nor can one help conjecturing that (if, as Rodiger, in Ges. *Thes.* suggests, צְבֹעִים=צְבֹאִים) Hosea alludes to a story which accounted for the dreary character of the Valley of Zeboim (now the *Wādy el-Ḳelt*; see ZEBOIM, 1), analogous to that connected with the valley of ACHOR. Such stories of overthrown villages are not uncommon. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH. T. K. C.

ADMATHA (אַדְמָתָא), one of the 'seven princes' (cp Ezra 7 14) at the court of Ahasuerus (Est. 1 14†; [BAK, L om.]). According to Marquart, however, these seven names have arisen from an original three (cp the *three* satraps, Dan. 6 1 *f.*) of which CARSHENA (*q.v.*) is one, Shethar and Tarshish are corrupt variations of the second (see SHETHAR), and Meres and Marsena corruptions of the third (see MARSENA). Admatha (or rather המדתא) would then be the father of Haman, and for ממוכי (cp note to MEMUCAN) should be substituted האגגי (the designation applied to Haman). See, further, *Fund.* 68 *ff.* Cp ESTHER, § 3.

ADMIN (αδμειν [BK]), a link, in the genealogy of Joseph, between Amminadab and Arni (Aram), in Lk. 3 33 RV mg. and W & H. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADMINISTRATION. See GOVERNMENT.

ADNA. 1. (עַדְנָא [Ginsb. *q.v.*], עַדְנָה [Bä.]) One of the b'ne PAHATH-MOAB in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 30 (αιδαινε [B], εδ. [B[ab]], εδνε [A], αιανασηιε [L combining with next name, which in 1 Esd. 9 31 (L) is σιδια], εδενεχ' ηλ [א= Adna + following name, CHELAL]) = 1 Esd. 9 31 (εδνα [L]), ADDI, 1. With this name should be compared Hadauna, a Jewish name of the fifth century B.C., mentioned by Hilprecht as found at Nippur (cp Ḫazitu = עַזָּה).

2. (עַדְנָא [Ginsb. Bä.]), priest temp. Joiakim (see EZRA, ii. §§ 6 *b*, 11), Neh. 12 15 (αδανας [א[c.a mg. inf.]], om. [Bא*A], εδνας [L]).

ADNAH (עַדְנָה; εδναας [BA], -ναс [L]), a captain in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. 17 14).

ADNAH (עַדְנַח [Ginsb. Bä.], other readings עַדְנַח, עַדְנָה; εδνα [BאL], *Ednas*). A Manassite, who deserted from Saul to David (1 Ch. 12 20 [21]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

ADQNAI (אֲדֹנָי). See NAMES, §§ 119, 109 n.

ADONI-BEZEK (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק, in *v.* 7 with *makkēf*; αδωνιβεζεκ [BAL] Judg. 1 4-7; 𝔊 has αδωνιβεζεκ also in Josh. 10 13 where MT has Adoni-zedek; a third variation is αδωνιζεβεκ [Jos. Procop. 𝔊[codd.]]; the change may be accidental or harmonistic), a Canaanite king whom Judah and Simeon, invading southern Palestine, encountered and defeated at Bezeli. Adoni-bezek fled, but was overtaken, made prisoner, and mutilated. He was afterwards carried to Jerusalem, where he died (Judg. 1 4-7). The name Adoni-bezek is commonly interpreted 'Lord of (the city) Bezek'; but such a formation is entirely anomalous. In similar compounds (Adoni with proper name) the second element is regularly the name of a god, never of a place (there are, in fact, no Hebrew or Canaanite proper names of persons in the OT thus compounded with the name of a locality); nor is *'ādōn* used of the sovereign of a city or country. In Jos. 10 1 *ff.*, which, in spite of radical differences, is based on a source closely akin to that of Judg. 1, if not identical with it, the head of the native kings who first made front against the Israelite invasion of the S. is Adoni-zedelc, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-ZEDEC); and it is to Jerusalem that Adoni-bezelc is taken (? by his own servants) to die (Judg. 1 7). Hence the conjecture offered under ADONI-ZEDEC appears very probable. See also BEZEK. G. F. M.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה, 2 S. 3 4; 1 K. 1 5 7 18 2 28; 1 Ch. 3 2; Neh. 10 16 [17], elsewhere אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ; 'Yahwè is lord,' § 36; cp Phœn. ארנבעל, ארנאשמן; αδωνι[ε]ιας [BA], ορνια [L]).

1. David's fourth son (in 1 Ch. 3 2 αδων[ε]ια [BA; so also in 2 K. 2 21 *ff.*], ορνιας [L]). Nothing is known of his mother, Haggith. Like Absalom, he was born at Hebron (2 S. 3 4; ορνειλ [B], -νιας [A]); like him he was conspicuous by his graceful presence, while like all David's sons he never felt the constraint of his father's authority. Absalom's death left him heir to the throne, and 'all Israel,' as he said himself, 'expected that he would become king' (1 K. 2 15). He therefore, in the manifest failure of the old king's faculties, thought it time to assume a semi-royal state, like Absalom before him (1 K. 1 5). On his side were the old and tried servants of David—Joab, the commander of the forces, Abiathar, who represented the old priestly family of Eli, and had been the companion of David's wanderings—followed by the people as a whole (see 1 K. 2 15). The 'new men,' however, Benaiah, captain of the body-guard, and Zadok, a priest of origin comparatively obscure, looked with evil eyes on his pretensions, and with the powerful aid of the prophet Nathan espoused the cause of the son of Bathsheba. The chance of each party, unless David's death was to be followed by civil war, lay in a sudden stroke which would put their claimant in possession and overawe his opponents.

The story is graphically told, though perhaps with a secret sympathy with Adonijah. Nor can we doubt that, like the other narratives of the same writer, it is in the main trustworthy. Adonijah made the first move. He invited all the royal princes save Solomon, together with Job and Abiathar and 'all the men of Judah,' to a sacrificial feast at a well-known sacred stone (see ZOHELETH) close to Jerusalem (1 K. 1 9 *f.*). They had left the weak old king, however, exposed to the machinations of their enemies, while the fortress was in the hands of Benaiah and his trained soldiers. Nathan was quick to seize the opportunity. By the help of Bathsheba, and with a presentation of facts which may or may not have been perfectly accurate,[1] he obtained from David an order for the immediate enthronement of Solomon. Adonijah's banquet was disturbed by news that Solomon reigned by his father's will, and was protected by Benaiah and the foreign guard. The company broke up in dismay, and Adonijah sought an asylum at the horns of the altar. The clemency of Solomon, however, spared his life, and but for an ill-timed revival of his ambitious dreams he might have remained in a happy obscurity. The cause of his ruin was a petition to be allowed to marry Abishag, for which he obtained the support of Bathsheba. Apparently the queen-mother did not detect his secret political

[1] 𝔊 closes this verse thus, καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον Ἀδαμα [BRA; μ sup. ras א[1]], *i.e.*, 'and the remnant of Admah.' This may possibly be correct (see Duhm, *Jes.* 105, Ch. *Intr. Is.* 91). Moab may be figuratively called Admah, just as Jerusalem is figuratively called Sodom (Is. 1 10).

[1] The question is whether the promise of Solomon asserted by Nathan in 1 K. 1 24 is a clever fiction of Nathan, or not, and whether the description of the doings of Adonijah is, or is not, exaggerated. The former point is the more important of the two. We. (*CH* 261 n.) and Ki. (*Hist.* ii. 180 *f.*) take different sides. We.'s reply is, of course, to us the less palatable one; but we must consider Semitic craftiness, and the improbability of a merely private promise of Solomon. See 1 K. 1 12 13.

motive; indeed Abishag had only nominally been David's concubine. Solomon, however, regarded the proposal as virtually, if not expressly, a claim to the throne, and Adonijah perished by Solomon's sentence and Benaiah's sword.

Compare the narrative of Stade (*GI* i. bk. v. c. 2), with the somewhat different treatment of the matter by Kittel (*Hist.* ii. c. 4). W. E. A.

2. A signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17] (εδανια [BN (though the names are otherwise divided)], ααναα [A], αδωνιας [L]). In the great post-exilic list, Ezra 2 = Neh. 7 = 1 Esd. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), and in the list (Ezra 8) of those who came with Ezra, the name appears (*vv.* 13 18 14 13 respectively) perhaps more correctly (so Gray, *HPN* 137, n. 2) as ADONIKAM (*q.v.*).

3. A Levite, temp. Jehoshaphat; 2 Ch. 17 8 (αδωνιαν [BA], -νια [L]).

4. See ARAUNAH.

5. See ARNAN.

ADONIHAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם; 'the Lord is risen up,' cp AHIKAM; αδωn[ε]ικαm [BAL]).

The b'ne Adonikam, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 *c*); Ezra 2 13 (αδωνικαν [B]) = Neh. 7 18 (αδεικαμ [B], αδενικαμ [א]) = 1 Esd. 5 14; represented in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*), Ezra 8 13 (αδανεικαμ [B]) = 1 Esd. 8 39 (αδωνιακαιμ [B]); and probably among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17]; *see* ADONIJAH, 2.

ADONIRAM (אֲדֹנִירָם, § 40, 'the Lord is high'; αδωn[ε]ιpàm [BAL]; *ADONIRAM*), chief receiver of tribute under David (2 S. 20 24), Solomon (1 K. 4 6; 5 14 [28]), and Rehoboam, on whose deposition he was stoned to death by the Israelites (1 K. 12 18; 2 Ch. 10 18† הֲדֹרָם, HADORAM, αδωραμ [A]).

In 2 S. 20 24 (ιεζεδραν [L]) and 1 K. 12 18 (αραμ [B]; *Aduram*), it is incorrectly (cp We. Dr. *TBS*) written ADORAM (אֲדֹרָם). Hilprecht (*PEF Qu. St.*, Jan. '98, p. 55), indeed, attempts to explain the form by connecting it with Addurāmu ('Addu is high'), a Jewish name on a tablet from Nippur; notice, however, that נ is not expressed and that 𝔊BAL reads 'Adoniram.'

ADONIS only in the phrase נִטְעֵי נַעֲמָנִים (a double plur.), Is. 17 10 RVmg. 'plantings of Adonis' (EV has 'pleasant plants'). In justification of

1. OT reference. the rendering see Che. *Is.*[(3)] 1 108, Kittel in Di. *Jes.*[(6)] To Ewald (*Proph.* 2 116, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* 718, n. 3) and still more to Lag. (*Semitica*, 1 31, *Uebers.* 205, n.) is due this important correction of the rendering. Clermont-Ganneau should also be consulted (*Études d'archéol. orientale* 1, 1880, pp. 26 *ff.*), also WRS *Eng. Hist.* Rev., 1887, p. 307; but cp We. *Ar. Heid.*[(1)] 7 n. Na'aman (=pleasant, gracious) was doubtless a title of the 'Lord' (Adon, whence Adōnis), and Adonis-worship seems to have penetrated under this title into Syria and Palestine, as we gather from the OT name NAAMAN [*q.v.*], from the names Numāna and Nāmāna in S. Palestine in pre-Israelitish times (Thotmes III.), and from the *Nahr Na'mān* (N. of Carmel), which seems to be the Belus of the ancients. That Adonis-worship flourished in Palestine when Isaiah wrote can easily be believed. The N. Israelites were at this time specially open to Syrian influences. They 'forgot' Yahwè because he seemed unable to protect them. So Isaiah indignantly exclaims, 'Therefore, though thou plantest (little gardens with) shoots of Adonis, and stockest them with scions (dedicated) to a foreign god . . . the harvest shall vanish in a day of sickness and desperate pain.' The phrase 'shoots of Adonis' points to the so-called 'gardens of Adonis,' baskets containing earth sown with various plants, which quickly sprang up and as quickly withered. In reality they were symbols of the life and death of Adonis; but Isaiah takes the withering as an image of the withered hopes of Israel. On these 'gardens' see Frazer, *Golden Bough* 1 284 *f.*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 414; Ohnefalsch Richter, *Kypros* 132 *f.*; and cp Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SBOT* (Eng.), 146.

Adonis was one of those local gods who live with and in nature, who suffer in summer's drought, die with the winter, and live again with the early spring. Legend, however, explained the death of the god as

2. Legend and cult. an event of far-off times. Adonis, it said, was killed whilst hunting the boar in Lebanon, and accordingly in the heat of summer was solemnised the great mourning festival (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 411), at which his corpse was exhibited resting upon a bed of flowers—the quickly fading Adonis-garden. Far up in Lebanon, near the fountain of 'Afka, death suddenly overtook him; whereupon the spring became red with his blood. By 'Afka was an ancient temple of the goddess Aphrodite (so Luc. *Dea Syr.* 9; Eus. *Vit. Const.* 3 55, Sozom. HE 2 5), of which the ruins still remain; probably it contained the grave of the god. This legend, and the cult connected with it, must be very ancient. Indeed, in a source as early as the papyrus Anast. I., mention is made of the goddess of the 'mysterious' city of Byblus. In its origin it was distinct from the Babylonian legend of the loves of Ištar and Tammuz, though at an early date both this legend and the Egyptian story of Osiris were combined with it (Plut. *de Is.* 15, Luc. *Dea Syr.* 7; cp Apollodor. ii. 1, 3, 7, etc.). The cult spread through all the Phœnician colonies, especially to Cyprus, whence in the seventh century it was imported into Greece. Adonis, however, is not to be taken as the true name of the god; every god can be called 'Adon,' lord, just as every goddess is entitled to be called Rabbath, 'the lady.' At Byblus (see GEBAL, i.) the favourite of the goddess of Byblus was invoked as the 'lord' *par excellence*, and thus it was that the Greeks came to call him Adonis. What his real name was we do not know; for the name Tammuz, which he also bears, is Babylonian, and it is doubtful whether it ever became naturalised in Phœnicia.

Possibly his name survives, unsuspected, among the many divine names. Or perhaps the recollection of his sad fate may have hindered the formation of proper names derived from his; nor is it impossible that in the worship he never received a real name at all.[1] For in point of fact Philo, who never mentions Adonis, says of a certain Eliûn (עליון) = ὕψιστος, that he lived with a woman named Berut in Byblus, that he was slain by wild beasts, and was afterwards deified, and that 'his children brought him libations and offerings.' This seems to be the euhemeristic version of the Adonis legend. Now in 'Ahedat in the neighbourhood of Byblus, where doubtless the village Saarna lay, there has been found an altar Διὶ οὐρανίῳ ὑψίστῳ Σααρναίῳ ἐπηκόῳ (Renan, 234), and although such attributes are of frequent occurrence in Syria, Renan is probably right in recognising in this 'highest god' the Eliûn of Philo, and Adonis. Moreover, according to Philo (ii. 10), the god Ἀγρούηρος ἢ Ἀγρότης, 'the farmer,' whose brother is called Ἀγρός, 'field' (*i.e.*, שָׂדֶה)[2] and who 'had a sacrosanct image and a temple carried about Phœnicia on wheels,' was honoured in Byblus as θεῶν ὁ μέγιστος. He also recurs in the Greek inscriptions. In Byblus a temple was erected under Augustus Διὶ ὑψίστῳ (Renan, 223; cp 232 θεῷ Ἀρτ . . .) and the same god had a temple deep in the recesses of the mountains near Kal'at Fakra to the SE. of Byblus (*CIG* 4525 . . . ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μεγίστου θεοῦ ᾠκοδομήθη). The Phœnician name represented by Ἀγρούηρος is unknown. See TAMMUZ. T. K. C. § 1—E. M. § 2.

ADONI-ZEDEC, or rather **-Zedek**, as RV (אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק, 'Ṣedeḳ is lord,' cp MELCHIZEDEK, though to later readers the name very probably meant 'lord of righteousness'; αδωnιβεζεκ [BAL]; *ADONISEDEC*), a king of Jerusalem at the time of the Israelitish invasion. See Josh. 10 1 *ff.*, where he leads a confederation of five kings of S. Canaan. According to Josh. 10, Joshua came from Gilgal to the relief of the Gibeonites threatened by the coalition; surprised and completely routed the army of the Amorite kings near Gibeon; captured the five kings in the cave of Makkedah; put them to death and impaled their bodies; then, turning back, razed Lachish, Eglon, and Hebron, with many other cities in the region. This story stands in a narrative of the

1 𝔊 φύτευμα ἄπιστον [BאAQΓ].

1 The inscription from the district of Hippo Diarrhytus (*CIL* viii. 1 1211) *sacerdos Adoni (sic)* proves nothing as to the cultus-name of the god; Adonis has here, as among the Greeks, become a proper name.

2 From the time of Scaliger it has been assumed that this name arose from a corruption or misunderstanding of שַׁדַּי (see SHADDAI). This is possible, but very far from certain.

conquest of all Palestine by Joshua in two great campaigns (Josh. 10 *f.*) which cannot be historical. A much more credible account is to be found, though in an abridged form, in Judg. 1 (see JOSHUA, § 8; JUDGES, § 3). Here Adoni-bezek is the king who opposes the first resistance to the advance of the tribes of Judah and Simeon against the Canaanites of the S. It is therefore in Budde's opinion (*ZATW* 7 148 ['87]) not improbable that the 𝔊 reading 'Adoni-bezek, king of Jerusalem' in Josh. 10 13 is correct, especially as Judg. 1 7 may be understood as saying that his own followers carried Adoni-bezek to Jerusalem, and so as implying that that city was his capital. The objection to this view is that the second element in Adoni-bezek ought to be a god, and we know of no god named Bezek. Hence it is very possible that Adoni-bezek in Josh. 10 [𝔊BAL] is a scribe's error, and that the original narrative of Judg. 1 had not Adoni-bezek, king of some nameless city, but Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONI-BEZEK). W. R. S.—G. F. M.

ADOPTION (υιοθεσια), Ro. 8 15 23 9 4 Gal. 4 5 Eph. 1 5†. See FAMILY.

ADORA (see below) or **Adoraim** (אֲדוֹרַיִם; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; αδωραι [B], -μ [A and Jos. *Ant.* viii. 10 1], -ραμ [L]; *ADURAM*), mentioned with Mareshah, Ziph, and Lachish among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 9†). The sites of all these places having been securely fixed, there can be no hindrance to identifying Adoraim with the modern *Dūra*, which is 5 m. W. by S. from Hebron, and is described by Robinson (2 215) as 'one of the largest (villages) in the district.' The site is well adapted for a town, being 'on the gradual eastern slope of a cultivated hill, with olive groves and fields of grain all round' (cp *PEF Mem.* 3 304). Under the new Egyptian empire an Adoraim is perhaps mentioned twice (WMM. *As. u. Eur.* 167, 174); but it is not clear that Rehoboam's city is intended. At any rate, Adoraim is doubtless the Adora or Dora of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15 4 and elsewhere αδωρα, αδωρεος, δ.; C. *Ap.* 9 δωρα), and the ADORA of 1 Macc. 13 20 (αδωρα [AKV]). In the latter, Adora is a point on the route by which Tryphon entered Judæa; in the former, it is usually coupled as an Idumæan city, with Marissa (Mareshah), the fate of which it shared, being captured by John Hyrcanus and compelled to accept circumcision and the Jewish law (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 1; *BJ* i. 2 6). T. K. C.

ADORAM (אֲדֹרָם), 2 S. 20 24; 1 K. 12 18†. See ADONIRAM.

ADRAMMELECH (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ, αδραμελεχ [BL], -λεκ [A]; Jos. -λεχος, ανδρομαχος).

1. A Babylonian deity. According to 2 K. 17 31, after 'the king of Assyria,' *i.e.*, Sargon (see SARGON), had transplanted the Sepharvites into Samaria, they there continued to worship Adrammelech and ANAMMELECH (*q.v.*), the gods of Sepharvaim. This passage presents two difficulties. In the first place, according to the biblical account the worship of Adrammelech was accompanied with the sacrifice of children by fire: 'they burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech.' Throughout the cuneiform inscriptions, however, there is no allusion to human sacrifice, and in the sculptures and reliefs no representation of the rite has been discovered. The second difficulty concerns the explanation of the name Adrammelech and its identification with some known divinity of Babylonia. The name was originally explained as *Adar-malik*, 'Adar the prince,' Adar being regarded as the phonetic rendering of the name of the god *Ninib*. This identification, however, was unsupported by any evidence, and has now been abandoned. A clue to the solution of the problem, however, is afforded by the statement that Adrammelech was a god of Sepharvaim, a city that is generally identified with Sippar (cp SEPHARVAIM). The god whose worship was especially centred at Sippar was Šamaš the Sun-god. That this was the case is abundantly proved by references throughout the historical and religious texts of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and the remains of the great temple of the sun-god exist in the mounds of Abu-Habbah at the present day. Some scholars, therefore, would see in Adrammelech a subsidiary name or title of the Sun-god himself. Others, however, do not accept this view. They strike at its chief support by repudiating the identification of ספרוים with Sippar, suggesting that it is to be identified with *Šabara'in*, a city mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle. No satisfactory explanation of the name, therefore, has yet been offered. But cp NISROCH. L. W. K.

2. A son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who, according to 2 K. 19 37 (αδρεμελεχ [A]) and Is. 37 38 (αδραμελεχ [Bℵ¹AOQ], ανδραμ. [ℵ*]), in conjunction with his brother SHAREZER (*q.v.*), slew his father while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh, and thence escaped into Armenia. In the Babylonian Chronicle mention is made of this revolt, in which Sennacherib met his death; but the only trace of the name Adrammelech hitherto found is in Abȳdēnus under the form Adramelus, and in Polyhistor under that of Ardumusanus. Scheil however thinks that ADRMLK and Adramelus are corruptions of Aššur-MU-NI-IK (or -GAL), the idiographic reading of the name pronounced Ašur-šum-ušabši. This is the name of a son of Sennacherib for whom his father erected a house amidst the gardens of Nineveh. For analogies cp the royal name Sammughes = Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. The Ardumusanus of Polyhistor may be a corruption of the phonetic form given above, just as Σαοσδούχινος is Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the phonetic reading of Šamaš-MU-GI-NA. (See Scheil, *ZA* 12 1; *Rev. bib.*, April 1897.) Cp ESARHADDON, NISROCH.

ADRAMYTTIUM (αδραμυττιον or ατρ.; the adjective, which alone occurs in the NT, is, as in some cursive MSS of Acts, αδραμυττηνος or ατρ.; neither inscriptions nor coins give the form -ττηνος of Tisch. following ℵB³; W & H -υντη. after AB*). A seaport of Mysia, which gave, and still gives, its name to the gulf, a great triangular indentation along the S. foot of Mt. Ida, whence it was called also the 'Idæan.' Adramyteum, in the E. recess of the gulf, was always important. It would profit by the trade in timber from Ida. There were also copper mines in the neighbourhood, and iron mines at Andeira not far to the NW. Strabo (p. 606) describes it accurately as 'a colony of Athens, a city with a harbour and roadstead'; but its importance goes back to a much earlier epoch if, as Olshausen asserts (*Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* '53, p. 322; cp Hazar-maveth), the name points to foundation by the Phœnicians. Of necessity Adramyteum was intimately connected with the road system of NW. Asia. The coast road from Ephesus and the inland road from Pergamus converged to Adramyteum, whence they diverged, on the one hand, across the Mysian peninsula to Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora, and, on the other, to Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont. Consequently, it became an assize town, or head of a *conventus juridicus*. Adramytian coasters such as that in which Paul performed the first stage of his journey to Rome (Acts 27 2†) must have been familiar visitors to Cæsarea and the Syrian harbours. *Adramyti* (*Edremid*), which preserves the old name, is 5 m. from the sea. Thus, Kiepert is perhaps right in putting the ancient town on an eminence by the sea, 8 m. SW. of the modern Adramyti (*Z. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, 1889, 292 *f.*). Nevertheless, Edremid is heir to the importance of Adramyteum. Silver mines are now worked in the hills behind the town. W. J. W.

ADRIA (εν τω αδρια, Acts 27 27 [BKA], *ADRIAS*; 'stony sea,' Wiclif), the division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Malta on the W. and Crete on the E. So the name is applied by Paus. v. 25 3 (speaking of the straits of Messina), ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ

ἐξ ἑτέρου πελάγους ὃ καλεῖται Τυρσηνόν. Cp id. viii. 54 3. Procopius considers Malta as lying on the boundary (*BV* i. **14**: Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ προσέσχον, αἳ τότε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν). Ptolemy distinguishes between the Adriatic *sea* and the Adriatic *gulf*. Acts reproduces the language of the sailors. For this extended application of the name cp Straho, who, writing about 19 A.D., says that the Ionian Sea is 'part of what is now called Adrias' (p. **123**). This implies that the ancient use of the word had been more limited. In mediaeval times the name was still more widely extended, being practically= 'Levant,' as opposed to 'Ægean' (cp Ram. *Paul* **298**. See MYRA). The question is connected with the identification of the island upon which Paul was cast (Acts 28 1) after fourteen days' drifting in Adria (see MELITA). We may compare the shipwreck of Josephus 'in the middle of the Adria' (κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν) : he was picked up by a ship sailing from Cyrene to Puteoli (*Vit.* 3).

W. J. W.

ADRIEL (עַדְרִיאֵל, not 'God's flock,' but either (*a*) miswritten for עַזְרִיאֵל, 'God is helper' [cp forms of name in 𝔊, 2 S. **21** 8 below]; or (*b*) the Aram. form of Heb. עַזְרִיאֵל. The former view is adopted in NAMES, § **28**; the latter by Nestle, *ZDPV* 15 257; cp BARZILLAI; see also *HPN* 266 n. 1, 309 n. 8). Son of BARZILLAI (*q.v.*, n. **4**) the Meholathite, to whom Saul married his daughter MERAB (*q.v.*); 1 S. 18 19 (om. **B**; ιηλ (usually = ισραηλ) [A], εδριηλ [L]), 2 S. 21 8 (σερει [B], εσδρι [A], εζρι [L]).

ADUEL (αδουηλ [Bא], ναυη [A]; [Syriac], the great grandfather of Tobit (Toh. 1 1). No doubt another form of ADIEL (*q.v.*).

ADULLAM (עֲדֻלָּם, οδολλαμ [BAL], οδολαμ [B, 2 Ch.; B^a vid, Mi.; A, 1 S.], οδολλα [A, Josh. 15 35], αδαλλαμ [L *ib.*]; *ODOLLAM*, variants *ADU(L)LAM*, *ODOLAM*, *ODULLAM*; gentilic עֲדֻלָּמִי, **Adullamite,** οδολλαμ[ε]ιτης [ADEL], -μητης, οθολλαμιτης [E]), a town in the Shephelah (Josh. 15 33 35), with a changeful history. For a considerable time it seems to have remained Canaanitish. We still have a legend in Gen. 38 1 *f.* (J) which describes the fusion of Judahite clans with a Canaanitish clan whose centre was Adullam. This fusion had apparently not been accomplished in David's time, for Adullam was still outside the 'land of Judah' when David took refuge there (1 S. 22 1; cp *D.* 5). We cannot therefore accept the editorial statement in Josh. 12 15 (cp *D.* 7) that Joshua 'smote' the king of Adnllam. The Chronicler speaks of Rehoboam as having fortified Adullam (2 Ch. 11 7). He names the place in conjunction with Soco (Shuweikeh), which harmonises geographically with Micah's combination of it (Mic. 1 15, if the text be correct) with Mareshah (Merāsh). It is included in the list of cities which are stated to have been occupied by the Jews in the time of Nehemiah or Zeruhbahel (Neh. 11 30; so א^c.a mg. inf. L; BHA om.); but the list in Neh. 11 25-36 appears to be an archæological fiction of the Chronicler. Judas the Maccahee, at any rate, in a raid into 'Idumæa,' occupied Adullam and kept the sabbath there (2 Macc. 12 38).

The chief interest of Adullam, however, lies in its connection with DAVID (*q.v.*, § **3**). Here, not in some enormous cave (such as that fixed upon by tradition at Khareitūn),[2] hut in the 'stronghold' of the town, David on two occasions found a safe retreat (1 S. 22 1; 2 S. 5 17; cp 23 13).

Where was Adullam? The authority of the Palestine Survey has led many recent writers to adopt the identification of Adullam with 'Īd-el-mā, proposed in **1871** by M. Clermont-Ganneau. This is the name of a steep hill on which are 'ruins of indeterminate date,' with an ancient well at the foot, and, near the top, on both sides, caves of moderate size. The site is in the east of the Shephēlah, about **3** m. SE. of Soco, and 8 from Mareshah; and, though it is much more from Bethlehem, 'the journey would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David' (Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ* 177 ['75]). The identification, however, is only conjectural. The caves are unimportant (1) because the MT (cp Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 3) speaks of a single cave, and (2) because with We., Ki., Bu., and Kau. we should correct מערה, 'cave,' in 1 S. 22 1 2 S. 23 13 1 Ch. 11 15, into מְצָדָה, 'stronghold'; cp 1 S. 22 4 *f.* **2 S.** 23 14. Nor does the position of 'Īd-el-mā exactly agree with that assigned to Adullam in the *Onomasticon*. On the very slight resemblance of the name to Adullam no reliance can be placed. Other sites are quite possible. Cp GASm. *HG* **229** *f.* See MICAH, § 2 *a*, n.

T. K. C.

[1] The word is found both with d and with z on Aramaic seals; *e.g.*, הדרעזר (*CIS* 2, no. 124) but הרעדר, 'Horus is a help' (*ib.* 77).
[2] The Maghāret Khareitūn enters history, not with David, but with an ascetic named Chariton, who, after having been taken by robbers on the way to Jerusalem, founded one of his two lauras here, and died in the cave about 410 A.D.

ADULTERY. See MARRIAGE, § **4**.

ADUMMIM, The Ascent of (מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים; Josh. 15 7 αδδαμειν [B], αδομμι [A], αδαμμειν [L]; 18 17 αιθαμειν [B], εδωμι [A], εδωμειμ [L]; *ADOMMIM*), a point marking the frontier between Judah and Benjamin. The sharp rise near the middle of the road from Jericho to Jerusalem appears to he intended; the name (connected with אדם, 'red') was pel-haps suggested by the ruddy hue of the chalk rocks in that neighhonrhood, to which appears to be due the name of the khān el-Ahmar ('the red'), the traditional 'inn' of the Good Samaritan, and that of *Tala'at ed-Dam* ('the hill of blood'), NE. of the khān. With the latter spot the ascent of Adummim has been plausibly identified (*PEF Mem.* 3 172).

ADVERSARY. The word so translated in 1 S. 1 6† (צָרָה *ṣāra*, RV 'rival,' αντιζηλος [L],[1] cp Lev. 18 18 [BAL]) is the technical term for a fellow-wife, answering to Ass. *ṣirritu*, Ar. *ḍarratun*, Syr. *'artha* (*'arra*). All these forms are dialectal variations of a single Old-Semitic word. Similarly, in Lev. 18 18 the words 'to vex her' are better rendered by RV 'to he a rival *to her*.' The words that follow may he rendered, interpreting the metaphor, 'marrying the second sister, in addition to the first, in the lifetime of the latter.'

The sense of the metaphor is given by the Arabic *litakūna ḍarrataha*. See Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.* and especially Lag.'s *Mittheilungen* 1 125 *f.* (*GGN*, 1882, no. 13). W. R. S.

ADVOCATE (παρακλητος), 1 Jn. 2 1, see PARACLETE.

AEDIAS (αηδειας [B]), 1 Esd. 9 27 = Ezra 10 26, RV ELIJAH, **3**.

ÆNEAS (αινεας [BHA]), a paralytic at Lydda healed by Peter (Acts 9 33†). The form of the name, Ænĕas, not as in Homer Ænēas, is noteworthy. It is met with in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Pindar.

ÆNON (αινων [Ti. WH]), Jn. 3 23†. See SALIM.

ÆSORA (αισωρα [RA], etc.), Judith 4 4† RV = AV ESORA (*q.v.*).

AFFINITY. See FAMILY, KINSHIP.

AGABA, RV ACCABA (ακκαβα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 30 = Ezra 2 46, HAGAB.

AGABUS (αγαβος [Ti. WH]; § 68), one of the 'prophets' who came from Jerusalem to Antioch at the time of the dispersion from Jerusalem 'upon the tribulation that rose about Stephen' (Acts 11 19, cp 8 4). He predicted a great famine over all the world, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius' (Acts 11 27 28). The reference, doubtless, is *to* the great dearth which visited Judæa and the surrounding districts—especially Jerusalem—between 44 and 48 A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* XX. 2 6; 5 2;

[1] The text of **BA** differs.

Eus. *HE* ii. 11 3). For other famines in the reign of Claudius, see Suet. *Claud.* 18; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

The next mention of Agabus is in Acts 21 10 *f.*, where it is said that he 'came down from Judæa' to Cæsarea when Paul was there, and, taking Paul's girdle, bound his own feet and hands with it to symbolise the captivity of the apostle. As this reference looks like a first mention of Agabus, those who ascribe the whole of Acts to one writer regard it as an indication that the second half of the book was written first. By others the passage is naturally regarded as one of the indications that the author of Acts did not himself write the 'we' passages, but adopted them from an earlier source. On the other hand, Overbeck and Van Manen tegard *vv.* 10-14 as an interpolation, and suppose that the 'we' was introduced by the last redactor. Jüngst thinks that the prophecy cannot originally have been ascribed to Agabus, but must have been assigned to one of Philip's prophesying daughters, or these would not have been mentioned. At all events, it is to be noted that 'from Judæa' (21 10) does not harmonise with 21 8, for Cæsarea belonged to Judæa.

Agabus is included in the lists of the 'seventy disciples of our Lord' by pseudo-Dorotheus and pseudo-Hippolytus, and is commemorated in the great Greek Menæa (Apr. 8), along with Rufus, Herodion, and Asyncritus.

AGAG (אֲגַג, אֲגָג, cp Ass. *agagu*, 'be powerful, vehement, angry'; *Igigi*, the spirits friendly to man, Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634; αγαγ [BAL],), a king of the Amalekites, so celebrated in early tradition that the Yahwist makes Balaam say, by an obvious anachronism, of the future Israelitish kingdom, 'His king shall be higher than Agag' (Nu. 24 7; γωγ [BAL], following Samar. text). Saul, after his successful campaign against the Amalekites, exempted Agag from the general doom of devotion to the deity by slaughter, and brought him to Gilgal, where Samuel hewed him in pieces before Yahwè —*i.e.*, at the great sanctuary where festal sacrifices were offered (1 S. 15 8 *f.* 20 *f.* 32 *f.*). Making allowance for the endeavour of the narrator to harmonise an old tradition with later ideas (see SAUL, § 3), and throwing ourselves back into the barbarous period which begins to pass away under David, we cannot doubt that the slaughter of Agag was a eucharistic sacrifice (see SACRIFICE), akin to that of the *naḳīʿa* (lit. 'victim rent in pieces'), which was in use among the Arabs after a successful fray, and which might be *a* human sacrifice (WRS *RS*(2) 491, cp 363; We. *Ar. Heid.* 112 [87]).

AGAGITE (אֲגָגִי; for Greek readings see below), a member of the family of Agag; a title applied anachronistically to Haman (Esth. 3 1 10 8 3 5). Haman, as an Amalekite, is opposed to Mordecai, the descendant of Kish (Esth. 2 5). Neither description is to be taken literally (see ESTHER, § 1, end). The meaning is that there is an internecine struggle between the Jews and their enemies, like that between Saul and Agag of old. Similarly, Haman is called a 'Macedonian' in the Greek parts of Esther; 126 (μακεδονα [L^a]; but βουγαιος [BXALP]; AV Agagite; RV BUGEAN) 16 10 (EV Macedonian; μακεδων [BKALP]; but βουγαιος [L^a]), and the name has made its way back into 9 24 (μακεδων [BℵALβ]); cp ESTHER, § 10. Elsewhere the 𝔊 reading is βουγαιος [BℵAL^{aβ}] (only in 3 1 8 5 [ℵ^{c.a mg.}]), perhaps a corruption of Γωγαιος (in Nu. 24 7, the same version has Γωγ for Ayay).

AGAR (αγαρ [BA]). 1. The sons of Agar, Bar. 3 23 RV; AV Agarenes. See HAGAR, § 2, n.

2. Gal. 4 24 *f.*, RV HAGAR (*q.v.*, end).

AGATE (כַּדְכֹּד, Is. 54 12, ιαςπιc [BℵAQ]; כַּדְכֹּד, Ez. 27 16 [Bä. Ginsb.], χορχορ [BQ], κορχορυς [A]. etc.; שְׁבוֹ, αχατης [BAL]) occurs four times in AV, twice for Heb. *kadkod*, RV 'rubies' and twice for *shĕbō*. On the identification of these stones, see CHALCEDONY. On the question whether the agate, which is a variegated chalcedony (translucent quartz) with layers or spots of jasper, was known to Israel, see PRECIOUS STONES.

AGEE (אָגֵא, αγοα [A]; αcα [B]; ηλα [L]; Jos. ηλογ [gen.]; *AGE*), father of SHAMMAH (*q.v.*, 3); 2 S. 23 11. His name should doubtless be corrected to Ela אֵלָא (so Marq. *Fund.* 17); ג and ל in the older character were very similar. He is mentioned again in 1 K. 4 18. See ELAH, 6.

AGGABA (αγγαβα [B ab mg. A]), 1 Esd. 5 29† RV= Ezra 2 45, HAGABAH.

AGGÆUS, AV Aggeus (*Aggei* [ed. Bensly]), 1 Esd. 6173, 4 Esd. 1 40†. See HAGGAI.

AGIA (αγια [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 34† RV=Ezra 2 57, HATTIL.

AGRICULTURE.—Agriculture is here considered (1) as conditioned by the land (§ 1), (2) as conditioned by the people (§§ 2-10), (3) as a factor in the life of the people (§§ 11-15); a concluding paragraph (§ 16) will contain some notes on historical points.

1. Conditioned by land.

I. The great variety of the conditions in the different natural divisions of Palestine (Dt. 1 7) must be kept in mind.[1] The various local products, natural and industrial, of these districts. so often alluded to by the Old Testament writers, the most important of which are wheat and barley, olive and vine and fig, will be described in special articles (*qq.v.*). On the seasons see RAIN, DEW. We simply note here—First, the long dry season (Apr.-Oct.), including all the harvests, the dates of which vary slightly in the different districts (cp FEASTS, § 10): the קציר in spring, when rain seemed miraculous (1 S. 12 16 *f.*) and the steady W. wind every evening made it possible to winnow with ease, barley beginning in April, wheat about a fortnight later; the ץ~) summer fruits and vegetables, in summer; olives in autumn; the בציר, vines, from August onwards. *Second*, the wet season (Oct.-Apr.), the earlier part of which saw the preparation of the soil by the early rain (מורה, יורה) for the winter crops, to be brought to maturity by the succeeding showers, especially those in March–April (מלקוש), before which was the time for sowing the summer crops.

With such stable conditions, all that seems to be needed is *a* fair amount of intelligent industry; and the lack of this, rather than any great change of climate, is probably the cause of the retrogression of modern times.[2] The productivity, however, was not uniform (cp parable of sower), and there seems to be **a** somewhat periodic diminution in the amount of rainfall. Agriculture is also exposed to pests; the easterly wind קדים, drought, MILDEW, and LOCUSTS (*qq.v.*: see also ANT, § 4).

2. Sources of information.

II. We consider now, more in detail, agriculture as dependent on the energy, skill, and general condition of the inhabitants. Our account must naturally be fragmentary.[3] The minute prescriptions of the Mishna must of course be used with caution. We begin with—

1. Technical details of agricultural procedure. (For the most part we shall deal only with the raising of grain crops. For other departments see VINES, GARDEN, CATTLE, etc.) Incidentally the biblical records describe many agricultural processes, and mention by name some of the implements used. Of these implements, however, they give no description; and the only specimens found, up to the present time, are of sickles (see below, § 7).

For Egypt, however, we have fuller sources—many pictures of processes and implements, and some actual specimens. And

[1] See PALESTINE for details on Geology (§ 3), Physical divisions (§ 4 *ff.*), Hydrography (§ 13), Climate and Vegetation (§ 14 *f.*).

[2] See however Fraas, *Aus dem Orient* 199.

[3] There is no Hebrew word corresponding to our term *farm*. Tilling the soil is עבדת האדמה; husbandman is אכר, etc.; field is שדה.

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since modern Egypt and modern Palestine are very similar these ancient Egyptian remains may he used to illustrate ancien; Palestine. Further, since modern implements and methods are, in Egypt, very like those of antiquity, the same is probably true of Palestine. Hence it is reasonable to hold that, in Palestine also, modern may he taken to illustrate ancient.

Our main side-lights,[1] therefore, are modern Palestine and ancient Egypt ; and they are best used in this order, subordinated always to the actual data of the O T itself.

We shall take the processes in natural order.

Sometimes land had to be cleared of wood or shrub (ברא Josh. 17 18), or of stone (סקל), chiefly in vineyards.

3. Preparing soil.

For loosening or otherwise moving the soil many words are used, such as ניר, din, פלח, פתח, עזק, נערד ; שוה, שדד, of which the first group denotes ploughing, the second, breaking np the soil (אדמה) or the clods (מגרפות Joel 117) with the mattock or hoe, while the third as clearly means levelling off the surface with something serving for a harrow. Of the names of the instruments [2] we have מחרשת or מחרשה, את, מעדר, of which the first pair probably representsthe plough(N T ἄροτρον); the last, a sort of mattock ; while את must remain undetermined, ploughshare or hoe. It is clear, therefore, that we have at least three processes—ploughing, hoeing, and harrowing. We cannot be sure that there was of old in different parts of the country any more uniformity than there is now.

It is not likely that the shallow soil would ever be much more deeply ploughed than now, when a depth of 5-6 inches is considered sufficient. Perhaps ploughing would sometimes (as now), after Sufficient rain, be dispensed with.[3] Hoeing would probably take the place of ploughing in steep places (Is. 7 25), as now in stony ground.[4] In modern Judæa there is no ploughing *before* sowing except where manure is used. In Galilee, on the other hand, there is one ploughing, and in some districts more than one. When ground has been left unsown with grain and is overgrown with weed, this is ploughed in.

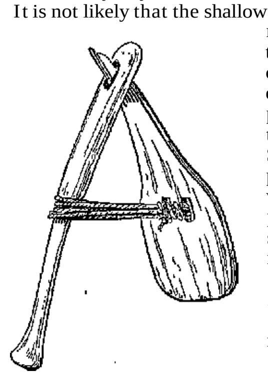


FIG. 1.—Egyptian Hoe (*Brit. Mus.*). For picture of hoe in use see fig. 3, and cp EGYPT, § 34, n.

Turning now to the implements used for these purposes, and beginning with the less important, we note that the Egyptian *hoe*[5] (fig. 1), of such importance in ancient Egypt as to be the natural svmbol of agriculture, as the goad is in modern Palestine,[6] has no representative in modern Syria; but neither has it in modern Egypt. A modern Syrian hoe may be seen in *PEFQ*, 1891,pp. 110-115 ; as also mattock, spade, etc.

4. Implements for preparing soil.

The ***harrow*** does not seem to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, although their modern representatives use a weighted plank or a toothed roller. In modern Palestine a bush of thorns is sometimes used. The writer of Job 39 10, however, seems to have known of some implement drawn by beasts following the labourer ; but this throws little light on general usage.

The *plough*, although it is probably, strictly speaking, an inferior substitute for the spade, is in common practice a very important implement, and merits more detailed treatment.

Of the Israelitish plough we know only that it had, at least sometimes, an iron share that needed sharpening (לטש, 1 S. 13 20, editorial comment in corrupt text). That the Syrian plough was light[1] we have the testimony of Theophrastus. The modern Syrian plough, which is light enough to be carried by the ploughman on his shoulder, and is simpler than the usual ancient Egyptian[2] plough (fig. 3) in having only one handle and therefore not needing two men to manage it, may safely be taken to illustrate that used by the Israelites. There is no more uniformity in its construction than in any other matter relating to agriculture, and it would seem to be at its simplest in' Southern Palestine. The woodcut (fig. 2) illustrates its general form. It is of wood, often oak. The stalieon to which the pointed metal sheath that serves for a share is thrust, passes up through a hole in the pole, to end in a cross handle piece. The pole is of two pieces, joined end to end. The *yoke* (עֹל, מוטה, more rarely sin, מוטות העֹל ; ζυγόν, ζυγός) is repeatedly mentioned in the OT. It varied in weight according to circumstances (1 K. 124). It is now made as light as possible, often of willow. Two pegs, joined below by thongs or by hair string, form a collar for each of the oxen, and two smaller pegs in the middle keep in position the ring or other arrangement for attaching the plough pole. Repairs are attended to once a year by a travelling

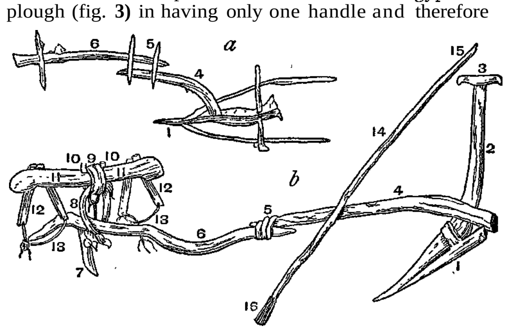


FIG. 2.—*a*. Babylonian Plough (from cylinder seal, *circ.* 2000 B.C., belonging to Dr. Hays Ward). *b*. Syrian Plough and Goad (after *PEFQ*, 1891).

1. *es-sikka* הנקן.[3]
2. *ed-dakar*, *dhekr*, חרב.
3. *el-kabūsa*, *kābūsa*.
4. *el-buruk*, *burk*, בורך.
5. *es-sawājīr* (Schum.), בירית.
6. *el-wuṣla*, *waṣl*, יצול.[3]
7. *koṭrib* (Post), קטרב.
8. *ḥalaka* (Post).
9. *eš-šarʿa*, *sherʿ*.
10. *sifrāyeh* (Post).
11. *en-nir*.
12. *isbalān* (Post).
13. *jenzīr*.
14. *missās* or *minsās*.
15. *nakūza*.
16. *ʿaba*, *sabbūt*.

1 Babylonia, as well as Egypt, no doubt presented points of contact with Palestine; but in the department of agriculture our direct knowledge of Babylonia is very slight. See *RP*(2) 3 94 *ff.*, and Meissner, *Beitr. z. altbab. Privatrecht.*

2 *See* partial list of Talmudic names in Hamburger and Ugolinus, and now also a very full collection in Vogelstein's work (see below, § 17).

3 In Egypt two ploughs seem generally to have been used, the one behind the other ; perhaps the second turned up the soil between the furrows made by the first (cp however, next note). On the other hand, at least in later time;, the Egyptians sometimes used a lighter plough, drawn by men or boys.

4 If we could regard the Egyptian agricultural pictures as representations of actual scenes we should have to conclude that in Egypt the hoe was used sometimes before (so always [?] in the Old Empire), sometimes after, or both before and after the plough, to break up the great clods of earth. The depicting of 'the various operations side by side, however, is very likely a mere convention designed to represent in one view all kinds of field work. So Prof. W. Max Müller in a private communication to the present writer.

5 The illustration (fig. 1) needs only the explanation that the twisted cord adjusts the acuteness of the angle of the two other parts.

6 Cp Wetzstein's note on Judg. 331 (*l.c.* below, § 17).

1 The simplest plough would be made of one piece of a tree, bent while growing. See Verg. *Georg.* 1 169, and illustration in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq. Rom.* 11, p. 1674.

2 The ancient Egyptian plough, which underwent little modification in the course of millenniums, was all of wood, although, perhaps, the share was of a wood (harder?) different from the rest of the plough, and may sometimes have been sheathed in metal (Wilkinson). Of the Assyrian plough we know from an embossed relief found near Mōṣul, that it (sometimes) had a hoard for turning over the earth, and just in front of it a drill that let the seed down, to be covered by the soil as it turned over.

3 Where two forms of the Arabic name are given, the first is from Schumacher, and the second from Post (*op. cit.* below, § 17). The Hebrew names are from Vogelstein (*op. cit.* below, § 17).

expert. The ploughman holds in his left hand a *goad* (*messās*=מלמד, דרבן,[1] דרבנות) some eight or nine feet in length, having at one end a metal point, and at the other a metal blade to clean the share.

The *team* (צמד, ζεῦγος) would, as now, oftenest consist of oxen (Am. 6 12), but sometimes of cows (Job 1 14, Heb. text), and perhaps sometimes of asses (Is. 30 24; Dt. 22 10). Even camels and mules may now be seen occasionally. In Armenia many pairs of oxen draw one plough, the driver sitting on the yoke; but this is hardly the meaning of 1 K. 19 19.



yards (Is. 5 5; Ecclus. 28 28), where hedges (משוכה Is. 5 5) were also in use; and there was sometimes a border, *e.g.*, of כסמת (see FITCHES, 2) (Is. 28 25). Between grain-fields, however, the commonest practice was to set up *stones* to mark the line of partition (גבול Hos. 5 10); on the strong sentiment that prevailed as to the unrighteousness of tampering with these, see below (§§ 12, 14).

6. Sowing. Whether the various words used for sowing the seed were technical terms we cannot tell. זרע is a word of general significance. In Is. 28 25 three words are used in one verse: הפיץ and יזרק of scattering קצח (see FITCHES, 1) and cummin with the hand; barley is, whether the land has been already ploughed or not, to plough in the seed.[3] This protects it from ants and from dryness due to intermission of the early rain.[4] As to protection from man and beast, see HUT.

The *furrows* were called תלם, מענה[2] (מענית). They are now sometimes very carefully drawn (cp האריכו, Ps. 129 3), and are some nine to ten inches apart.

5. Irrigation, etc. Irrigation (השקה, הרוה; see GARDEN) must have been one of the processes used by Israel.[3] Palestine, indeed, differed from Egypt (Dt. 11 10 *f.*, on which see EGYPT, § 34, n.) in having a copious supply of rain and in having natural springs (Deut. 8 7); hence many districts, especially in valleys,[4] would bear crops without being watered artificially. But later practice shows that even these would yield better harvests if they had artificial irrigation, and there may have been districts under cultivation which were entirely dependent on it. It would not be safe to assign an early date to the elaborate methods and regulations of Mishna times; and it is difficult to determine whether by the streams, that were so highly prized (Dt. 8 7; Nu. 24 6, Cant. 4 15),[5] and without which a garden could not live (Is. 1 30), artificial canals are meant, and whether, *e.g.*, the bucket (דלי, Is. 40 15; Num. 24 7) was used in irrigation. The Mishna has regulations concerning *manuring* (זבל), and there *may* be a reference to it in such passages as Ps. 83 10 [11] (דמן לאדמה) or Is. 25 10 (Kthib). In NT times, at least, manure was used for trees (Lk. 13 8; βάλω κόπρια), as now for figs, olives, etc.; it was worked in at the last yearly ploughing, which was after the first winter rain. For grain crops the use of manure is exceptional (*e.g.*, at Hebron). Remains show that in the hilly country *terracing* (מנדלות מרקחים, Cant. 5 13?) was used even more than now, especially for vine cultivation; but the wider terraces are still used for grain, the clearing of the soil being called *naḳb*.

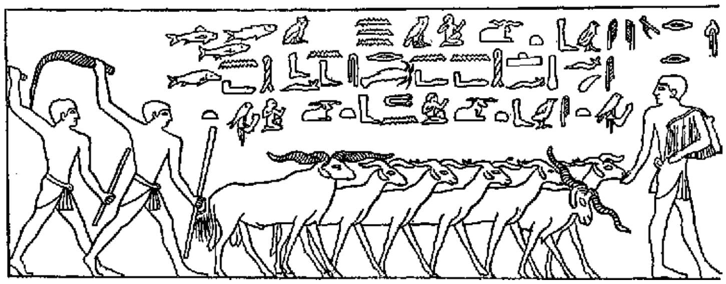


FIG. 4.—Rams trampling in the seed. From the *masṭaba* of Ti. After Baedeker.

Fences (גדר) were employed, perhaps only in vine-

To reap is קצר. Two names of implements have been preserved (חרמש, only in Dt. [16 9; 23 26†]; מגל, only

7. Reaping. in Jer. [50 16; AV mg. scythe[5]] and Joel [3 (4) 13]; δρέπανον); but whether they refer to the same thing or to varieties, we do not know. Perhaps the commonest method was to pull up by the root (see fig. 5), a practice confined in ancient Egypt to certain crops, but still followed both in Egypt and in Palestine. The use of ***sickles*** in Canaan in very early times is, however, proved by the finding of sickle flints[6] at Tell-el-Hesy in the earliest and all succeeding layers, while the use of iron sickles by the Jews in at least pre-Hellenistic times is proved by the finding of the specimen represented in fig. 7.

By putting together different allusions,[7] we can follow the various steps. The reaper (קוצר) filled his hand

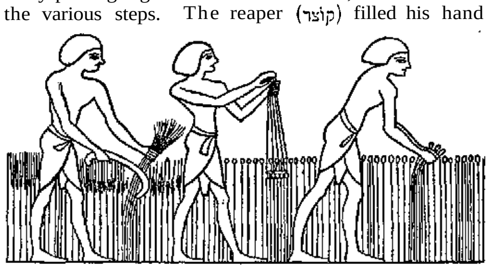


FIG. 5.—Pulling up grain. After Erman.

[1] Vogelstein argues from *Kelim*, 96 that this is the name of the metal head.
[2] Cp, however, Del. on Ps. 129 3, Ges.-Buhl *sub voc.* etc.
[3] See now the account in Vogelstein, § 4.
[4] Cp *RS*(2) 106.
[5] The prophets delight to speak of the copious supplies of water that will refresh even the most unlikely places in the ideal future (see Cheyne on Is. 30 25).

[1] In Am. 9 13 משך הזרע is used of the process of sowing.
[2] It is not unlikely that שורה is to be dropped, with We. Che. and Do. (against Di.), as = שעורה.
[3] According to Strabo, this was done also in Babylon (cp above, col. 78, n. 2), and in ancient Egypt the seed was sometimes, especially in the Old Empire, trodden in by sheep (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, ET 429; not goats), in the time of Herodotus by swine.
[4] On the stages and accidents of growth cp Vogelstein, § 10.
[5] For מַזְמֵרָה, which AV mg. thrice renders 'scythe,' EV has, more correctly, PRUNING-HOOKS (*q.v.*).
[6] The method of setting the sickle flints is shown by the specimens found by Dr. Petrie in Egypt (*Illahun*, etc. pl. 7 no. 27; see above, fig. 6).
[7] *E.g.*, Ruth 2 23; Ps. 129 7; Is. 17 5; Job 24 24; Jer. 9 22 [21].

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(כף) with ears (שבלים) of the standing corn (קמה), and with his arm (זרוע) reaped them (קצר). The stalks (nip) were, in Egypt, and still are, in Palestine, cut pretty high np (Anderlind; knee high). They must sometimes have been cut, whether at this or at a later stage, very near the ear (ראש שבלת Job 24 24). The armfuls (עמר) would fall (Jer. 9 22 [21]) in a heap (עמיר) behind the reaper, to be gathered by the מעמר מאסף, in his bosom (בחצנו) and tied. (מאלם) into sheaves (אלמה) and set in heaps (צבתים).[1]

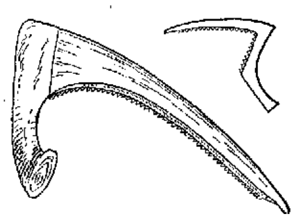


FIG. 6.—Sickle with cutting edge of flints found at Illahun. After Petrie.

In Egypt the sheaf consisted of two bundles, with their heads in opposite directions. In modern Syria frequently the sheaves are not tied at all. It has been

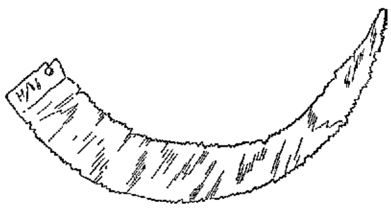


FIG. 7.—Iron sickle found at Tell el Hesi. After *PEFQ.*

supposed[2] that already in Amos's time the bundles (עמר) may sometimes have been heaped into a heavy load on a cart (עגלה Am. 2 13); but the reference may very well be to the threshing wain.[3] In Egypt they were conveyed in baskets or bags, by men or on donkeys, to the threshing-floor.

Threshing was called חבט, דקק, דוש, גלגל, המם ; of which the first describes beating with a rod, the second is indefinite (to break up fine), and the third is literally to trample. (*a*) The first of these evidently represents the most primitive practice, still followed sometimes in both Palestine and Egypt. Naturally, gleaners (מלקט) and apparently others in certain circumstances—*e.g.*, Gideon in time of danger—beat out the grain; and in much later times (Is. 28 27) it was usual to heat out cummin and קצח (see FITCHES, 1) with *rods* (מטה and שבט respectively). The other processes were probably more common in later times. For these was needed a *threshing-floor* (גֹּרן,[1] ἅλως, ἅλων), for which was selected some spot freely exposed to the wind, often a well-known place (2 S. 24 16).[2] Beating the floor hard for use may be alluded to in Jer. 51 33 (Heb. Text ; הדריכה). Sometimes the wheat heads may have been struck off the straws by the sickle onto the threshing-floor (Job 24 24), as Tristram describes (*East. Cust.* 125); but usually the bundles would be first piled in a heap (גדיש) on the floor, and then from this a convenient quantity (מדשה)[3] from time to time spread over the floor.

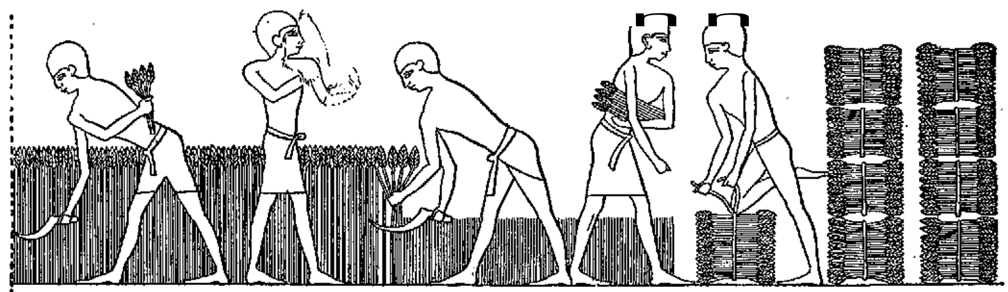
8. Threshing.

The threshing then seems to have been done in two ways: either (*b*) by driving *cattle* round the floor on the loosely scattered stalks till their hoofs gradually trampled (דוש) out the grain (בר), for which purpose oxen[4] were used (Hos. 10 11),[5] or (*c*) by special *implements.*[6]

The instruments mentioned, which were drawn usually by oxen, are (*a*) חרוץ[7], חריץ[8] (?), (חרוץ) מורג ;[9] (*b*) עגלה with אופן[10] (wheel) prefixed (Is. 28 27), and perhaps alone (Am. 2 13† ; see, however, We. *ad loc.*). These two sets of expressions probably correspond pretty closely to two instruments still in use in Palestine, and a description of them and their use will be the nearest we can come to an account of their ancient representatives.

a. The Syrian *nōrag* (מורג) is a wooden drag[11] (see fig. 10) with a rough under-surface, which when drawn over the stalks chops them up. The illustration needs few explanations. The roughness is produced by the skilful insertion in holes, a cubic inch in size, of blocks of basalt (פיפיות Is. 41 15) which protrude (when new) some inch and a half. The sledge is weighted by heavy stones, or by the weight of the driver, who, when tired, lies down and even sleeps, or sits on a three-legged stool.

β. The *Ḥīlān* of Northern Syria, called in Egypt by



8.—Sickling and bundling. After Lepsius.

1 It is hardly possible to determine how many of these terms are practically synonyms. According to Vogelstein *op. cit.* 61 *ff.*, the loose צְבָתִים were tied into אֲלֻמּוֹת, and piled into עֳמָרִים, while עָמִיר (see *Excurs.* I.) is an entirely distinct word meaning hay.

2 *E.g.*, by Wellhausen.

1 'Barn-floor,' 2 K. 6 27 AV.

2 But in 1 K. 22 10 בגרן is probably dittography for בגדים.

3 So written without dagesh, by Baer.

4 It is not hear how the horses of Is. 28 28 are supposed to be used. Du. proposes to read ופרשיו as a verb.

5 In Egypt in later times oxen were so used, three in a line, with their heads hound together at the horns hy a beam (see fip. 9), or in the ancient empire, donkeys, ten in a line; so in modern Syria, the line being called a *ḳaran.*

6 Just as several rods are used together in method (*a*), so there could he duplicates of *ḳaran* (*b*), or of implement (*c*), or mixtures of (*b*) and (*c*) used simultaneously, as now in Ḥaurān.

7 'Threshing-wain,' Job 41 30 [22] RV.

8 Clearly some kind of sharp instrument of iron (2 S. 12 31 = 1 Ch. 20 3†), EV 'harrow,' Hoffm. (*ZATW* 2 66) 'pick.'

9 Perhaps by a gloss we have here independent names for one thing (Is. 41 15). By ברקנים (Judg. 8 7, 16†), which some would add here, the Talmud (with 𝔊L [once]; 𝔊BAL (once) transliterates) understands 'thistles': a view that is confirmed by the existence in modern Egyptian Arabic of a word *berkān* as the name of a thorny plant. See BRIER, 1.

10 אופן alone = (threshing) wheel, Prov. 20 26 RV

the name of the unused *nōrag* (see fig. 11), and known to the Romans as *plostellum Poenicum*, has in place of sharp stones revolving metal discs, which, when pressed down by the weight of the driver seated in a rude arm-chair, effectually cut up the straw

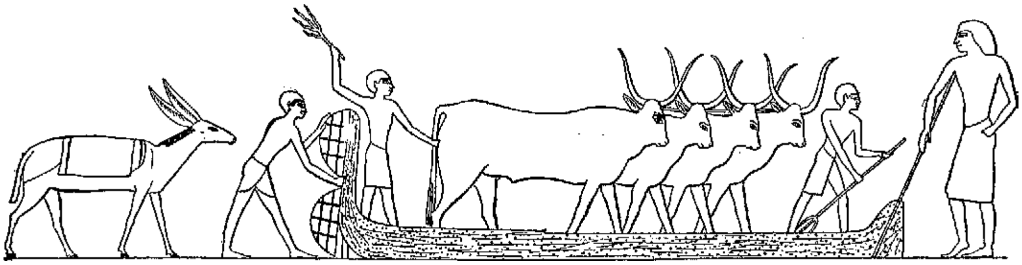


FIG. 9.—Carrying from harvest-field, and threshing. After Rosellini.

The work is done sometimes by horses, but most commonly, as of old, by oxen, either singly or (oftener) in pairs, sometimes muzzled, contrary to ancient Egyptian usage and Hebrew maxim.[1]

The modern floor is a circle some fifty feet in diameter,

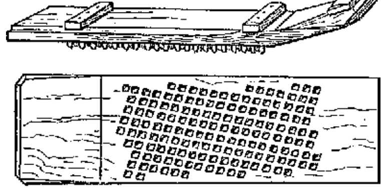


FIG. 10.—Syrian threshing-sledge. After Benzinger.

with the heap (*kadīs*) in the centre, from which a supply (*ṭarḥa*) is from time to time spread all round in ring form, some two feet deep and seven or eight feet broad. When one *ṭarḥa* has been thoroughly threshed—to insure which, it is from time to time stirred up with the

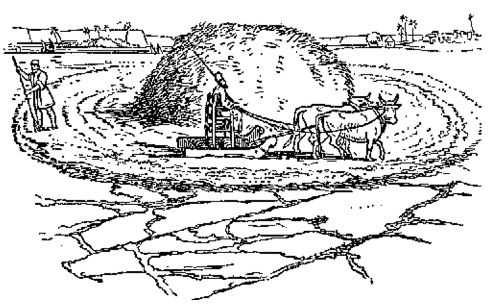


FIG. 11.—Modern Egyptian threshing-machine (*nōrag*). After Wilkinson.

handle of the winnowing instrument, or even with a special two-pronged fork (*deiḳal*, δίκελλα)—the mixed mass (*darīs*) of grain (*ḥabb*), chopped straw (*tibn* תֶּבֶן), and chaff etc. (*ṭayyār*), is formed into a heap (*'arama*), to make room for a new *ṭarḥa*.

[1] The Mishna seems to assume the practice in *Kelīm* 16 7 החסום שלו—*i.e.*, של בקר. It is doubtful whether the preceding phrase המלקוט של בקר refers to a practice, reported by some travellers, of bandaging the eyes of the oxen in threshing. Philological considerations would give the preference to Maimonides's explanation: '*Sacculus pelliceus in quem colligunt stercus jumenti ne pereat triticum dum trituratur*.'

AGRICULTURE

9. Winnowing. The process of winnowing (זרה) is often mentioned. Two names of instruments are preserved, the מזרה (EV 'fan') in Is. (30 24) and Jer. (15 7), and the רחת (EV 'shovel') in Is. alone (30 24).[1] They seem to refer to different things: perhaps to the implements still called by similar names in Palestine[2]—the fork and the shovel. The products are grain (in), chopped straw (תבן), and chaff (מֹץ, חֲשַׁשׁ, עוּר, ἄχυρον). The first is heaped up in round heaps (ערמה Ru. 3 7; Cant. 7 3, Heb. Text). The second is kept for 'provender (Is. 11 7). The third is blown away by the wind (Ps. 1 4).

In modern Syria the *midrā* (see fig. given in Wetzstein, *op. cit.* below: § 17) is a wooden fork almost 6 ft. in length, with some at least of its five or six prongs separately inserted, so that they are easily repaired. The prongs are bound together by fresh hide, which on shrinking forms a tight band. The *raḥt* is a kind of wooden shovel (see fig. in Wetzstein, *l.c.*), with a handle 4 ft. long. It is used chiefly for piling the grain, but also for winnowing leguminous plants and certain parts of the *darīs* that have had to be re-threshed. The winnowers stand to the E. of the *'arama* heap, and (sometimes first with a two-pronged fork called *sha'ūl* and then), with the *midrā*, either toss the *darīs* against the wind or straight up, or simply let it fall from the inverted fork, according to the strength of the evening W. breeze. While the chaff is blown away some 10 to 15 ft. or more, the straw (*tibn*) falls at a shorter distance, and is preserved for fodder; the heavy grain, unbruised ears, and joints of stems, fall almost where they were, ready for sifting.



FIG. 12.—Winnowing. After Erman.

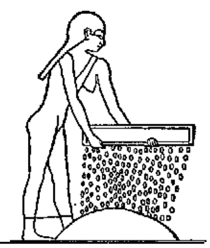


FIG. 13.—Sifting. After Lepsius.

10. sifting, etc. Strange to say, in the case of sifting it is the names of the implement that are best preserved. The ***sieve*** is called *Kĕbhārah* (כברה,[3] Am. 9 9†) and *nāphah* (am, Is. 30 28). In the former case probably the good grain, in the latter probably the refuse, passes through. In modem Syria there are

[1] 𝔊 omits these words; but πτύον occurs repeatedly in the NT.

[2] Fleischer denies any philological connection between Ar. *raht* and רחת, regarding the former as a Persian word, borrowed in the sense of *tool*.

[3] But 𝔊 λικμός.

two main kinds of sieve used on the threshing-floor. They are made of a hoop of wood with a mesh-work of strips of camel-hide put on fresh, and become tight in drying. The coarser meshed *kirbāl* is like the *kebhārah* of Amos. When the winnowed heap is sifted with it, the grains of wheat pass through, while the unbruised ears etc. remain in the sieve,[1] and are flung back into the *ṭarḥa* to be re-threshed. The finer meshed *ghirbāl* is like the נָפָה of Is. 30 28; all dust, bruised grains, etc. pass through, but none of the good wheat.

When the grain has been finally separated, it is heaped with the *raḥt* in hemispherical piles (*ṣobba*), which probably represent the 'ărēma (עֲרֵמָה) of the metaphor in Cant. 7 3 (Heb.). By this Boaz slept (Ru. 3 7), as do the owners still, while (as a further precaution) private marks are made on the surface, and a scarecrow is set up.

Storage.—In Jer., Dt., Joel, Ps., 2 Ch., there are names of places for keeping stores of grain;[2] but we do not know anything about them.[3] In the dark days of Gedaliah corn and other stores were hidden in the ground (Jer. 41 8); dry cisterns hewn out of the rock are still so used. For a representation of an ancient cistern see *ZDPV* 8, opp. p. 69. The mouth is just wide enough to admit a man's body, and can be carefully covered over. Grain will keep in these cisterns for years.

2. Next falls to be considered the dependence of agriculture on the general condition of the people, a dependence that is very obvious from the present state of agriculture in Palestine.

11. General conditions.

In the days of Israel's greatness, when agriculture was the chief occupation of the people, the population, whatever may have been its numerical strength, was certainly enough to bring the country, even in places that are now quite barren, into a state of cultivation. The land would be full of husbandmen tilling their fields by day, and returning to their villages at night. Yet, down to the end of the monarchy, the old nomadic life still had its admirers (Jer. 35), who, like the Bedouin of to-day, would despise the settled tiller of the soil. At the other extreme also, in such a society as is described, *e.g.*, by Amos and Isaiah, there was an aristocracy that had little immediate connection with the land it owned. Slave labour would doubtless, as elsewhere, be a weak point in the agricultural system, tending to lower its status (Zech. 13 5; Ecclus. 7 15 [16]); though this would not preclude the existence, at some period or other, of honourable offices such as those attributed by the Chronicler to the age of David (1 Ch. 27 25-31). After making allowance for homiletic colouring, we are bound to suppose that agricultural enterprise must have suffered grievously from a sense of insecurity in regard to the claims of property, and from the accumulation of debts, with their attendant horrors. Civil disturbances (such as those abounding in the later years of Hosea) and foreign wars would, in later times, take the place of exposure to the inroads of nomadic tribes. The burden of taxation and forced labour (1 S. 8 12) would, as now in many eastern lands, foster the feelings that find expression in the narrative of the great schism (1 K. 12 4) and in some of the accounts of the rise of the kingdom (on the 'king's mowings,' Am. 7 1, see MOWINGS and GOVERNMENT, § 20).

12. Laws.

The existence of an effort to ameliorate evils of the kind to which allusion has just been made, and of a consciousness of their inconsistency with the true national life, is attested by the inclusion in the Pentateuchal codes of a considerable number of dicta on agricultural matters, in which we see how religious sanctions became attached to traditional agricultural practices.

Already in the *Book of the Covenant* a fallow year (Ex. 23 11), once in seven, is prescribed for the sake of the poor and the beast, and a day of rest (*v.* 12), once in seven, for the sake of the cattle and the slave; while the principle is laid down that for damage done to a neighbour's field reparation must be made (Ex. 22 5 *f.* [4 *f.*]). In the *Deuteronomic Code*, if there is already the precept against sowing in a vineyard two kinds of seed (22 9), or ploughing with an ox and an ass together (22 10), and the requirement of a tithe (14 22), there are still such maxims as the sacredness of property (19 14, landmarks; = Prov. 22 28 = 23 10*a* [cp Job 24 2], and, in the form of a curse, Dt. 27 17) on the one hand, and, on the other, generous regard for the needs of others (23 25 [26], plucking ears; 24 19, sheaf; 20, olive; 21 23 24 [23], grapes), even of beasts (25 4, muzzle), with a provision against abuse of the privilege (23 25 [26], no sickle; 23 24 [25], no vessel); while an effort is made to moderate the damage done to agriculture by war (20 7, exemption from conscription; 20 19 *f.*, preserve trees). In the *Priestly Code* there is still, in the remarkable collection preceding the last chapter of Leviticus, a further development of the provision for the poor at harvest time (19 9, corners = 23 22), with a repetition of the charitable maxims (19 9 *f.*); but there is on the whole an emphasising of such prescriptions as non-mixture of seeds (19 19), defilement of seed (11 37 *f.*), uncircumcision of fruit-trees (19 23-25), strict calculation of dates of agricultural year (23 16); while the Jubile year makes its appearance. Here we are appreciably nearer the details of such discussions as those in *Zera'im* etc. Of course, the question how far such maxims made themselves felt in actual practice, or even as a moral directive force, is not answered by pointing out their existence in literary form.

III. We pass now to the consideration of agriculture as a factor in the life of the people.

13. Common life.

That agriculture was an important element in popular life is very evident. Land was measured by yokes (1 S. 14 14; Is. 5 10) and valued by the amount of seed it needed (Lev. 27 16). Time was measured by harvests (Judith 2 27[1]), and places were identified by the crops growing on them (2 S. 23 11, lentils; 1 Ch. 11 13, barley). Tilling the soil was proverbially the source of wealth (Pr. 12 11 28 19); implements not needed for other purposes would as a matter of course be turned to agricultural use (Is. 2 4)—and so on. That work in the fields was not confined to slaves and people of no culture is evident, not only from the existence of such narratives as that of Joseph's dream, but also from what is told of Saul (1 S. 11 5), and Elisha (1 K. 19 19), and Amos (7 14) before they appeared on the stage of history. On the other hand, the narrator of the story of Ruth seems to represent neither Boaz himself nor his deputy as doing more than overseeing and encouraging the labourers (Ru. 2 5); and in the time of the writer of Zech. 13 5 (RV) a tiller of the soil seemed to be most naturally a purchased slave, while the ideal of the writer of Is. 61 5 is that ploughmen and vine-dressers should be aliens.

At all times, however, even the rich owner entered naturally into the spirit of the agricultural life. If it was perhaps only in the earlier times that he actually ploughed or even followed the oxen, he would at all times be present on the cheerful harvest field and visit his vineyard to see the work of the labourers (Mt. 20 8), his sons included (Mt. 21 28), and give directions about the work (Lk. 13 7), when he would listen respectfully to the counsel of his men (Lk. 13 8 *f.*). It was not derogatory, in the mind of the Chronicler, to kingly dignity to interest one's self in agriculture (2 Ch. 26 10),[2]

[1] For צְרוֹר is most likely *stones*.

[2] מִסְכְּנוֹת, מְזָוֵינוּ, מַמְּגֻרוֹת, אוֹצָרוֹת, אֲסָמִים, מַאֲבָסִים, NT ἀποθήκη.

[3] In Egypt corn was stored in buildings with a flat roof reached by an outside stair. There were two openings, or sets of openings, near the top, for pouring in the grain, and near the bottom, for withdrawing it (see model in Brit. Mus.).

[1] The text of 2 S. 23 13 is very doubtful. cp Dr. *ad loc.*

[2] The meaning of Eccles. 5 9 [8] is obscure.

and a proverb-writer points out the superiority of the quiet prosperity of the husbandman to an insecure diadem (Prov. 27 23-27).

Not unnaturally it is the life of harvest-time that has been most fully preserved to us. We can see the men, especially the younger men (Ru. 2 9), cutting the grain, the young children[1] going out to their fathers (2 K. 4 18) in the field, the jealousies that might spring up between the reapers (Gen. 37 7), and the dangers that young men and maidens might be exposed to (Ru. 2 9 perh. Hos. 9 1 *f.*), the simple fare of the reapers (Ru. 2 14), and the unrestrained joviality of the evening meal (Ru. 3 7) after the hot day's work (2 K. 4 19), the poor women and girls gleaning behind the reapers and usually finding more than they seem sometimes to find nowadays, beating out the grain (Ru. 2 17) in the evening and carrying it away in a mantle to the older ones at home (Ru. 3 15), not only the labourers but also the owners sleeping by the corn heaps at night (Ru. 3 7), so that the villages would, as now in Palestine and Egypt, be largely emptied of inhabitants. The Egyptian monuments could be drawn on for further illustrations.

Such a mode of life had naturally a profound effect on the popular sentiment, the religions conscience, and, in time, the literary thought of the people : and. to complete our survey of the subject, a few words must be said here on these matters.

14. Sentiment.

That the agricultural mode of life was regarded as originating in the earliest ages is evident from Gen. 3 and 4 ;[2] but it was sometimes regarded as a curse (3 17 *f.*), or at least as inferior to pastoral life (4 3 *f.*), while at other times nomadic life was a curse (4 12), instead of being a natural stage (4 20). These two sides are perhaps reflected in the glowing descriptions in which certain writers delight—*e.g.*, Dt. 33 28 : a tilled land of corn and wine and oil (Dt. 8 7-9), a pasture land flowing with milk and honey (Ezek. 20 6). This land, which is lovingly contrasted with other lands (Ezek. 20 6 15), was felt to be a gift of Yahwè to his people, and specially under his watchful care (Dt. 11 12). The agricultural life was, therefore, also of his appointment (Gen. 3 23 ; Ecclus. 7 15 [16]), and indeed lay as the basis of his Torah. From him the husbandman received the principles of his practice (Is. 28 26), as also, he depended absolutely on Yahwè for the bringing into operation of the natural forces (Dt. 11 14) without which all his labour would be in vain (*v.* 17). This, however, was only a ground of special security (Dt. 11 12), for no other god could give such blessings as rain (Jer. 14 22), and Yahwb did give them (Jer. 5 24). If they were not forthcoming, therefore, it was because Yahwb had withheld them (Am. 4 7), and this was because of his people's sins (Jer. 5 25), which also brought more special curses (Dt. 28 38-40). The recognition of Yahwè had, therefore, a prominent place in connection with the stages of agricultural industry (see FEASTS, § 4), the success of which was felt to depend on the nation's rendering him in general loyal obedience (Dt. 11 3-17) ; the land itself was Yahwè's ; the people were but tenants (Lev. 25 23) ; and the moving of the ancient landmarks, though not unknown, was a great wrong (Job 24 2). Some of the moral aspects of agricultural life have been already sufficiently touched on. It is probable that many of the maxims referred to were widely observed, being congruent with the better spirit of the people. Thus Amos records it as an outrage on the ordinary sentiments of common charity, that even the refuse of the wheat should be sold for gain (Am. 8 6). Other maxims, again, can be little traced in practice.

In this description of Hebrew ideas we have taken no note of the differences between earlier and later times. Deuteronomy and the prophets have been the main authority. In the public consciousness, however, there lived on much of the old Canaanitish popular belief, in which the *Bă'ālim* hold the place here assigned to Yahwb, so that, *e.g.*, the fertile spot is the Baal's plot of land, who waters it from unseen sources, underground or in the heavens (see BAAL, § 1)—a mode of expression that lived on into Mishna times, although its original meaning had been long forgotten.

The influence on Hebrew literature was very deep. The most cursory reader[1] must have observed how much the modes of expression reflect the agricultural life. Prouhetic descriptions of an ideal future abound in scenes conceived in agricultural imagery.[2] Great joy is likened to the joy of harvest (Is. 16 9 *f.*) ; what is evanescent is like chaff that is burned up or blown away ; something unexpected is like cold (Pr. 25 13), or rain (Pr. 26 1), in barvest—and so on. Lack of space prevents proof in detail of how, on the one hand, figures and modes of speech are drawn from all the operations and natural phenomena of agriculture, while, on the other hand, every conceivable subject is didactically or artistically illustrated by ideas and expressions from the same source. It is a natural carrying forward in the NT of this mode of thought, to find Jesus publishing his epoch-making doctrines of the 'kingdom' so largely through the help of the same imagery. No doubt the commonest general expression is 'kingdom' ; but even this often becomes a vineyard, or a field, or a tree, or a seed ; and it is extended by sowing etc. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. The whole mode of thought has passed over into historical Christianity, and thus into all the languages of the world.

15. Literature.

16. Historical.

We shall now in closing give some fragmentary notes towards a historical outline of the subject.

The traditional account of the mode of life of the ancestors of Israel in the earliest times introduces agricultural activity only as an exceptional incident. Agriculture must be rudimentary in the case of a nomadic people. That Canaan, on the other hand, was for the most part well under cultivation,[3] when the Israelites settled in the highlands, there can be no doubt. The Egyptian Mohar found a garden at Joppa,[4] and of the agricultural produce claimed by Thotmes III. at the hands of the Rutennu[5] some at least must have been grown in Palestine. Israel doubtless learned from the Canaanite not only the art of war (Judg. 3 2), but also the more peaceful arts of tilling the soil, which, as the narratives of Judges and Samuel prove, were practised with success, while it is even stated that Solomon sent to Hiram yearly 20,000 Kor of wheat and 20,000 Bath of oil (1 K. 5 11 [25] Var. Bible). Later, Ezekiel (27 17 ; see Cornill) tells us how Judah bartered wheat with Tyre,[6] as well as honey, oil, balm, and פנג (see PANNAG) ; which illustrates the tradition in 1 K. 20 34 (see COT) that there were bazaars (see TRADE ; STRANGER, § 2) for Israelitish merchants in Damascus, and for those of Damascus in Samaria. It is strange, but true, that in the very period to which this last notice refers, there arose a popular reaction against the precious legacies of Canaanitish civilisation (see RECHABITES). The Assyrian conquest of Samaria naturally checked for a time the cultivation of the soil (2 K. 17 25, lions), the colonists introduced by Sargon and Ašur-bāni-pal being imperfectly adapted to their new home. In Judæa under Gedaliah the Jews 'gathered wine and summer

1 Several children may sometimes now be seen weighting and driving the threshing-sledge.

2 Cp also Gen. 1 28 *f.* and WRS *RS*(2) 307.

1 Even of the English version, which sometimes hides such metaphors as, *e.g.*, 'ploughing evil'—translated 'deviseth,' Prov. 6 14.

2 Am. 9 13 *ff.* ; Hos. 14 6 *f.* [7 *f.*] ; Mic. 4 4; Jer. 31 12 ; Zech. 8 12 ; Mal. 3 11.

3 The implements found at Tell-el-Hesy appear to carry us back to the earliest days.

4 Cp *RP* 1st ser., 2 113.

5 *Ibid.* 23 and cp Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* ('91), p. 167.

6 Cp a similar relation in the time of Herod (Acts 12 20).

fruits very much' (Jer. 40 12), and had stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey, carefully hidden in the ground (Jer. 41 8). In Is. 41 15 mention is for the first time explicitly made of a threshing instrument with teeth (פִּיפִיּוֹת); but whether this was of recent introduction it is impossible to determine. On the fall of the Babylonian power the old relations with Tyre were doubtless renewed (Ezra 3 7; cp Is. 23 15 18). The imperial tribute, however, is regarded as heavier than the agricultural resources of the country could then well bear (Neh. 5 3 *f.*). This tribute may have been partly in money (5 4), but also apparently to a considerable extent in produce (Neh. 9 37, תְּבוּאָה). In Joel, of course, there is a description of agricultural distress, but in such a way as to imply that agriculture was in general receiving full attention. In Eccles. (2 5 *f.*) there is acquaintance, as in other things, so in agriculture, with several artificial contrivances. To go into the detailed accounts of the Mishna is beyond the present purpose.

17. Literature. For complete bibliographies see the larger Cyclopaedias, Biblical and Classical. Of special treatises may he mentioned that in vol. 29 of the *Thes.* of Ugolinus; of special articles, on *agriculture* in general, in Mod. Palestine, Anderlind, *ZDPV* 9 1 *ff.*; Klein, *ib.* 3 100-115 6 81-101 hut especially 4 57-84; Post, *PEFQ*, 1891, p. 110 *ff.*; on thk plough, Schumacher, *ZDPV* 12 157-166; on *sickles*, F. C. J. Spurrell in *Archæolog. Journ.* 49, no. 193, 1892, p. 54 *ff.* and Plate I., fig. 1; on *threshing sledge*, Wetzstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270 *ff.*; on *winnowing*, Wetzstein in Del. *Isa.*(2) 709 *f.*; on the *sieve*, Wetzstein, ZDPV 14 1 *ff.*; on place in **OT** *literature*, O. Ungewitter, *Die landwirthschaftlichen Bilder u. Metaphern i. d. poet. Büch. d. AT* (Königsbg., 1885); on *later* usage, Hermann Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina zur Zeit deer Mischna* I. (Berlin, 1894), a dissertation that did not reach the writer 'till this article had been written. H. W. H.

AGRIPPA (ἀγρίππα), Acts 25 *f.* † See HERODIAN FAMILY, 7.

AGUR (אָגוּר; so Pesh.; ܐܓܘܪ; but 𝔊 and Vg., translating, φοβηθῆτι [BAℵ]; *Congregantis*), b. Jakeh, an author of moral verses (Prov. 30 1). His name is variously explained as 'hireling' of wisdom (Bar Bahlūl) and 'collector' of words of Torah (Midr. *Shemoth R.*, par. 6). Such theories assume that Solomon is the author of the verses, which (see PROVERBS) is impossible. All the description given of him in the heading is 'the author of wise poems' (read, not הַמַּשָּׂא, but הַמֹּשֵׁל, with Grätz, Cheyne, Bickell). Very possibly the name is a pseudonym. The poet who 'takes up his parable' in *v.* 5 expresses sentiments very different from those of Agur; he seeks to counteract the bold and scarcely Israelitish sentiments of his predecessor.

See Ew., *Salom. Schriften* 250 *ff.*; Che., *Job and Solomon* 149 *ff.*, *Jewish Rel. Life* Lect. V.; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 479 *f.*; and, with cautio:, Dillon, *Sceptics of the OT* 131 *ff.* 269 *ff.* Cp also PROVERBS; ITHIEL ii.; LEMUEL. T. K. C.

AHAB (אַחְאָב, § 65,[1] 'father's brother,' cp Ahiam and the Assyr. woman's name, Aḫat-abišu, and see Wi. *ZA*, **1898,** Heft 1; also חאב [for אחאב] oh an inscription from Safa [*Journ. As.* 1881, **19** 463]). **1.** (Αχααβ [BAL], -ααμ [A once]; *Achab*; Assyr. *Aḫabbu.*) Son of Omri, and king of Israel (875-853? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 32, and table in § 37). The importance of this king's reign is shown by the large space devoted to it in the Book of Kings.

1. Sources. To obtain a just idea of his character, however, is not easy, the Israelitish traditions being derived from two very different sources, in one of which the main interest was the glorification of, the prophets, while the other was coloured by patriotic feelings, and showed a strong partiality for the brave and bold king. To the former belong 1 K. 17-19 and 21; to the latter, chaps. 20 and 22.[2] Both groups of narratives are very old; but the former is more difficult than the latter to understand historically. In chaps. 20 and 22 we seem to get nearer to the facts of history than in chaps, 17-19, 21; at the same time we must remember that even here we have to deal, not with extracts from the royal annals, but with popular traditions which are liable to exaggeration, especially at the hands of well-meaning interpolators.[1] The story of Ahab in his relation to Elijah has been considered elsewhere (see ELIJAH, § 1 *ff.*). We can hardly deny that the writer exalts the prophet to the disadvantage of the king. Ahab

2. Ahab's policy. was not an irreligious man, but his interests were mainly secular. He wished to see Israel free and prosperous, and he did not believe that the road to political salvation and physical ease lay through the isolation of his people from all foreign nations. The most pressing danger to Israel seemed to him to lie in its being slowly but surely Aramaised, which would involve the depression and perhaps the ultimate extinction of its national peculiarities. Both under Baasha and under Omri, districts of Israelitish territory had been annexed to the kingdom of Damascus, and it seemed to Ahab to be his life's work to guide himself, not by the requirements of Yahwè's prophets, but by those of political prudence. Hence he not only maintained a firm hold on Moab, bnt also made himself indispensable as an ally to the king of Judah, if he did not even become, in a qualified sense, his suzerain (see JEHOSHAPHAT, *1*). Besides this, he formed a close alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 1), whose daughter Jezebel (Baalizebel?) he married. The object of this alliance was doubtless the improvement of Israel's commerce. The drawback of it was that it required on Ahab's part an official recognition of the Tyrian Baal[2] (commonly known as Melkart), which was the more offensive because the contrast between the cultus even of the Canaanitish Baalim and that of the God of Israel was becoming stronger and stronger, owing to the prophetic reaction against the earlier fusion of worships. Ahab himself had no thought of apostatising from Yahwè, nor did he destroy the altars of Yahwè and slay his prophets. Indeed, four hundred prophets of Yahwè are said to have prophesied before him when he set out on his fatal journey to Ramath Gilead. His children, too, receive the significant names of Athaliah, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.

We can understand Ahab's point of view. But for its moral dangers, we might call it thoroughly justifiable. It was of urgent importance to recover the lost Israelitish territory and to secure the kingdom of Israel against foreign invasion. If Israel were absorbed by Damascus, what would become of the worship of Yahwè? To this question Elijah would have given the answer which AMOS (*q.v.*, § 18) gave after him: 'Perish Israel, rather than that the commandments of Yahwè should be dishonoured.' Jezebel's judicial murder of Naboth and Ahab's tame acquiescence showed Elijah what might be expected from the continued combination of two heterogeneous religions. It was for the murder of Naboth that Elijah threatened king Ahab with death,[3]

[1] Cp Noldeke, 'Verwandtschaftsnamen als Personennamen' in *Kleinigkeiten zur semitischen Onomatologie* (*WZKM* 6 307-316 ['92]).

[2] See KINGS, § 8, and cp Ki. *Gesch.* 2 184-186 [ET. 2 214-216].

[1] We must begin, however, with an analysis of the narratives. Van Doorninck (*Th.T*, 1895, pp. 576-584) has made it highly probable that the narrative of the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek in 1 K. **20** has received many interpolations tending to make the deliverance of the Israelites more wonderful, in addition to those already pointed out by We. (*CH* 285 *f.*), and Kue. (*Einl.* § 25, n. 10).

[2] Of Baalath, the female counterpart of Baal, the Hebrew tradition makes no mention. It is an interpolator who has introduced into 1 K. 18 19 the words 'and the prophets of the Ashera, 400,' which are wanting in the MT of *v.* 22, though supplied in 𝔊BL [𝔊L omits 400 in *v.* 22] (cp WRS, *RS*(2) 189; We. *CH* 281; Klo. *Sa. Kö.* 367; Ki. in Kau. *HS*). Of course, Baalath may have had her cultus by the side of Baal, hut not in such a way as to strike Israelitish observers. Nor could either Baalath or Astarte (Jezebel's father had been a priest of Astarte, Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18) have been called 'the Asherah' by a contemporary writer.

[3] Note that 1 K. 21 20*b*-26—in which (*1*) the whole house of Ahab is threatened, and (2) the punishment is connected with Ahab's religious policy—forms no part of the **old** narrative (see Ki. in Kau. *HS*).

and it was probably for this, or for other unrecorded moral offences of Ahab and the partizans of Baal, that the uncourtly prophet Micaiah 'never prophesied good concerning Ahab, but evil' (1 K. 22 8).

To what precise period of Ahab's reign his encounters with Elijah belong, we are not told. Nor is it at all certain to which years the events recorded in 1 K. 20 are to be referred. To the popular traditions further reference is made elsewhere (see ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, § 29). Suffice it to say here that they show us Ahab's better side; we can understand from them that to such a king much could be forgiven. Our remaining space will be devoted to the two inscriptions relative to episodes in the life of Ahab.

3. Mesha Inscription.

The earliest record comes from MOAB (*q.v.*). King Mesha informs us in his famous inscription (*l.* 8) that Moab had been made tributary to Israel by Omri, and that this subjection had continued 'during Omri's days and half of his son's days, forty years,: after which took place the great revolt of Moab.[1] How this statement is to be reconciled with that in 2 K. 1 1 3 4 need not be here considered. It is, at any rate, clear that the loss of the large Moabitish tribute, and of the contingent which Moab would have to furnish to Israelitish armies, must have been felt by Ahab severely.

4. Shalmaneser II.'s Inscription.

The second mention of this king occurs in the Monolith Inscription of SHALMANESER II. (*q.v.*). In the list there given of the allied kings of Syria whose forces were defeated by Shalmaneser at the battle of Ḳarḳar (near the river Orontes) in 854 B.C. occurs the name of Aḫabbu Sir'lai, which, as most scholars are now agreed, can only mean Ahab[2] of Israel[3] (or, as Hommel thinks, of Jezreel). Two important questions arise out of this record.

5. Why was Ahab at Karkar?

(1) Did Ahab join Bir'idri (Benhadad I.) of Damascus of his own accord, jealousies being neutralised by dread of a common foe? or was he a vassal of Bir'idri, bound to accept the foreign policy of his suzerain and to support it with (or at any rate through) his warriors on the field of battle? The former alternative is adopted by Kittel[4] and M'Curdy; the latter by Wellhausen and Winckler. To discuss this here at length is impossible. The remarks of Wellhausen will seem to most students very cogent. 'If feelings of hostility existed at all between Ahab and Benhahad, then Ahab could not do otherwise than congratulate himself that in the person of Shalmaneser 11. there had arisen against Benhadad an enemy who would be able to keep him effectually in check. That Shalmaneser might prove dangerous to himself probably did not at that time occur to him; but if it had, he would still have chosen the remote in preference to the immediately threatening evil. For it was the political existence of Israel that was at stake in the struggle with Damascus.'[5] Cp BEN-HADAD, § 2.

It does not follow, however, that we must give Wellhausen's answer to the second question, which is (2) Are the events related in 1 K. 20 22, with the exception of the contest for Ramath Gilead, to be placed before or after the battle of Karkar (854 B.C.)?

6. Relative date of Karkar and 1 K. 20 22.

It is, no doubt, highly plausible to suppose that Ahab took advantage of the blow dealt to the power of Damascus at Karkar to shake off the suzerainty of Benhadad: so far, at least, it seems reasonable to follow Wellhausen. But it is not likely that, considering the threatening attitude of Assyria, Benhadad would have thought it prudent to fritter away his strength on those 'furious attacks' on Israel to which Wellhausen refers;[1] it is not likely, in short, that the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek are to be placed after 854 B.C. It may be asked, if they are not placed thus, where are we to find room for them? In 1 K. 20 *23-34*, Ahab is represented as gaining the mastery over Benhadad, who has to make most humiliating concessions to him. After such a success, how can we account for Ahab's enforced presence at Karkar as vassal of Benhadad? The answer is that tradition selects its facts, and that the facts which it selects it idealises as an artist would idealise them. We may admit that Ahab, in his obstinate and patriotic resistance to Damascus, was not unvisited by gleams of good fortune; but the fact, which tradition itself records, that he was once actually besieged in his capital, cannot have stood alone. Of Ahab's other misfortunes in war tradition is silent; but we can easily imagine that the power which was too strong for Omri was at last able to force his son to send a large contingent to the army which was to meet Shalmaneser at Karkar.

That the siege of Samaria, at any rate, was before 854 B.C. is rendered probable by the criticism given elsewhere (see JEHORAM, 1, § 2) of the narrative in 2 K. 7. In particular, the kings of the Hittites and of *Muṣri*, who are referred to in *v.* 6, are just those with whom Benhadad would have to deal before 854 B.C., while Shalmaneser was still occupied at a distance.

The above solution of the historical problem is that of Winckler, which unites elements of Wellhausen's view and of that of Kittel.

The last-named critic deserves credit for an ingenious explanation (*Gesch. 2 232*) of the magnanimity attributed to Ahab in 1 K. 20 31-34. It will be remembered that, according to Kittel, Ahab sent forces to Ḳarḳar of his own accord, not as a vassal of Benhadad. This enables him to suggest that the king of Israel may have spared his rival's life in order to enlist him in a coalition against Assyria, the idea of which (according to this hypothesis) was Ahah's. It must he confessed, however, that this view ascribes more foresight to Ahab than, according to AMOS (*q.v.*, § 5), was possessed by the Israelites even at a later day, and it was certainly unknown to the compiler of our traditions, who makes no mention of the battle of Ḳarḳar.

We may regard it, then, as highly probable that the battle of Ḳarḳar was fought at some time in the 'three (?) years without war between Syria and Israel' mentioned in 1 K. 22 1.

The numbers of the force assigned by Shalmaneser in his inscription to Ahab (2000 chariots, 10,000 men), as compared with those assigned to other kings,[2] deserve attention.

7. Ahab's army.

It is possible, no doubt, as Winckler suggests, that contingents from Judah and Moab were reckoned among the warriors of Ahab.[3] This does not, however, greatly diminish the significance of the numbers. After all, the men of Judah were southern Israelites. Even if Moabitish warriors were untrustworthy against a foe such as Benhadad, there is no reason to doubt that the men of Judah would sooner see Israel free from Benhadad than swallowed up by its deadly foe. Ahab was certainly no contemptible antagonist in respect to the number of warriors he could bring into the field.

8. His death.

He himself, like David (2 S. 18 3), was 'worth ten thousand,' and the dread with which he inspired the Syrians is strikingly shown in the account of his last campaign. We read that

1 For a somewhat different view, see CHRONOLOGY, § 29, n. 1.

2 Against Kamph.'s view, that Ahab is mentioned by a mistake of the Assyrian scribe instead of Joram, cp Schr. *KGF* 370.

3 The form Sir'lai may he illustrated by the vocalisation אֲשַׂרְאֵל Asarel, 1 Ch. 4 16, which Lag. (*Uebers.* 132) thinks may represent the original pronunciation rather than יִשְׂרָאֵל.

4 Ki., however, after adopting this view of the course of events in his narrative, turns round, and with some hesitation indicates his preference for the view of Kamph. (*Chronologie der hebr. Kön.* 80), held also formerly by We., according to which the Assyrian scribe confounds Ahah with his son Jehoram (*Hist.* 2 273). On the whole question cp Schr. *KGF* 356-371.

5 *Hist.*(3) 61. So the conservative critic Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.* 3 379). On the other side, see M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 277 *ff.*

1 *IJG* 50; 2nd and 3rd ed. p. 71.

2 Bir'idri (Benhadad) has 1200 chariots, 1200 horsemen, 20,000 men (Schrader, *COT* 1 186).

3 That Jehoshaphat's military support of Ahab was not altogether voluntary is surmised by We. and positively asserted by Wi. That it only hegan at the expedition to Ramath Gilead is too hastily supposed by Ki. (*Gesch.* 2 *232* [ET, *2* 272]).

Benhadad charged the captains of his chariots to 'fight neither with small nor great, save only with the king of Israel,' and that when they thought they had found him they 'surrounded him (𝔊) to fight against him' (1 K. 22 31 *f.*). It was not, however, by a device of human craft that the great warrior was to die. A chance shot from a bow pierced Ahab's armour. The grievous wound prompted the wish to withdraw; but for the king in his disguise (*v.* 30) withdrawal was impossible, for the battle became hot and the warriors pressed on from behind. The dying king stood the whole day through, upright and armed as he was, in his chariot. At sunset he died, and when the news spread 'The king is dead' (2 K. 22 37, 𝔊), the whole Israelitish army melted away. In Micaiah's language, it became 'scattered abroad, as sheep that had no shepherd' (2 K. 22 17). The dead body of the king was carried to Samaria and buried there.[1]

A brief reference is made in 1 K. 22 39 to Ahab's luxury, which confirms the reading of 𝔊A in Jer. 22 15: 'Art thou a true king because thou viest with Ahab?' (ἐν Αχααβ [A], εν αχαζ [BℵQ], κεδρω [Q mg.], MT בארז), an indignant protest addressed by Jeremiah to Jehoiachin (so Cornill in *SBOT*, who enters into the text-critical points more thoroughly than Giesebrecht).

2. (Αχιαβ [BKAQ], perhaps the most correct form; see NAMES, § 65. In Jer. 29 22 אֶחָב is clearly a scribe's error; Eastern MSS have a *Kr* אַחְאָב.) Son of Kolaiah and fellow-exile of Jehoiachin (Jer. 29 21 *f.*). He and another exile (Zedekiah) fed the fanaticism of the Jews with false hopes of a speedy return. They were denounced by Jeremiah, who predicted for them a violent death at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar. We learn more about them from the writer (probably the editor of the Book of Jeremiah) who inserted *vv.* 22*b*-31*a*. It was in his time, perhaps, a matter of notoriety that Ahab and Kolaiah had suffered the cruel punishment of being burned alive (cp Saulmugina's fate, *RP*(1) 177). Therefore, he makes Jeremiah refer to this, and at the same time accuse the false prophets of having led a profligate life, in accordance with the idea which underlies Gen. 38 24; Lev. 20 14 21 9. Cp Cornill, *Jeremiah* (*SBOT*, Heb. text). T. K. C.

AHARAH (אַחְרַח [Bä]), or Ahrah (אַחְרַח [Ginsb.]), third son of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 1†. See AHIRAM.

AHARHEL (אֲחַרְחֵל; ἀδελφου ρηχαβ [BA], αραιηλ αδελφου ρηχαβ [L]; *AHAREHEL*), a name in an obscure part of the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 8†).

AHASAI, or rather as RV, AHZAI (אַחְזַי; in some MSS and edd. אַחְזָי; a shortened form of Ahaziah; om. BA, αζαχιου [ℵc.a mg. inf.], ζακχιου [L]), a priestlyname in a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. §§ 5 [*b*], 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 13† = 1 Ch. 9 12† JAHZERAH (יַחְזֵרָה; ιεδειου [B], ιεζριου [A], εζερα [L]), which is probably a corruption of Jahzeiah (see JAHAZIAH).

AHASBAI (אֲחַסְבַּי), 2 S. 23 34. See ELIPHELET, 2.

AHASUERUS (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ; in Kt. of Esth. 10 1, the edd., following the Palestinian reading, have אחשרש). 1. An Ahasuerus is mentioned in MT in Ezra 4 6 and Dan. 9 1; and in Esther he is one of the leading *dramatis personæ*.

In MT of Esther he is mentioned in 1 1 *f.* 9 *f.* 15* *f.** 19 2 1* 12* 16 21‡ 3 1 6 *ff.* 12‡ 6 2 7 5* 8 1 7*‡ 10*‡ 12 9 2* 20 30* 10 1* 3.[2] The readings of 𝔊 are: Ezra 4 6, ασθηρου [B], ασσουη. [A], ασσυη. [L]; Dan. 9 1, ασουηρου [Theod.], but ξερξου [87, *i.e.*, the LXX; also Syr. mg.]; in Esther ασσυηρου [a text of 𝔊L, on which see below], but αρταξερξου [β text of 𝔊L and 𝔊BℵA], -ξεξ. [B* vid. once], αταρξερξης [A* once], αρταρξερξης [A thrice].

In Ezra 4 6, where he is a king of Persia whose reign fell between that of Koresh (Cyrus) and that of Artaḥšasta (Artaxerxes Longimanus), he can hardly be any other than the king called *Khshayārshā* in the Persian inscriptions (Persep., Elvend, Van), חשיארש in an Aramaic inscription [481 B.C.] from Egypt (*CIS* ii. 1 122), and Ξέρξης by the Greeks (cp above, readings of Dan. 9 1). This name, which to Semites presented difficulties of pronunciation, was distorted likewise by the Babylonians in a variety of ways. As Prof. Bezold has informed the writer of the present article, we find on Babylonian tablets not only such forms as *Khishiarshu*, *Akhshiyarshu*, *Akkashiarshi*, *Akkisharshu*, but also *Akhshiyawarshu*, *Akhshuwarshi*, and *Akhshiwarshu*, with the substitution of *w* for *y*, as in אחשורש.[1] In other cases also the OT uses אַחַשְׁ to represent the Persian *khsh*, at the beginning of words. The insertion of ו before the final *sh* rendered the pronunciation easier to the Hebrews; but whether the vowel was contained in the original form of the Hebrew texts we cannot determine.[2]

The Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther is a king of Persia and Media (1 3 18 *f.*), whose kingdom extends from India to Ethiopia and consists of 127 satrapies (1 1 8 9 9 30). He has his capital at Shushan in Elam. He is fond of splendour and display, entertaining his nobles and princes for 180 days, and afterwards the people of his capital for seven (𝔊BℵA six) days (1 3-8). He keeps an extensive harem (2 3 14 *f.*), his wives being chosen from among all the 'fair young virgins' of the empire (2 2-4 12-14). As a ruler he is arbitrary and unscrupulous (3 8-11, and *passim*). All this agrees well enough with what is related of Xerxes by classical authors, according to whom he was an effeminate and extravagant, cruel and capricious despot (see ESTHER, § 1). This is the prince, son of Darius Hystaspis (Vishtāspa), whom the author of Esther seems to have had in mind. There has been an attempt to show, from the chronological data which he gives, that he knew the history of Xerxes accurately. He tells us that Esther was raised to the throne in the tenth month of the seventh year of Ahasuerus (2 16 *f.*), after having spent twelve months in the 'house of the women' (2 12). The command to assemble all the 'fair young virgins' in his palace (2 1-4) must, therefore, have been promulgated in his sixth year. But, in what is usually reckoned as the sixth year of his reign—viz. 480 B.C.—he was still in Greece. He could not, therefore, issue a decree from Shushan till the following year. This can be regarded as the sixth of his reign only by not counting the year of his accession, and taking 484 as the first of his reign. It is not impossible that the Persians may have taken over from the Babylonians the practice (see CHRONOLOGY, § 9) of reckoning the whole of the year, in the course of which a change of ruler occurred, to the late king; but it is not known as a fact. In this uncertainty we shall do well to suppose that the author of Esther has arbitrarily assumed his chronological data, and that his occasional coincidences with history are accidental merely.

2. For the Ahasuerus who is called the father of Darius the Mede in Dan. 9 1, see DARIUS, 1.

3. Tobias heard (Tob. 14 15†) of the destruction of Nineveh by 'Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus' (so RV, AV ASSUERUS: ασυηρος [B], ασσυ. [ℵc.a], ασου. [A], but 'Achiacharus, king of Media' [ℵ*], cp ACHIACHARUS, 2). See TOBIT, BOOK OF.

C. P. T.-W. H. K.

1 In 22 38, the words 'They washed his chariot in the pool of Samaria and the dogs licked his blood,' etc., are an interpolation intended to explain how the dogs could lick Ahab's blood (which must have been dried up in the long journey from Ramah) and so fulfil the prediction of 21 19. But this was to happen at Jezreel, not at Samaria (We. *CH* 360).

2 The asterisks (*) indicate that 𝔊BAL omits the proper name, which is sometimes inserted by ℵc.a mg. The double-daggers (‡) indicate that the editions following the Palestinian reading omit the second ו.

1 Cp Strassmaier, *Actes du viiie congrès des orientalistes*, sect. sém. 18 *f.* for a form corresponding to אחשורש (Aḥshawarsh?) found on Babylonian contract tablets.

2 See further Bevan, *Daniel* 149, where Aḥašyarš or Ahšayarš is proposed as the original Jewish form.

AHAVA (אַהֲוָא), a place (Ezra 8 15; ϵγϵιμ [B], ϵγϵι [AL]) or, as in the parallel 1 Esd. 841 (THERAS; om. B; Θεραν, accus. [A]; ϵϵιⲁ [L]) and Ezra 82131 (θογϵ [B], aoys [B?A; in *v.* 31 sup. ras.], ⲁⲁογⲁθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 50 ('for the young men,' τοῖς νεανίσκοις [BAL], *i.e.*, apparently בחרים for נהר אהוא) 861 (Theras, θϵρⲁ [BA], ϵϵιⲁ [L]), a river, near which Ezra assembled his caravan before its departure for Jerusalem. The site and the river remain unidentified. We know that both were in the Euphrates basin, and that CASIPHIA (*q.v.*; cp. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5 2; see Be-Rys, *Ezra*, *ad loc.*) was not very far off. The form Theras (see above) seems to have arisen from תרא(κ) for אהוא, which is the reading of some MSS for אהוא in Ezra 8.

AHAZ (אָחָז, a shortened form of JEHOAHAZ, the Jauḫazi of the inscriptions: see *KB* 220). 1. (ⲁχⲁz [BℵAQΓL], see also below, § 4 end, Jos. Ἀχάζης, ACHAZ [Vg. and Mt. 1 9 AV].)

1. Syro-Ephraimitish war.

Son of Jotham and eleventh king of Judah (733?-721, cp CHRONOLOGY, § 34 *ff.* and table in § 37). He was young, perhaps only twenty years of age[1] (2 K. 16 2), when he ascended the throne, and appears already to have struck keen observers such as Isaiah by a want of manliness which was quite consistent with tyranny (Is. 3 12*a*). The event seems to have been regarded by Rezin (or rather Rezon) of Damascus as favourable to his plan for uniting Syria and Palestine in a league against Assyria. Pekah, who had just become king of Israel by rebellion and assassination, was only too glad to place himself at the disposal of Rezin, who alone could defend him from Tiglath-pileser's wrath at the murder of an Assyrian vassal. Rezin and Pekah, therefore, marched southward, —being safe for the moment from an Assyrian invasion —with the object of forcing Judah to join their league (2 K. 16 5; Is. 8 1-9; cp ISAIAH, i. § 11). They could feel no confidence, however, in any promise which they might extort from Ahaz. For Ahaz, who, unlike Rezin, had no personal motive for closing his eyes to the truth, was conscious of the danger of provoking Assyria. Let us, then, said Rezin and Pekah, place a creature of our own, who can be trusted to serve us, on the throne of Judah (Is. 7 6). Their nominee is called *ben-Tabel* (see TABEEL, 1), whom the language ascribed to the allies hardly allows us to identify with Rezin.[2] He was probably one of Rezin's courtiers, and thus (what a disgrace to Judah!) a mere Syrian governor with the title of king. The attempt to take Jerusalem was a failure. The fortress proved too strong to he taken by storm, and to have prolonged the siege, in view of the provocation given to Assyria and the terrible promptness of Assyrian vengeance, would have been imprudent. Ahaz, too, in his alarm (which was fully shared by the citizens),[3] had already made this vengeance doubly certain by sending an embassy to Tiglath-pileser with the message, 'I am thy slave and thy son: come up and deliver me' (2 K. 16 7; this verse should be read immediately after *v.* 5).[4]

[1] In 2 Ch. 28 1, some MSS of 𝔊 and Pesh. read 'twenty-five' for 'twenty. This is more natural in view of the age assigned to Hezekiah at his accession. The)' five' may, however, have crept in from 27 1 29 1. 𝔊BAL reads 'twenty.'

[2] Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 73-75; cp, however, ISRAEL, HIST. OF, § 32.

[3] See Is. 7 2 8 6. The latter passage is partly corrupt; but it is clear, at least, that the people of Judah are reproved for distrusting Yahwè's power to save his people, and 'desponding' because of 'Rezin and hen-Remaliah.' The 'waters of Shiloah' are a symbol of Yahwb (cp Ps. 46 4; Is. 33 21). See Che. 'Isaiah' (*SBOT*). The interpretation of 𝔊, which paraphrases מְשׂוֹשׂ אֶת־ (AV and RV, ungrammatically, 'rejoice in') by βούλεσθαι ἔχειν βασιλέα, is certainly wrong though supported by some eminent names (Ges., Ew., Kne., Si.), for it is opposed to Is. 7 2 8 12. Even were the supposition that there was a large party in the capital favourable to Rezin and Pekah more plausible than it is, it would still be unwise tb base the supposition on a passage so strangely expressed and of such questionable accuracy as Is. 8 6.

[4] If the statement of the compiler in 2 K. 16 3 that Ahaz offered up his son (𝔊L and Symm. say 'his sons,' with 2 Ch. 28 3) is correct, we may perhaps assign the fearful act to this period.

One man, Isaiah ben Amoz, had kept his head cool amid this excitement. He assured Ahaz on the

2. Isaiah's advice.

authority of the God of prophecy that the attempt of Rezin and Pekah would be abortive and that Damascus and Samaria themselves would almost immediately become a prey to the Assyrian soldiery (Is. 7 4-9 16 8 1-4 17 1-11). He hade Ahaz be wary and preserve his composure (הִשָּׁמֵר וְהַשְׁקֵט)—to take no rash step, but quietly perform his regal duties, trusting in Yahwè. When the news came that Ahaz had hurriedly offered himself as a humble vassal to Assyria in return for protection from Rezin, Isaiah changed his tone. He declared that Judah itself, having despised the one means of safety (faith in Yahwè and obedience to his commands), could not escape punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. Under a variety of figures he described the havoc which those dreaded warriors would produce in Judah—a description to which a much later writer has added some touches of his own (*vv.* 21-25; see *SBOT*).

Was Ahaz right or wrong in seeking the protection of Assyria? Stade has remarked that 'he acted as any

3. Ahaz's policy.

other king would have acted in his position.'[1] On the other hand, Robertson Smith thought that 'the advice of Isaiah displayed no less political sagacity than elevation of faith.' 'If Ahaz had not called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, his own interests would soon have compelled the Assyrian to strike at Damascus; and so, if the Judæan king had had faith to accept the prophet's assurance that the immediate danger could not prove fatal, he would have reaped all the advantages of the Assyrian alliance without finding himself in the perilous position of a vassal to the robber empire. As yet the schemes of Assyria hardly reached as far as Southern Palestine.'[2] There is some force in this. The sending of tribute to Assyria was justifiable only as a last resource. To take such a step prematurely would show a disregard of the interests of the poorer class, which would suffer from Assyrian exactions severely. It is doubtful, however, whether the plans of Assyria were as narrowly limited as is supposed. Tiglath-pileser did not, even after receiving the petition of Ahaz, attack Damascus instantly. First of all he invaded Philistia and Northern Arabia.

We shall have occasion to refer again to the important chapter of Isaiah which describes the great encounter between the king and the prophet (see ISAIAH, i. § 2 *b*). Suffice it to say that we misunderstand Isaiah if we connect his threat of captivity in chap. 7 *f.* too closely with the foreign policy of Ahaz. It was not the foreign policy but the moral weakness of Ahaz and his nobles which had in the first instance drawn forth this threat from Isaiah (Is. 58-16). Nor can we venture to doubt that, if Ahaz had satisfied the moral standards of Isaiah, this would have had some effect on the prophet's picture of the future. 'Visions' and 'tidings' of men of God such as Isaiah are not merely political forecasts: they are adjusted to the moral and mental state both of him who speaks and of those who hear.

It is not to Isaiah or to a disciple of Isaiah, but to the royal annalist, that we owe the notice that the

4. Consequences.

tribute of Ahaz was derived from the treasury of the palace and of the temple, and that Ahaz did not spare even the sacred furniture (2 K. 16 8 17).[3] It would be interesting to know whether he sent the brazen oxen on which the brazen 'sea' had hitherto rested (they were copies of Babylonian sacred objects, and properly symbolised Marduk) to Tiglath-pileser, or whether he melted them

[1] *GVI* 1 595.

[2] WRS *Proph.*[2] 265; cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2 346 (near foot).

[3] On the text of 2 K. 16 17, which is corrupt, see St. *ZATW* 6 163.

down for himself. It is more important, however, to notice that this time, apparently, the tribute for Assyria was provided without any increase in the taxation. Isaiah, we may suppose, would have approved of this.

Isaiah's forecasts were verified, not, indeed, to such an extent as much modern speculation about the prophetic books demands, but as far as his own generation required. Damascus fell in 732; Samaria had a breathing time till 722; and, according to Sennacherib, there was a partial captivity of Judah in the next reign. It was after the first of these events that Ahaz first came in contact with an Assyrian king. In 734 the name of Jauḫazi of Judah occurs among the names of the kings who had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser; but we have no reason to suppose that he paid it in person. It was in 732, after the fall of Damascus, that he paid homage in person to his suzerain. On this occasion he 'saw the altar that was at Damascus' (2 K. 16 10), and, on aesthetic grounds, liked it better than the bronze altar which had hitherto been used at Jerusalem for burnt offerings. It was probably an Assyrian altar, for the Assyrians on principle introduced their own cultus into conquered cities. So Ahaz sent a model of the altar to the chief priest Uriah (cp Is. 8 2), who at once made an altar upon the pattern, and transferred the old altar to a new position. This was, doubtless, against the will of Isaiah, who in his earliest extant prophecy so strongly denounces the love of foreign fashions. Possibly at the same time Ahaz borrowed the sun-dial (if EV rightly paraphrases the expression, 'the steps of Ahaz'; see, however, DIAL). Nor is it likely that Ahaz paused here.[1] A suggestive allusion to the addiction of Ahaz to foreign worship is traceable in 2 K. 23 12; but there is a textual difficulty in the passage (see Kaniphausen's note in Kau. *HS*).[2]

The reign of Ahaz was inglorious, but on the whole peaceful. It was a severe blow to the commerce of Judah when Rezin, on the accession of Ahaz, attacked and captured Elath (on the Arabian Gulf), and restored it to its former possessors, the Edomites; but at the close of Ahaz's reign Isaiah was able to contrast the peace enjoyed by 'the poor of Yahwè's people' with the chastisement inflicted by Assyria on the restless Philistines.[3]

Other readings of 𝔊 are: αχας [B often, A¹? vel forte a? once, A once, Qᵃ once], -χααζ [A twice], αχαβ [A, 2 Ch. 18]. In Jer. 22 15 𝔊ᴮℵQ 'Ahaz' takes the place of the true reading 'Ahab' of 𝔊ᴬ (see AHAB, 1 [end]).

2. (χααζ [A]; αζαζ [L]), a descendant of Saul; 1 Ch. 8 35 *f.* (ζακ [B]) = 9 41 (om. EV MT 𝔊ᴮᴬ; but correctly inserted by 𝔊ᴸ Pesh.), 9 42 (αχαζ [B]). See BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. *β*.

T. K. C.—W. E. A.

AHAZIAH (אֲחַזְיָהוּ, אֲחַזְיָה, 'he whom Yahwb supports'; οχοζ[ε]ιας [BAL]; for other readings see end of no. 2). 1. Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and king of Israel (853-851? **B.C.** Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in **§ 37**). A poor successor to the heroic Ahab. Once more Israel must have been dependent on Damascus, while Moab (see AHAB, § 2) continued to enjoy its recovered independence. The single political action reported of him is his offer to JEHOSHAPHAT (*q.v.*, 1) to join in a trading expedition to Ophir (1 K. 22 50). The close of his life is described in a prophetic legend of very late origin (see ELIJAH, § **3**). He fell through the lattice of an upper room in his palace in Samaria, and though he lingered on a sick-bed for some time, did not recover. The story (2 K. 12-17) is a painful one, and was used by Jesus to point the contrast between the unchastened zeal of his disciples and the true evangelical spirit (Lk. 9 54-56). The one probably historical element is the consultation by Ahaziah of the oracle of Baal-zebub of Ekron. To most of Ahaziah's contemporaries his action would have seemed quite natural[1] (cp 2 K. 5 8 7 *ff.*).

2. Son of Jehoram (or Joram) and Ahab's daughter Athaliah, king of Judah (843-842? B.C. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in **§ 37**). He was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne,[2] and only one event in his brief reign has been recorded—the part which he took with Jehoram king of Israel in a campaign against Hazael of Damascus. The kings of Israel and Judah laid siege to Ramah in Gilead (the place before which Ahab lost his life in battle) which was still held by the Aramaeans. Jehoram withdrew wounded. Ahaziah also went to his home, but afterwards visited his sick kinsman at Jezreel. During this visit JEHU (*q.v.*) revolted, and the two kings (equally obnoxious to Jehu) went forth in their chariots to meet him. Ahaziah saw his uncle Jehoram pierced by an arrow, and took to flight. As he fled in the direction of BETH-HAGGAN (*q.v.*; 2 K. 9 27, 𝔊) Jehu dashed after him with the cry, 'Him too.' At the ascent of Gur by Ibleam, on the road to Jerusalem, he too was struck by an arrow. Thereupon he turned his horse northwest, and reached Megiddo, but died there of his wound. He was buried in the royal cemetery at Jerusalem. The conflicting account in 2 Ch. 229, from whatever late source derived, is of no historical value

(Other readings—2 K. 829 9 21 οχοζει [B]; 2 K. **14** 13 ιωαχας [B], αaζια [A], L om. 1 Ch. 3 11 οζεια [B], οζιας [A].), In 2 Ch. 21 17 he is called 'Jehoahaz, and in 226 Azariah. See JEHOAHAZ, 3.

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AHBAN (אַחְבָּן, § 45, meaning obscure, for form cp Eshban, 'brother of an intelligent one' [BDB], or less improbably 'brother has given heed,' so Gray, *HPN* 83, n. 2, who suggests the vocalisation אֲחִבֵן), a Jerahmeelite family name, 1 Ch. 2 29† (αχαβαρ [B], οζα [A], ναδαβ [L, cp vv. 28 30], *AHOBBAN*).

AHER (אַחֵר; αερ [B], αορ [A], om. [L Pesh.]; *AHER*), a very doubtful Benjaniite name (1 Ch. 7 12†). See HUSHIM, 2; DAN, § 9; BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. *a*.

Be. (*in loc.*) explains the name **as** meaning 'the other one,' and conjectures it to be a euphemism for Dan the express mention of the name of this tribe seeming in mbre than one instance to have been deliberately avoided. (*See* however DAN, § 9.) On the other hand 𝔊ᴮᴬᴸ reads 'his son' for 'the sons of' (בנו for בני), and the name is entirely wanting in 𝔊ᴸ and Pesh., the former (and perhaps originally also the latter) connecting Hnshim (ιεσσουδ, *ḥūšā*) with what goes before (see IRI). See also AHARAH.

AHI (אֲחִי, § 52, probably abbrev. from AHIJAH).

1. In genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5 15† (Vg. wrongly translates, *fratres* ***quoque;*** Pesh. and 𝔊ᴸ om.; 𝔊ᴮᴬ combines with the preceding name Buz—[ζαβ]ουχαμ [B], αχι(βουζ) [A]).

2. In genealogy of ASHER (**§ 4** n.), 1 Ch. 7 34†. 𝔊ᴮᴬ, attaching part of the following name (see ROHGAH), produces Αχι(ουρα) [A], or Αχι(ουια) [B]; hut 𝔊ᴸ has ηειγ.

AHI, NAMES WITH. See ABI, NAMES WITH.

AHIAH, frequently in AV and once (Neh. 10 26 [25]) inconsistently in RV. See AHIJAH, 1 *f.* 4.

AHIAM (אֲחִיאָם, § 65, for which we should probably point אֲחִיאֵם, 'mother's brother' [cp AHAB], analogous to the Sab. pr.n. אחתאמהו, 'sister of his mother'; cp *HPN* 64, n. 2), one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23 33 (αμναν [BA], om. [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 35† (αχειμ [Bℵ], αχιαμ [AL]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* i.

AHIAN (אַחְיָן, § 65, 'relative, cousin,' cp ܐܚܝܢܐ; ιααιμ [B], αειν [A], αειμ [L]; *AHIN*), a Manassitc name (1 Ch. 7 19†). See SHEMIDA.

AHIEZER (אֲחִיעֶזֶר, § 44, 'the [divine] brother is help,' cp Abiezer, Eliezer; αχιεζερ [BAFL]).

1. h. Ammishaddai, chief of the Danites, temp. Moses [P] (Nu. 1 12 2 25 εχι. [F]; 7 66 71 10 25)†.

2. One of David's archers (1 Ch. 12 3†). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

[1] Schr. *COT* 1 249 255, Wi. GBA 234.

[2] For לְאָרָם read לְאֱדֹם; cp the Ḳrē. וארומים for וארומים.

[3] The heading of Is. 14 28-32 is probably correct. See **Che.** ***Intr. Is.*** 80 *f.*; but cp Duhm ***ad loc.***

[1] Smend, ***A T*** *Rel.-gesch.* 157.

[2] So 2 K. ***826***. In 2 Ch. 22 2 his age is given as forty-two (𝔊ᴮᴬ 20); but this is clearly miswritten for twenty-two (so 𝔊ᴸ; cp 21 5 20).

AHIHUD (אֲחִיהוּד, 'the [divine] brother is praise,' cp ABIHUD; αχιωβ [A], -ωρ [BFL], *AHIHUD*), an Asherite selected to assist Joshua and Eleazer in the division of Canaan (Nu. 34 27 P†).

AHIHUD (אֲחִיחֻד; ιαχειχωλ [B], -χιχαδ [A], ογα [L]; *AHIUD*), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 7†. Cp UZZA, 1.

AHIJAH (אֲחִיָּה, 'Yahwè is brother' [*i.e.*, protector]; cp Abijah and the Babylonian name A-ḫi-ia-a; Jastrow, *JBL*, 1894, p. 105; αχ[ε]ια [BAL]).

1. b. Ahitub, priest at Shiloh, bore the ephod, temp. Saul; 1 S. 14 3 (Jos. Ἐχίας, Ἀχίας, AV AHIAH). In 4 Esd. 1 2† he appears as ACHIAS (*Achias* [ed. Bensly]) between Ahitub and Amariah of Ezra 7 2 *f.*, or 1 Ch. 6 7.

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), one of those who were 'carried captive' (1 Ch. 8 7; AV AHIAH), whose name should perhaps be read in *v.* 4 for AHOAH (אֲחוֹחַ; *αοα* [L], *Ahoe;* but *αχια* [B], ܐܚܝܐ; A om.); see further AHOHITE.

3. The Pelonite; a corruption of Ahithophel the Gilonite, the name of his son (one of David's heroes) being omitted (1 Ch. 11 36; see ELIAM, 1; AHITHOPHEL).

4. b. Shisha (SHAVSHA), and brother of ELIHOREPH (*q.v.*); one of Solomon's secretaries of state (1 K. 4 3; AV AHIAH). See BEN-HESED, § 3.

5. A Levite, who owes his existence to a demonstrable text-corruption (1 Ch. 26 20; read with BAL, ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν, 'and the Levites their brethren').

6. According to AV (which with 𝔊L prefixes 'and'), the fifth son of JERAHMEEL (*q.v.*, 1), 1 Ch. 2 25. But 𝔊BA gives correctly ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, *i.e.*, אָחִיהָ (so Ki.). We. (*De Gent.* 15) prefers אֶחָיו, 'his brothers.' (L *αχιαμ*.)

7. An Issacharite, father of King Baasha (1 K. 15 27 33, etc.).

8. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10 26 [25] (*αρα* [B]; *αια* [א vid. A], *αδειας* [L]; *ECHAIA*). See EZRA, i. § 7.

9. A Shilonite; the prophet who foretold to JEROBOAM (*q.v.*, 1) the disruption of Solomon's kingdom (1 K. 11 29, etc.; *αχ[ε]ιας* [BA twice]). In 2 Ch. 10 15 (*χια* A" but not in ‖ 1 K. 12 15), and in the story of his meeting with Jeroboam's wife (1 K. 14 4*a*-18), the name appears in the form אֲחִיָּהוּ (Ahīyyāhu), on which see ABIJAH (beginning).

AHIKAM (אֲחִיקָם, § 44, 'the [divine] brother riseth up,' cp Adonikam and Phœn. אבקם; αχ[ε]ικαμ [BאAQL]; χειкαм [א* once]: Jos. αχικαμος, ικ., *AHICAM*), like his father SHAPHAN (*q.v.*) a courtier of Josiah. He appears to have belonged to the party favourable to religious reforms. Hence he was included in the royal deputation to Huldah (2 K. 22 12 14, = 2 Ch. 34 20; cp HULDAH), and was foremost in the defence of Jeremiah on a critical occasion (Jer. 26 24). He was the father of GEDALIAH [*q.v.*, 1] (2 K. 25 22 Jer. 39 14 40 5).

a. c. s.

AHILUD (אֲחִילוּד, § 45). 1. Father of Jehoshaphat, David's 'recorder' or vizier (2 S. 8 16; *αχεια* [B], *αχιμελεχ* [A], *αχιναaμ* [L], Jos. Ἄχιλος; 20 24, *αχ[ε]ιλουθ* [BA], *αχιθαλαα* [L]; 1 K. 4 3, *αχειλιαδ* [Bא], *αχιμα* [A]; *αχιθαλαμ* [L]; 1 Ch. 18 15, *αχεια* [BK], *αχιλουδ* [AL]). The name does not mean 'child's brother' (BDB with a ?), nor is it connected with the Ar. tribal name Laudhān (Hommel? see *Exp. Times* 8 283 ['97]). It is difficult not to suggest that אחילוד = אחי[מ]לך = אחילד = Ahimelech (cp above 2 S. 8 16 [A], and below [2], 1 K. 4 12 [B]). For his vizier David would naturally choose some one from a family well known to him. One son of Ahimelech (Abiathar) was a priest of David; another might well have been his vizier. See JEHOSHAPHAT, 2; AHIMELECH, 1.

2. Father of Baana, one of Solomon's prefects or governors of departments, 1 K. 4 12 (*αχειμαχ* [B], *ελουδ* [A], *αχιαβ* [L]). The governor of Naphtali (*v.* 15) is called Ahimaaz—no doubt the son of Zadok who bore this name. Probably therefore this Ahilud is the same as no. 1. Solomon provided well for the families of his father's friends—Zadok, Ahimelech, Hushai, and Nathan (cp AHIMAAZ, 1, 2; BAANA, 2; AZARIAH, 6).

T. K. C.

AHIMAAZ (אֲחִימַעַץ, § 45, meaning uncertain, cp MAAZ; αχ[ε]ιμααc [BAL]).

1. b. Zadok; 2 S. 15 27 (*αχειμαιας* [B]), 36 (*αχιμασσυιος* [A"; σ 2° ras. A"']); 17 17 20 (*αχειμας* [B]), 18 19-29, and, according to the Chronicler, eleventh in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar, 1 Ch. 6 8 *f.*, and 53 *αχεισαμα* [B]). Along with his father and brother he remained faithful to David during the revolt of Absalom, and brought important information from Jerusalem to the king as to the enemy's plans; he was also the first courier to reach the king after the battle in which Absalom was killed. Most probably identical with

2. One of Solomon's prefects (see GOVERNMENT, § 18, end), governor of Naphtali; 1 K. 4 15. Cp AHILUD, 2.

3. Father of Ahinoam (1), Saul's wife; 1 S. 14 50† (*αχ[ε]ιναας* [B]).

AHIMAN (אֲחִימָן,[1] § 45; *ACHIMAN, AHIMAN*). 'Ahi,' as usual, is a divine title, and 'man' may be the name of a deity (Měnī; see FORTUNE.).

1. One of the sons of the ANAK (*q.v.*; cp also SHESHAI, TALMAI); Nu. 13 22 (*αχ[ε]ιμαν* [BFL], *αχικαμ* [A]); Josh. 15 14 (*αχ[ε]ιμα* [BAL]); Judg. 1 10 (*αχιναaν* [B], *αχ[ε]ιμαν* [B ab. mg. L], TOY *αχιμααμ* [A]).

2. One of the 'porters for the camps of the Levites'; 1 Ch. 9 17 (*αιμαμ* [B], *-ν* [AL]; *Ahimam*, Cod. Am. *Abiman* [‖ Neh. 11 19 om. everywhere]) in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end) = Ezra 10 24 (where he is called URI) = 1 Esd. 9 25 (EV om.). The name in 1 Ch. is probably corrupt. See URI, 3.

AHIMELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ, 'the [divine] king is brother,' see ABIMELECH and cp Phœn. חמלך, Ass. *Aḫimilki*; *αχ[ε]ιμελεχ* [BAL]).

1. Father of Abiathar, erroneously described in 2 S. 8 17 as *son* of Abiathar, also in four places in 1 Ch., in the first of which, moreover, the name in MT is ABIMELECH; see ABIATHAR (last paragraph). For a conjecture that Jehoshaphat, David's vizier, and Baana, Solomon's prefect, were also sons of this Ahimelech, see AHILUD, 1 and 2.

𝔊A reads *αμιμελεχ* in 1 S. 21 1*a* 22 9 and *αβιμ.* in 1 S 21 1*b* 2; B has *αβειμελεχ* invariably except in 1 S. 21 1*a*, and Ps. 52 title,[2] *αβιμ.*; and in 1 S. 30 7 and the five corrupt passages, *αχειμ.*; Vg. *Achimelech*, but in 1 Ch., though not in 2 S. 8 17, *Ahim.* The Vg. and 𝔊U read Ahimelech also in Ps. 34, title; see ACHISH (end).

2. A Hittite companion of David in the time of his outlawry, 1 S. 26 6† (*αχ[ε]ιμελεχ* [B aL], *αβ[ε]ιμ.* [BA]).

AHIMOTH (אֲחִימוֹת, § 45, αλειμωθ [B], οχιμ. [A], αμιωθ [L]), a name in the genealogy of Kohath (1 Ch. 6 25 [10]). If the reading of MT and Versions is correct, *-moth* should be a divine name or title. Barton compares the cosmogonic MWT in Philo of Byblus; but this is too doubtful (see CREATION, § 7), and though מות 'death,' in Ps. 49 14 [15] and elsewhere is personified, a name like 'Death is (our) brother' or 'protector,' is improbable. Possibly Ahinioth should be Ahimahath (see *v.* 35 [20], cp 2 Ch. 29 12); see MAHATH, 1.

AHINADAB (אֲחִינָדָב, § 44; 'the [divine] brother apportions,' but cp further ABINADAB; αχειναδαβ [B], αιναδαβ [A], αχιναδαβ [L]; *AHINADAB*), Solomon's prefect over the district of Mahanaim beyond Jordan (1 K. 4 14†). See GOVERNMENT, § 18 (end).

AHINOAM (אֲחִינֹעַם, § 45, 'the [divine] brother is pleasantness,' αχ[ε]ινααμ [BAL]; Jos. αχινα; *ACHINOAM*). 1. Daughter of Ahimaaz and wife of Saul, 1 Sam. 14 50† (*αχ[ε]ινοομ* [BA]).

2. Of Jezreel in Judah (see ABIGAIL, 2) whom David married during his outlawry. Like Abigail, she was carried off by the Amalekites when they plundered Ziklag. At Hebron she bore to David his eldest son, Amnon, 1 S. 25 43 (*αχειναaν* [B]); 27 3; 30 5 (*αχεινοομ* [B],

[1] A better pointing would be אחִימָן; the present vocalisation, אֲחִימָן, is based on a popular etymology; אחִימן, frater meus quis? (Jer. in *OS*(2) 15 21, etc.).

[2] Other readings here, *αβειμ.* [א]; *Achimelech;* Pesh. quite different.

αχιναaμ [A, *up.* sup. ras. A[1]]), cp *v.* 18 ; 2 Sam. **22** (αχινοομ [BA]), 32 (αχεινοομ [B]) ; 1 Ch. 3 1†.

AHIO (אַחְיוֹ, §§ **24, 43,** possibly, if MT is correct, 'brother of Yahwb,' or 'Yahwb is brother.' The analogy of other names ending in ŏ seems against this view ; Jastrow, *JBL*, **1894,** p. 101).

1. b. Abinadab, brother of UZZAH (*q.v.*, 1), 2 S. 6 3 *f.*; ‖ 1 Ch. 13 7 has 'his brethren,' and We. reads אָחִיו, 'his brother'; see Dr. (in each case, however, 𝔊BAL **has** οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.*, אָחִיו, in 2 S.).

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. *β*), one of the sons of Beriah, who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Ch. 8 14 (ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, 'his brother' [B], οἱ ἀδελφοὶ *a&*, 'his brethren' [A], οἱ ἀ. αὐτῶν, 'their brethren' [L]; Be. and Kau. אָחִיו ; We. אָחִיו *[De Gent. f.* 29] ; Ki. אחיהם).

3. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. *β*), son of Jehiel, the 'father' of Giheon ; 1 Ch. 8 31 ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ [B], -φοὶ ah. [A], οἱ ἀδ. αὐ. [L]) = 9 37† (BA om. αὐτοῦ).

AHIRA (אֲחִירַע ; αχ[ε]ιρε [BAFL]; ܐܚܝܕܥ ; *AHIRA*). A Naphtalite family-name reported in P (Nu. 1 15 2 29 7 78 83 10 27†). The old interpretation ' my brother is evil' must be abandoned. Either y is miswritten for ב (see the Palmyrene characters), in which case we get the good Heb. name Ahiram,[1] or we have here a half-Egyptian name meaning ' Ra' (or Re'—*i.e.*, the Egyptian sun-god) is brother or protector' (so Che. *Zsa.* 2 144). The latter view is quite possible (cp the Egyptian name Pet-baal). The Canaanites, who were strong in the territory of Naphtali, were very receptive of foreign religious influences.[2] Cp ASHUR, HUR, HARNEPHER. The reading of Pesh. (uniformly Aḥida') is no doubt either merely a natural variant, or a copyist's substitution of a more normal for a rarer form; cp ABIDA. T. K. C.

AHIRAM (אֲחִירָם, § 44, cp Jehoram ; αχ[ε]ιραν [AL], ιαχ. [B], αχιαν [F]; *AHIRAM*). 1. In the genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 i.) ; Nu. 26 38 (where we have also the gentilic **Ahiramite** ; אֲחִירָמִי ; αχειρανι [L], ια . . ρει [B], αχιραι [A], -ιανει [F]) = Gen. 46 21, where 'Ahiram, Shephupham' ought no doubt to be read for ' Ehi and Rosh, Muppim' (אחירםשפופם for אחיוראשמפים), cp ROSH. In the similar list in 1 Ch. 8 we find in *v.* 1 AHARAH [*q.v.*] (אחרח), and in that in 1 Ch. 7 6 *ff.* in *v.* 12, AHER [*q.v.*] (אחר), cp HUSHIM, 2 ; DAN, § **9**.

2. Perhaps we should read Ahiram also for AHIRA *(4.71.)* in Nu. 1 5, etc.

AHISAMACH (אֲחִיסָמָךְ, 'the [divine] brother sustains' ; αχισαμακ [B], -μαχ [AFL] ; Jos. ισαμαχος, ισαχαμος), a Danite ; Ex. 31 6 (αχισαμαχ [B]) 35 34 38 23 [P]. See DAN, § 9 n.

AHISRARAR (אֲחִישַׁחַר, §§ **35, 44,** 'the [divine] brother is dawning light,' cp Abner, Shehariah; αχεισαδαρ [B], αχισααρ [A], ασσαειρ [L]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ **9 ii.** *α*), 1 Ch. **7** 10†. See JEDIAEL, **1.**

AHISHAR (אֲחִישָׁר, § 44), Solomon's comptroller of the palace (1 K. 4 6†). The name, however, is suspicious.

𝔊B gives the double rendering, αχει ἦν οἰκονόμος, and ελιακ ὁ οἰκ., and perhaps even a third rendering ελιαβ υἱὸς σαφ ἐπὶ τῆς πατριᾶς ; ελιακ should he αχιηλ, which 𝔊L has, and may be the true 𝔊 reading. But MT (𝔊A αχισαρ) has yet to he accounted for. For וַאֲחִישָׁר we should probably read אָחִיו שַׂר. Zahud, who has just been mentioned, is described as not merely **a** priest but ' the officer(placed) over the palace ' (so Klo.). See ZABUD, 1. T. K. C.

AHITHOPHEL (אֲחִיתֹפֶל, § **45,** meaning uncertain ; αχ[ε]ιτοφελ [BAL], -λος, Jos.), a Gilonite (see GILOH), a counsellor of David much esteemed for his unerring insight (2 S. 15 12 16 23). His son ELIAM (*q.v.*, 1) was, like Uriah, a member of David's bodyguard (**2 S. 23 34** ; cp DAVID, § 11 *a* i), and since Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, is described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S. 11 3), it has been conjectured that Ahithophel was her grandfather, and that indignation at David's conduct to Bathsheba led Ahithophel to cast in his lot with Absalom's rebellion. This, however, is a mere possibility, and ambition would be a sufficient motive for Ahithophel's treason to David, just as the slight involved in Absalom's preference of Hushai's counsel to his own was certainly one chief cause of his final withdrawal' from Absalom. At first, indeed, he had full possession of the ear of the pretender. **It** was by his advice that Absalom took public possession of his father's concubines, and so pledged himself to a claim to the throne, from which there was no retreat (2 S. 16 20 *ff.*). Ahithophel was also eager in his own person to take another bold and decisive step. He wished to pursue David with **12,000** men and cut the old king down in the first confusion and entanglement of his flight towards the Jordan (2 S. 17 1-4). This plan was defeated by Hushai, whereupon Ahithophel, seeing that all hope was gone, went to Giloh and strangled himself.

In 1 Ch. **11 36** 'Ahithophel the Gilonite' has been corrupted into 'Ahijah the Pelonite,' אֲחִיָּה הַפְּלֹנִי for אחיתפל הגלני ; **cp** Klo. *Sam.*, *ad loc.* (αχ[ε]ια [BAℵL]), and see GILOH, end.

W. *E.* A.

AHITOB (αχειτωβ [B], etc.), 1 Esd. 8 2 **RV,** 4 Esd. 1 1† RV. See below, AHITUB, 2.

AHITUB (אֲחִטוּב or אֲחִיטוּב [1 S. 14 3 22 9 20], § **45** ; cp Aḫi-ṭābu *KB* 5, no. 11 14, αχ[ε]ιτωβ [BAL]).

1. **A** member of the family in which the priesthood, first at Shiloh, then at Nob, appears for some generations to have been hereditary. He was grandson of Eli, son of Phinehas, and elder brother of Ichabod (1 S. 14 3 ; cp 4 19-21). His son, Ahijah, is mentionedas priest in 1 S. 14 3 ; another son, Ahimelech, appears as priest in **1 S.** 22 9 11 12 20. It is unnecessary with Thenius and Bertheau to identify Ahimelech with Ahijah; but that Ahitub, the father of Ahimelech, is identical with Ahitub, the father of Ahijah, is clear from 1 K. 2 27, which implies that Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech (1 S. 22 20), was of the house of Eli. Nothing further is directly told of Ahitub; but, if Wellhausen's suggestion that the destruction of Shiloh (Jer. 7 12) took place after the battle of Aphek (1 S. 4) be accepted, the transference of the priestly centre from Shiloh to Nob (1 S. 22 9-11), will have taken place under him.

The description of Ahituh as father of Zadok (2 S. 8 17 = 1 Ch. **18 16,** 1 Ch. **6** 8 [5 34] 53 [38]) is due to an intentional early corruption of the text in Samuel, which originally ran 'Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahituh, and Zadok were priests' (for the argument see We. *TBS* 176 *f.*).

2 and **3.** Father of **a** (later) Zadok, mentioned in 1 Ch. **6** 11 *f.* [5 37 *f.*], and in pedigree of Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 1) Ezra 7 2 = 1 Esd. 8 2 = 2 Esd. 1 1 (in the last two passages AV ACHITOB, RV AHITOB) ; and *a* priest, father of Meraioth and grandfather of Zadok, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (**EZRA,** ii. §§ 5 [*b*], 15 [*c*] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 11 = Neh. 11 11 (αποωβωχ [B], αποβωκ [ℵ], αιτωβ [A]). These references, however, are probably due to intentional or accidental amplification of the original genealogy, and do not refer to any actual person. Ryle, apparently takes another view ; see his notes on *Ezra* 7 1-5, **and** Neh. **11 11.**

4. Ancestor of Judith ; Judith 8 1† RV, AV following 𝔊A ακιθω ACITHO, *Achitob* ; so also It., Syr. ; om. B. *G.* B. *G.*

AHLAB (אַחְלָב, *i.e.*, 'fat,' 'fruitful'; δαλαφ [BAL], *i.e.*, αλαφ [Clermont Ganneau points out the place-name Mahāleb, N. of Tyre *(Rev. Crit.* **1897,** p. 503)]), a Canaanite town claimed by Asher (Judg. 1 31), and referred to probably in Josh. 19 29, at the end of which verse there appears to have been originally a list of names including (by a correction of the text) Ahlab and Achzib.[1] See HELBAH.

[1] Αχειρε in 3 K. **2 46** *h* [B] answers to Adoniram (cp 1 K. **4 6**) of MT.

[2] On names of foreign deities in Israelite names, see under ELIDAD, and NAMES, §§ 42, 81, **83.**

[1] Josh. 19 29 ends thus, הַיָּמָּה מֵחֶבֶל אַכְזִיבָה, which AV renders ' at the sea from the coast to Achzib,' and RV 'at the *sea* **by** the

Many (*e.g.*, Neubaner, Grove, Fiirst) identify either Ahlab or Helbah with the Guš Ḥālāb (גוש חלב, 'fat clods') of the Talmuds—the Giscala of Josephus. But this place (*el Jish*), which is mentioned with Meron (*Meirôn*), and Biri (*Kefr Bir'îm*), must have lain on Naphtalite ground. 'The statement in Talm. *Menachoth* 85 *6*, that Gush Ḥalab belonged to Asher is a mere guess, suggested by the blessing of Asher in Dt. 33 24. For a sounder view see HELBAH.

AHLAI (אַחְלַי, acc. to Olsh. [*Heb. Gr.* 610] = *utinam.* Del., *Prol.* 210, compares Bab. interj.-name *Aḫulalpia*, 'O that I at last.' More probably the name is a corruption of אֲחִיאֵל, or the like).

1. Son, or (an inference from *v.* 34 which comes from a later hand) daughter of Sheshan b. Isha, a Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 31 (αχαι [B] αδαι [A], ουλαει [L]). See JERAHMEEL, 1.

2. Father (or mother?) of ZABAD (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 11 41† (αχαια [B], αχεα [ℵ], ολι [AI, σαμααλι [L], *i.e.*, a combination of part of *Lappa* or Σαμαια with ααλι). T. K. C.

AHOAH (אֲחוֹחַ), *1* Ch. 8 4†. See AHIJAH, 2, BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. β.

AHOHITE, THE (הָאֲחֹחִי, *i.e.*, a man of the family of Ahoah or AHIJAH? *q.v.*, 2). The designation (1) of Zalmon (2 S. 23 28†, αωειτης [B], ελω. [A], ακαχι [L]; ܘܨܠܡܘܢ ܒܪ ܐܚܘܚ) = ILAI [see ZALMON, 2] (1 Ch. 11 29: αναχωνει [ℵ*], αχ. [Bℵ[1]], final χ being confounded with ν; αχωρ [A[a] sup. ras. seq. ras.], ακαθι [L]; ܘܨܠܡܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܚܘܚ).

Also (2) of Dodai, or of Eleazar b. Dodai (as in 1 Ch. 27 and in 2 S. and 1 Ch. 11 respectively; see DODAI, ELEAZAR, *3)*, one of David's heroes (see ELEAZAR, *3)* in the list *1* Ch. 27 4 (εκχωχ [B], αωθι [A], αχωχι [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 12 (αρχωνει [B], αχ. [ℵ], αχωχι [A], υἱὸς Δωδαι πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ [L]) = 2 S. 23 9 (that is, if with AV we treat בן־אחחי as = האחחי of the parallel passages, and do not [with Marq. *Fund.* 16 *f.*] correct the whole expression everywhere into בת הלחמי 'the Bethlehemite' [cp *v.* 24], the corruption in the Heb. text of Sam. being accounted for by the half-effacement of the letters, which the scribe read in the false light of *v.* 28). 𝔊 evidently omits, since the forms σουσει [B], δουδει [B[b vid.] L], σωσει [A] must be corruptions for דּדי, Dod(a)i.

AHOLAH, RV correctly **Oholah** (אָהֳלָה; ooha [B indecl. and decl., and, except *v.* 44, Q; but B, not B[a] -λλ. *v.* 4], ολλα [A and in *v.* 44 Q]), a symbolical name equivalent to Oholibah (see AHOLIBAH), given by Ezekiel to Samaria (23 4 *f.* 6 44†).

AHOLIAB, RV correctly **Oholiab** (אָהֳלִיאָב; ελιαβ [BAFL]), the associate of BEZALEEL (*q.v.*) in the work of the tabernacle in P (Ex. 31 6 35 34 36 1 2 38 23 [𝔊 37 21†]). See DAN, § 8 n., and cp HIRAM, 2.

AHOLIBAH, RV correctly **Oholibah** (אָהֳלִיבָה, *i.e.*, 'she in whom are tents'—alluding to the worship at the high places; cp Ezek. 16 18; οολιβα [BQΓ], ολ. [A, *v.* 22 Q, *v.* 36 B]), a symbolical name, equivalent to Oholah (see AHOLAH), given by Ezekiel to Jerusalem (23 4 11 22 36 44†).

AHOLIBAMAH, RV correctly **Oholibamah** (אָהֳלִיבָמָה, § 61, *i.e.*, 'tent of the high place,' cp Phcen. אהלמלך *CIS* 1, no. 50, and see HIRAM, 2.

1. Wife of Esau (ολιβεμα [ADE]; ελιβαμα [L]; αλιβαμην [Jos.; cod. Laur. oh.]); Gen. 36 2 (ολιβαιμα [E]), 5 14 (ελιβεμα [A], 18 (ελιβεμα [A once], ολιβεμμα and ελιβαμα [D]), 25† (ολιβα [E], ελιβεμαθ [L; before θυγατηρ]). See BASHEMATH, 1; ANAH, 3 (end).

2. An Edomite chief (ελ[ε]ιβαμας [D[vid.]L], ελιβεμας [A]), Gen. 36 41, and (ελ[ε]αβαμας [BA], ελιβαμα [L]), 1 Ch. 1 52†. See EDOM, § 4.

region of Achzib,' but in the margin 'at the sea from HEBEL to Achzib.' 𝔊, however, points the way to a correction of the text (ἡ θάλασσα καὶ ἀπὸ λεβ καὶ εχοζοβ [B], ἡ θ. κ. ἀ. τοῦ σχοινίσματος εχοζοβ [A], ἡ. β. κ. ἔσται ἀ. τ. σ. αχαζειβ [L]). This implies the reading מחלב, which is not improbably a corruption of אחלב· אַכְזִיבָה, which should rather he וְאַכְזִיב, was an attempt to make sense with מֵחֶלֶב.

AHUMAI (אֲחוּמַי,[1] § 65; αχειμει [BA*], αχιμαι [A[a] sup. ras. et in mg.], αχιμαν [L], ܐܚܘܡܝ; *Ahumai* [cod. am. *Ahimai*]), the eponym of a clan of Judah (1 Ch. 4 2†). Should we read Ahiman (L)?

AHUZAM, RV correctly **Ahuzzam** (אֲחֻזָּם, perh. = 'possession'; for pr. names in *am* see NAMES, § 77), one of the sons of Ashhur 'father of Tekoa'; 1 Ch. 4 6† (ωχαια [B], ωχαζαμ [A], οζα [L]).

AHUZZATH (אֲחֻזַּת, 'possession'; οχοζαθ [AEL], -ζαχ [*D*]; *OCHOZATH*), the 'friend' (𝔊, wrongly, νυμφαγωγός) of Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. 26 26†). 'Friend' = minister; cp 1 Ch. 27 33, and see HUSHAI.

The name with the title ὁ νυμφαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ is introduced *also* in 𝔊ADL in the similar narrative of Gen. 21 22-34. For the termination *-ath* there are parallels in Basemath (fem.), Gen. 26 34; Mahalath (fem.), Gen. 28 9; Goliath (the Philistine), 1 S. 17 4; Genubath, 1 K. 11 20; cp names in *-ath* in Aram. inscriptions (Cook, *Gloss. Aram. Inscr.* under ת). Cp Dr. *HT*(3) 236, n. 2.

AHZAI (אַחְזַי), Neh. 11 13† RV, AV AHASAI (*q.v.*).

AI (1) (הָעַי, always thus with def. article, *i.e.*, 'the stone heap'; γαι [BAL, etc.]; written **Hai** in Gen. 12 8 13 3† AV; αγγαι [BAL]). The name appears also in various other forms.

AIJA, or rather Ayya (עַיָּא; om. Bℵ*A, αιω [ℵc.a mg. inf.], γαι [L], Neh. 11 31†); AYYAH, RV mg. (עַיָּה [Bä Gi], not עַזָּה as in most edd., AV GAZA [*q.v.*, 2], *RV* AZZAH; γαιαν [B], γαζης (genit.) [A], αδια [L]; *aza*; ܥܙܐ; 1 Ch. 7 28); AIATH, or rather Ayyath (עַיָּת; *ayyai* [BℵAQ], *Is.* 10 28†).

As to the site of Ai, we learn from Josh. 7 2 (in clause *b* γην [AFL]; in *v.* 3 γαι sup. ras. [B?]) that it was situated 'beside Beth-aven, on the east of Bethel,' and, from the account of Joshua's stratagem, that it lay on the S. side of a steep valley (Josh. 8 11), while from the description in Gen. 12 8, it appears that there was a 'mountain' or flat ridge with a wide view between Ai and Bethel. That there was a close connection between the two places appears also from the expression 'the men of Bethel and Ai' (Ezra 2 28; αια [BA]). With the position thus suggested, Isaiah's graphic picture of an Assyrian invasion from the north (Is. 10 28 *ff.*; αγγαι [Bℵc.a, c.b AQ]; αγγε [ℵ*] = GEBA in *v.* 28) entirely agrees. Where, then, shall we place Ai on the map? Scarcely at et-Tell (Sir C. W. Wilson, *PEFQ.* 1869. 123-6, and Smith's *DB*(2))—there are no signs that et-Tell was ever the site of a city—but at some other spot in the neighbourhood of *Dēr Dīwān* (a village twenty minutes SE. of et-Tell). Robinson, with some hesitation, fixed on a low hill, just S. of this place, where there are still foundations of large hewn stones, and on the W., ancient reservoirs, mostly dug out of the rock. The spot (called *Khirbet Ḥaiyān*) is 'an hour distant from Bethel, having near by, on the N., the deep Wādy el-Maṭyāḥ, and towards the SW. other smaller wādys, in which the ambuscade of the Israelites might easily have been concealed' (*BR* 2 313). To Tristram in 1863, this conjecture 'carried with it the weight of evidence,' particularly because it would be difficult to assign a site to Abraham's camp between Beitīn and Tell el-Hajar (et-Tell), and because Robinson's site affords such ample space for the military evolutions described in Josh. 8, over which, however, some uncertainty is thrown by the variations of 𝔊 in *vv.* 11-13. Both Guérin and the PEF Survey corroborate this view, which, if not proved, is at any rate probable.

As to the history of **Ai**: it was a royal Canaanitish city, and was the second city conquered by Joshua, who destroyed it and doomed it to be 'a mound for ever' (תֵּל־עוֹלָם). By Isaiah's time, however, it had been rebuilt (Is. 10 28), and after the Exile it was re-

[1] See Gray. *HPN* 62, 279, n. 10.

occupied by Benjamites; Ezra 2 28 (αια [BA]) = Neh. 7 32 (αλεια [BS], αι [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 21 (𝔊^BA and EV om.; γαι [L]). In the time of Eusebius (OS 181, 76, Αγγαι) it was once more deserted; but its situation was still pointed out. Its name was prophetic of its history. Or had it some other name before its destruction by Joshua?

2. (עַי; without article; Γαι [Q]; Symm. ἡ ἰσχύς) an Ammonite city, if the text in Jer. 49 3† is correct (𝔊^BNA omits; Rothstein in Kau. *HS* and Co. in *SBOT*, after Graf, read 'Ar עָר). T. K. C.

AIAH, more strictly Ayyah (אַיָּה, 'falcon'). 1. An Edomite tribal name individualised, Gen. 36 24 (AV AJAH; αιε [AD], N. [E; N precedes], αιαι [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 40 (αιθ [B], αια [AL]). The tribe seems to have broken off from that of Zibeon, and to have been less important than that of ANAH (*q.v.*). To identify this insignificant Aiah with the 'goodly land' in which Se-nuhyt the Egyptian exile found a home, according to the old story (so Maspero, *RP*(2) 2 17 23; *PSBA* 18 106 ['96]) is unsafe. On the Iaa (Maspero, Aïa) of the story of Se-nuhyt, see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 47.

2. Father of Saul's concubine Rizpah (2 S. 3 7, ιαλ vel forte ιαα [B*], ιοδ vel forte ιολ [B?], Ιολ [A], Σιβα [L], Σίβατος [Jos.]; 21 8 *ff.*, Αια [BA], Ασαια [L]). To draw a critical inference (with Mez, *Der Bibel des Jos.* 35 *f.*), from L's Σιβα in 3 7 seems unwise. We must not assume that Ziba is the original reading rather than Aiah. א and צ could very easily be confounded, and from Σια to Σιβα was but a step. The name of one of Rizpah's sons was Mephibosheth (Meribaal), and the son of Jonathan, whose steward was Ziba, was also called Mephibosheth (Meribaal). The question as to the source or sources of the passages in which RIZPAH (*q.v.*) is referred to, remains therefore where it was.

AIATH (עַיָּת), Is. 10 28†. See Ai, 1.

AIJA (עַיָּא), Neh. 11 31. See AI, 1.

AIJALON, or (Josh. 10 12 19 42; 2 Ch. 28 18†, all AV) less correctly AJALON (אַיָּלוֹן from אַיָּל 'hart'; αιλων [BAL]).

1. A town in the Shephēlah, assigned to Dan in Josh. 19 42 (αμμων [B], ιααλων [A], ελ. [L; but with ιαλων *v.* 43 for Elon]), and named as a Danite Levitical city in 21 24 [P] (ιαλων [A]) = 1 Ch. 6 69 [54] (corrected text, see Ball *ad loc.* in Ellicott's Bible; εγλαμ [B], ηλων [A]). It is the modern *Yālō*, situated on a ridge on the south side of the broad level valley of Aijalon, well known from Joshua's poetical speech (Josh. 10 12; αιλωμ [L]), and now called *Merj* (the meadow of) *Ibn 'Umar*. It is about 5 m. from Lower Beth-horon, and 14 from Jerusalem. In the time of the Judges it was still in the hands of the Amorites (Judg. 1 35; apparently misread αἱ ἄρκοι [BAL], and translated a second time μυρσινών [B], which, however, stands for HERES in L), but was afterwards occupied by Benjamites, 1 Ch. 8 13 (αιλαμ [B], αδαμ [A], αλων [L]); cp. 2 Ch. 11 10. The Chronicler states that Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch. 11 10, αλδων [B], αιαλων [AL]), and that Ahab lost it to the Philistines (2 Ch. 28 18, αιλω [B]), on whose territory it bordered. In 1 S. 14 31, the occurrence of the word is doubtful. For 'to Aijalon' Klost. and Budde (*SBOT*) read 'until night.' 𝔊^BAL omits altogether. Some fresh references to Aijalon are derived from Egyptian sources. For instance, Shishak (Sheshonḳ I.) mentions Aiyurun—*i.e.*, Aijalon—among the conquered cities of Judah in his Karnak list, and there is an earlier mention still in the Amarna tablets, where Aialuna appears as one of the first cities wrested from the Egyptian governors. A vivid sketch of the battle-scenes of the valley of Aijalon will be found in GASm. *HG* 210-13.

2. (Judg. 12 12; Αιλωμ [B], -λ[ε]ιμ [AL]), a locality in Zebulun, the burial-place of ELON (*q.v.*, ii. 1 *f.*). Its name ought probably to be pointed אֵילוֹן (Ēlōn), and etymologically connected with אלון or אלה, 'oak' or 'terebinth' (see TEREBINTH, § 1), indicating a sacred spot. Cp ALLON, 2. T. K. C.

AIJELETH-SHAHAR, UPON, RV 'set to Aijeleth hash-Shahar (אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, [ὑπὲρ] τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς [BNA]; Aq. [ὑπὲρ] τῆς ἐλάφου τῆς ὀρθρινῆς), Ps. 22, title. If we consider the tendency of the phrase, 'Upon ALAMOTH (*q.v.*),' to get corrupted, it seems highly probable that 'Aijeleth' should rather be read 'Alamoth' (א and י confounded), while Shahar should perhaps rather be שִׁיר חָדָשׁ, 'a new song.' (The article prefixed to Shahar may be in the interests of an exegetical theory.) The latter corruption has very probably taken place in Ps. 57 9 (see Che. *Ps.*(2)). A 'new song' would be a song upon a new model.

AIN (עַיִן). 1. If MT may be followed, this is the name of a city in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 32) assigned to Simeon (19 7; cp 1 Ch. 4 32). According to Josh. 21 16 it was one of the priests' cities; but the parallel list in 1 Ch. 6 59 [44] probably correctly substitutes ASHAN (*q.v.*) which is mentioned in Josh. 19 7 [MT 𝔊^BAL] alongside of Ain as a distinct place. The name being thus removed from this list, Ain always appears in close conjunction with Rimmon, and Mühlau (*HWB*(2) *s.v.* 'Ain') suggests that the two places may have lain so close together that in course of time they joined. Hence he would account for the EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמּוֹן; om. BRA; κ. εν ρεμμιον [N^c.a mg. inf.]; κ. εν ρεμμων [L]) of Neh. 11 29. But if we consider the phenomena of 𝔊 (see below), and the erroneous summation (if MT be adhered to) in Josh. 15 32, it becomes evident that Bennett's thorough revision of the readings in his Joshua (*SBOT*) is critically justified (cp ASHAN), and that the real name is EN-RIMMON [1] (*q.v.*).

How, indeed, could a place dedicated to the god Rimmōn (Rammān) have been without a sacred fountain?

Josh. **15 32**, και ερωμωθ [B], και ρεμμων [A], και αιν και ρεμμων [L]; Josh. 19 7, αιν κ. ρεμμωθ [A], αιν κ. ρεμμων [L], but ερεμμων [B]; Josh. **21 16**, ασα [B] which favours עָשָׁן 'ASHAN' (*q.v.*), αιν [A], ναειν [L], which harmonise with MT. In 1 Ch. 4 32 (κ. ρεμμων [B], κ. ην *[sic]* Ps sup. ras. [A^a?] followed by -μμων [A]; κ. ενρεμμων [L]) we should also, with Ki., read En-rimmon.

2. (לָעַיִן, the article being included; (ἐπὶ) πηγάς [BAL]; Vg. *(contra) fontem Daphnim*; Tg. Onk. as MT; for the rest see below.) A place mentioned in Nu. 34 11 to define the situation of one of the points on the ideal eastern frontier of Canaan: 'to Harbel on the east side of Ain' is the phrase. Though both AV and RV sanction this view of העין, it is more natural to render '*the* fountain,' and to find here a reference to some noted spring. Jerome thought of the spring which rose in the famous grove of Daphne, near Antioch; in this he followed the Targums of Ps. Jon. and Jerus. which render '(the) Kiblah' (הָרִבְלָה) by 'Daphne,' and 'the fountain' (הָעַיִן) by 'Ainūthā. Robinson[2] and Conder prefer the fountain which is the source of the Orontes. Both these views rest on the assumption that Riblah on the Orontes has just been referred to, which is a pure mistake (see RIBLAH). The fountain must at any rate be not too far N. of the Lake of Gennesaret which is mentioned at the end of the verse. Most probably it is the source of the Nahr Ḥāṣbāny, one of the streams which unite to form the Jordan (see RIBLAH). From this fountain to the 'east shoulder' of the Lake of Gennesaret a straight line of water runs forming the clearest of boundaries. If, however, we place Baal-gad at Bāniās, we shall then, of course, identify 'the fountain'

1 Except of course in Josh. 21 16 (see above). In Zech. 14 10† the first half of the name is omitted (see EN-RIMMON).

2 See *BR* 4534. Rob.'s view (p. 393) on the Daphnis of Vg. (connecting it with the spring at Difneh, near Tell el-Ḳāḍy) seems erroneous.

with that which springs from the famous and romantic cavern at the southern base of the Hermon mountains. It should be added that it is not impossible to alter the pointing and read לְעִיּן '(eastward) of IJON,' Ijon being mentioned elsewhere as on the N. frontier of the land of Israel. But then why did the writer introduce it merely incidentally? T. K. C.

AIRUS (ιαιρος [A]), 1 Esd. 5 31 AV = Ezra 2 47 REAIAH, 3.

AJAH (אַיָּה), Gen. 36 24† AV = RV AIAH (*q.v.*, 1).

AJALON (אַיָּלוֹן), Josh. 10 12 AV = RV AIJALON, 1.

AKAN (עֲקָן), Gen. 36 27† = 1 Ch. 1 42 AV JAKAN.

AKATAN (ακατan [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 38. RV = Ezra 8 12 HAKKATAN.

AKELDAMA (ακελδαμαχ [B]), Acts 1 19† RV, AV ACELDAMA.

AKKOS (ακβως [B]), 1 Esd. 5 38† RV = Ezra 2 61 HAKKOZ, 1.

AKKUB (עַקּוּב, 'posthumous,' but the name seems corrupt,; ακουβ [BA], ακκ. [L]). 1. b. Elioenai, six generations removed from Zerubbabel : 1 Ch. 3 24 (*ιακουν* [B], *ακκουβ* [A], *ακουν* [L]).

2. The B'ne Akkub, a group of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 42 (*ακουμ* [BA], *ακκ.* [L]) = Neh. 7 45 (*ακου* [B], *-υμ* [NA], *-υβ* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 28 (DACOBI ; RV DACUBI ; *δακουβι* [A], *λακουβατου* [B]). Akkub is a porter in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 17 (*ακουμ* [B]) = Neh. 11 19 (*ακουβ* [L]), cp Ezra 10 24, = 1 Esd. 9 25 (where, however, the name is omitted between Shallum and Telem). He is mentioned also in Neh. 12 25 (*ακουβ* ℵc.a mg. sup.] ; om. BN*A).

3. An expounder of the Law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 [*f*] ; cp i. § 8, ii. §§ 16 [5], 15 [1] *c*). Neh. 8 7 (*ακουβ* [L], om. BAN) = 1 Esd. 9 48 (EV, JACUBUS ; *ιακουβος* [A], *ιαρσουβοος* [B]).

4. The B'ne Akkuh, a family of NETHINIM (*q.v.*) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 45 (*ακαβωθ* [B]) = Neh. 7 48 (*ακουδ* [A], *-ουα* [ℵ] ; om. B with MT, EV) = 1 Esd. 5 30 (*ακουδ* [BA] ; AV ACUA ; RV AKUD).

AKRABATTINE, RV ; AV incorrectly ARABATTINE 1 Macc. 5 3†, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1 ; ακραβαττηνη [ℵA] ; -αττανη [ℵc.a V] ; ACRABATTENE [Cod. Am.] ; ܥܩܪܒܬܐ, cp Judith 7 18, below), a district where Judas the Maccabee fought against the Edomites, situated 'in Idumæa' [KV Jos.] or 'in Judæa' [A]. The district intended is no doubt that to the SE. of Judæa, in Idumæa (see AKRABBIM). There is no sufficient ground for the opinion of Ewald that the Edomites had settled as far N. as another Akrabatta, a toparchy or district in Central Palestine, to the N. of Judæa (*Akrabatta*, *ακραβετα*, etc. [Jos. *BJ* iii. 3 5 ‖ Pl. *HN* v. 14 iv. 93 9] ; *ακραββειν* [Ens. *OS*(2) 214 61]), apparently represented by the modern 'Aḳrabeh, 8 m. SE. of Nāblus. (The reading *ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ* in 1 Macc. must therefore be rejected.) See Schür. *Hist.* 1 220 n. 2, 3 158.

Doubtless, however, we should identify with 'Akrabeh the EKREBEL (*εγρεβηλ* [BK], *εκρεβηλ* [A] ; ܥܩܪܒܬܐ), near Chusi, on the brook Mochmur (Judith 7 18†), the names being almost the same in the Syr. (= Talm. עקרבת). T. K. C.

AKRABBIM, Ascent of, so always in RV; also Nu. 34 4 in AV, which has in Judg. 1 36 'going up to Akrabbim,' in Josh. 15 3† ing. '. . . to ACRABBIM,' text MAALEH-ACRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים, *i.e.*, 'ascent of Scorpions,' [προς]αναβασις[2] ακραβειν [BAL] ; *ascensus scorpionum*), mentioned in Josh. 15 3 (ακραββειμ [sup. ras. A? vid.], εκραβειν [L]) as one of the localities marking the southern frontier of Judah.

It must have been one of the passes leading **up** from the southern continuation of the Ghōr into the waste mountain country to the west. Knobel identifies it with the pass of eṣ-Ṣafā, leading up towards Hebron out of the W. el-Fikreh on the road from Petra. Robinson (*BR*(2) 2 180 *f.*) describes this pass as being 'as steep as a man can readily climb.' 'The rock is in general porous and rough, but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass' (*BR*(2) 2 291). Robinson, however, identifies this Nakb eṣ-Ṣafā with Zephath or Hormah, and not with Akrabbim (see also HALAK, MOUNT). Scorpions are of frequent occurrence throughout this neighbourhood.

1 Cp BAKBUK.

2 *επανω* for *a m της αναβασεως* in Judg. 1 36 [AL ; Lag. points *ἐπ' ἄνω*].

AKUD (ακουδ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 30 RV = Ezra 2 45 AKKUB, 4.

ALABASTER (αλαβαστρον [accus. Ti WH] Mk. 14 3, also with art., την α. [W & H after Bℵc], τον α. [Ti. after ℵ*A], το α. [TR after G, etc. ; also F in Lk. 7 37] ; cp ο aha. [B], το αλα. [A] 2 K. 21 13 [for צלחת 'dish,' 'cup']) was found in large quantities in Mesopotamia, and from it are made the huge bulls which are to be seen in the British Museum and in the Louvre. The alabaster of the ancients was a stalagmitic *carbonate* of lime hence called by mineralogists 'Oriental alabaster' to distinguish it from the modern alabaster, which is the *sulphate* of lime. See *EB*(9), *s.v.* ALABASTER. In Greek the word *ἀλάβαστος* or *ἀλάβαστρος* is frequently used of vases or vessels made to hold unguents, as these were generally fashioned out of this material, which was thought by many (cp *e.g.*, Pl. *HN* xiii. 3) to preserve the aroma of the ointment : Theocritus (*Id.* 15 114) is able to speak of 'golden alabasters.' Many alabaster vases have been found in Egypt, and the specialised sense given to צלחת in the Egyptian Greek version of Kings (see above) is natural enough. The town of Alabastron, near the famous quarries of Ḥat-nub[1] (cp Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 470, n. 3), was well known for the manufacture of such articles (in fact it seems to have derived its name from the material).[2] Many of these go back to nearly 4000 B.C. and often show fine workmanship. Similar articles have been found in Assyria dating from the time of Sargon (8th cent. B.C.).

Such a vessel was the 'alabaster cruse' which was emptied upon Jesus's head by the woman at the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany (Mt. 26 7 = Mk. 14 3 Lk. 7 37†). The expression 'brake' in Mark does not refer, it would seem; to the breaking of a seal or of the neck of the vessel; the object was to prevent profanation of the vessel by subsequent use for any commoner purpose (cp *Comm.*, *ad loc.*).

ALAMETH (עָלֶמֶת), 1 Ch. 7 8 AV, RV ALEMETH.

ALAMMELECH, RV ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ [Bä.], אַלְ' [Gi.], אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ [v.d. Hooght] ; *ελειμελεκ* [B], *ελμελεχ* [L ; om. A]), a place in Asher on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 26†), the name of which is possibly echoed in that of the *Wādy el-melek*, which drains the plain of the Buṭṭauf (Asochis), and joins the Nahr el-Muḳaṭṭa' (Kishon). So Di., Buhl. The pointing of the Heb. is peculiar: אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ is usually explained as if אַלַּת מֶלֶךְ, 'sacred tree of Melech' ; but ת can hardly have been assimilated to מ, nor is this the best reading. Possibly the real name was אֵל מֶלֶךְ (אֵיל), El Melech; cp El Paran. The authors of the points may have wished to avoid confusion with the personal name Elimelech. Or the name might be a corruption of ēlammāk (see ALMUG TREES), if Solomon was able to naturalise this tree. T. K. C.

1 Near Tell el-'Amārna (see *PSBA* 16 74 ['94]).

2 The reverse supposition is sometimes held, viz. that the material is derived from the place-name. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

ALAMOTH, UPON (עַל־עֲלָמוֹת), a technical musical phrase of uncertain meaning; cp MUSIC, § 6.

(a) Ps. 46 title [1] (ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων [BℵRT]=עַל־עֲלָמוֹת; om. A; Aq. ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων=עַל־עֲלָמִיּוֹת; Symm. ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων); *(b)* 1 Ch. 15 20 (ἐπὶ αλαιμωθ [B], ..αλεμ. [ℵ], ..αλημ. [A], περὶ τῶν κρυφίων [L]; two anonymous Gk. versions have ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν [מַעֲלוֹת] and ἐπὶ τῶν αἰωνίων [עלמות]). In two other passages, *(c)* Ps. 9 title [1] (ὑπὲρ τ. κρ. [BℵAR]; Aq. νεανιότητος, Symm. περὶ τοῦ θανάτου=עַלִימוּת, Th., Quint. ὑπὲρ ἀκμῆς, Sext. νεανικότης); *(d)* in Ps. 48 14 [15] (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [NART], *i.e.*, apparently עֹלָמוֹת [B]; om. Aq. ἀθανασία, Symm. εἰς τὸ διηνεκές) it appeals in the corrupt form עַל־מוּת, which Tg. takes to be עֲלָמוּת 'youth' (?).

Thus we find it three times forming part of a heading of a psalm (for עַל־מוּת in *d* should be restored as עַל־עֲלָמוֹת from its present position to the heading of Ps. 49, on the analogy of Ps. 46). Of the two half-translations of AV and RV respectively ('upon Alamoth,' 'set to Alamoth'), the former presupposes that the phrase denotes the particular instrumental accompaniment; the latter, that Alamoth is the name of a tune. Most moderns explain 'for sopranos,' 'ălāmōth having the constant meaning 'maidens.' Whether soprano voices would be suitable for Ps. 46, the musical reader may judge. Gratz and Wellhausen snppose a reference to some *Elamite* instrument. There is, however, a more probable solution. See PSALMS, and cp MUTH-LABBEN, MAHALATH, NEHILOTH, and AIJELETH-SHAHAR.

ALCIMUS (ἄλκιμος [AK], occasional forms -ιν. -ειμ. -χι. [A], -ισμ. *[K]*; in several cursive MSS of 1 and 2 Macc. and in Jos. *Ant.* xii. 97 with add. [και or ο κ.] ι[ω]ακ[ε]ιμος; in *Ant.* xx. 10 3, and one cursive at 1 Macc. 7 9 simply ι[ω]ακ[ε]ιμος; *i.e.*, יקים = Eliakim or Jehoialtim, for which he adopted the like-sounding Greek name by which he is known; cp NAMES, § 86), a priest 'of the race of Aaron'[1] (*Ant.* xx. 10 3, admitted by the inimical[2] writer of 1 Macc.; 'of the seed of Aaron,'[3] 7 14), *i.e.*, a Zadokite, though not of the family of Onias ('not of this house,'[4] *Ant.* xx 10 3).

Ant. xii. 97, indeed equates 'another house' (ἕτερον οἶκον) with 'not of the stock of the high priests [at all]' (οὐκ ὄντι τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων γενεᾶς); hut the source here followed by Jos. is on other grounds apparently inferior, and we may conclude that Alcimus was really more eligible[5] to the high priest's office than his enemies the house of Hasmon, who were ordinary priests.

When, therefore, the victorious king of Syria, DEMETRIUS I. (*q.v.*, 1) determined (1 Macc. 7 9) to support his claim to the high priest's office (*v.* 5) with force, Alcimus was accepted, not only by the Hellenising party but also (*v.* 13) largely by the legitimist party, the Assideans (*q.v.*).

The treaty (1 Macc. 659) of Lysias (and the youthful Antiochus V. Eupator) in 162 B.C., which satisfied the aims of the Assideans and made it unnecessary for them further to identify themselves with the 'friends of Judas' (1 Macc. 9 26; cp 28), had heen immediately followed, if we may trust *Ant.* xii. 9 7, by the execution of the now 'impossible' high priest MENELAUS (*q.v.*) (1 Macc., our most important source, not having mentioned Menelaus at all, says nothing of what took place between his tenure of office and the effective appointment [ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τ. ἱερωσύνην, 7 9; cp 2 Macc. 14 73 καταστῆσαι] of Alcimus by Demetrius). According to the same passage in Jos., which states also that a young Onias, son of Onias III., made his way to Egypt on the death of his father (on which, however, see ONIAS; ISRAEL, § 69), Alcimus became (ἐγένετο) high priest on (μετά) the death of Menelans, the office being indeed bestowed (δέδωκεν) on him by the king (Antiochus V. according to the present context). According to 2 Macc. 14 3, too, Alcimns had heen at some time high priest before his appointment by Demetrius. We know really nothing certain about the events of this short interval. We first reach firm ground with the intervention of Demetrius.

Demetrius did not mean to resume the hopeless policy of his uncle Epiphanes (or the Assideans would have held aloof); but he wanted Alcimns and his friends to help him in crippling the Hasmonean party of political independence.

There would be a special reason for Alcimus being active against the Hasmoneans if he was shrewd enough to foresee (what we now know) that their ultimate goal must be the high priesthood. (On the other hand the 'calumny' [*v.* 27] put into his mouth by the author of 2 Macc. [14 26] that Judas had already been made high priest seems historically impossible; it belongs to the distorted story of 2 Macc., see next note.)

Bacchides (*q.v.*) was the agent selected for the task.[1] At first the presence of Alcimus was a great help; his legitimacy was a sonrce of strength.

This would have special weight if his predecessor Menelaus is really to he regarded, with 2 Macc. (3 4 + 4 29) as a 'Benjamite,' and with Wellhausen (*IJG* 200, n. 1, 2nd ed. 235, n. 1) as one of the Tobiadæ (see, however, Lucius, *Der Essenismus* 77, and cp ISRAEL § 69). If we could trust the Talmud there would be a special point in his favour in his connection with Jose b. Joezer, leader of the Sanhedrin (his uncle, *Ber. Rabba*, ch. 65; his father, *Bab. Bathra*, 133 *a*).

The mass of the people seem to have followed the Assideans in accepting Alcimus (1 Macc. 7 13 'first'; cp We. *Phar. u. Sad.* 84, n. 2); but the severity of the measures taken by the representatives of Demetrius,[2] sixty men (perhaps those that had been till now much implicated with the Hasmonean party)[3] being slain in one day (1 Macc. 7 16), in face of solemn pledges of peaceable intentions, entirely changed the situation. Fear and dread fell on all the people (1 Macc. 7 18). After some further severities Bacchides considered his task accomplished and returned to Antioch. The late severities, however, had turned the heart of the people again to Judas, who was trying to strengthen his position (1 Macc. 7 24), and Alcimus judged it prudent to withdraw (25). He had of course no difficulty in bringing further incriminating charges against Judas (*ibid.* and *Ant.* xii. 10 3). This time NICANOR (*q.v.*) was entrusted with the task of restoring Alcimus. During the various exciting incidents of the next interval,—the diplomacy, battles, and death of Nicanor,—we hear nothing of Alcimus[4] (1 Macc. 7 26-50).

Of course in the rejoicings over Nicanor's day and the recovery of the Maccabean party he had no part; perhaps he was absent. (It is at this point, indeed, that *Ant.* xii. 10 6 makes Alcimus die[5] hut this belongs to the story there followed of Judas's succeeding to the high-priesthood, on which see MACCABEES, i. § 4 and cp below.)

When Bacchides came a second time (1 Macc. 9 1) to carry through what Nicanor had been unable to accomplish, Judas failed to find adequate support and fell (160 B.C.), and the Maccabean party were without a leader. Alcimus was once more installed, and probably accepted by all except the Maccabeans, who ere long chose Jonathan as successor to his brother.

How far the Hellenistic tendencies of Alcimns carried him we do not know. At his death (159 B.C.[6]) he seems to have been engaged on some changes in the temple enclosure, the nature and even the object of which we do not know with any certainty.

According to Josephus he had 'formed the intention of pulling down the wall of the temple' (βουληθέντι καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου, *Ant.* xii. 10 6 beg.). 1 Macc. states (9 54) that it was the wall of the inner court of the temple (τὸ. τ. τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐσωτέρας) that he commanded (ἐπέταξεν) to pull down, adds that he pulled down the works (τὰ ἔργα) of the prophets, and then appends the peculiar statement that he began the pulling

1 γένους μὲν τοῦ Ἀαρῶνος.
2 See 1 Macc. 7 9.
3 ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀαρών.
4 τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης.
5 Although we cannot of course trust 2 Macc. 14 7, 'mine ancestral glory' (τὴν προγονικὴν δόξαν). According to 2 Macc. Alcimus's fault was his *voluntary* Hellenising (ἑκουσίως, 14 3; contrast 'by compulsion,' κατὰ ἀνάγκην, 15 2). Cp Kosters, *Th.T* 12 538 ['78].

1 So 1 Macc. 7 8; on the distorted account in 2 Macc., where 14 12 has to do dbty for both 1 Macc. 7 8 and 7 26, see Kosters, *Th.T* 12 533 535, and on the displacement of Bacchides to 2 Macc. 8 30, *ib.* 504 *f.* (cp the place of Bacchides in Jos. *BJ* i. 1 2).
2 How far these transactions are to be attributed directly to Alcimus (so apparently 1 Macc. 7 14 *ff.* 23), and how far they were due to Bacchides (so apparently *Ant.* xii. 10 2; cp 1 Macc. 7 19) we cannot say.
3 His uncle being according to *Ber. Rabba* and *Baba Bathra* (*ll.cc.*), of the numhbr.
4 On the motive of the author of 2 Macc. in representing Nicanor as untrue to his master (2 Macc. 14 28-35) and thus bringing Alcimus again on the scene (*v.* 26) see Kosters, p. 535.
5 'And when he was dead the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas, who, hearing of the power of the Romans, etc. (= 1 Macc. 8).
6 Josephus assigns him variously three years (*Ant.* xx. 10 3) or four years (*ib.* xii. 10 6) of office.

down. It seems rash to assume that this confused account is in its original form. If the last clause is not an interpolation (and there is cursive MS authority for its omission, see H & P), and even perhaps if it *is*, should we not perhaps read 'to pull' for 'he pulled' (καθελειν for καθειλεν)?

The much discussed question what the wall (τεῖχος) referred to was, we have really not the means of determining. Its identification with a low harrier in the Herodian temple beyond which Gentiles must not pass the *sōreg* (סורג) described in *Middoth* 2 3 is at the best precarious[1] (*see* the remarks of Schiirer, *GJV* **1** **176**, n. **5** and the discussions there referred to).

The somewhat sudden death of Alcimus (1 Macc. 9 55 *f.*; cp however, *Ant.* xii. 106, συχνὰς ἡμέρας) was naturally treated by his enemies as a sign of divine displeasure. The moderation (such as it is) of the writer of 1 Macc. was not at all to the taste of the later rabbis (see the stories in Hamburger, ***RE*** 428 *f.*, Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 52, n. 2). That on the whole, however, Alcimus did not interfere much with ritual and practice is plain, or at least probable, from this last act being all that is mentioned against him, and even in this case we do not know his motive (cp Grirnm ad *loc.*, and We. 216, *IJG*(3) 262). Still, if he has been rather severely judged, even for the evidence supplied by the opposite party, Wellhausen (*l.c.*) seems to go to the other extreme.

The historical importance of this, perhaps in himself somewhat insignificant character (who figures all the more strikingly on the scene that we cannot find very clear traces of any immediate predecessor or successor[2]), lies in the fact that his tenure of office formed a turning-point in the development of Jewish parties.[3] The Assideans refused to follow the Hasmoneans. Two generations later, the meaning of this became more apparent (see ASSIDEANS, PHARISEES, ESSENES).

The primary source is 1 Macc. 7-9. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 7-11 2, xx. 10 3, and on the relation of these *see* MACCABEES, FIRST, i. § 9; on the relative value of 2 Macc. 14 *see* the elaborate article of Kosters, 'De polemiek van het tweede hoek der Makkabeën,' *Th. T* 12 491-552 ['78], especially **as** cited above; on parties, We. ***Phar. u. Sad.*** § v., 76 *ff.* Lucius *l.c.*; on later Jewish sentiment concerning Alcimus, Hamburger, **RE 1428** *f.*, on סורג, etc. Scburer, *GJV* § 6, n. 5, and Grätz in *MGWJ*, 1876, pp. 385-397; on festival of 23rd Marchesvau in *Meg. Taan.*, Derenbourg, *l.c.*, and Gratz, ***Gesch.*** 3(4) 564 *ff.* H. W. H.

ALCOVE (קֻבָּה), Nu. 25 8† RV mg., AV TENT (*q.v.*).

ALEMA (EN ΑΛΑΜΟΙϹ [A], -ΛΕΜ. [ℵ*], -Λ[Ε]ΙΜ. ℵc.a c.b (vid.) V], Syr. ܐܠܝܡ, *in Alimis*), a place mentioned along with Bosora, Carnaim, etc. (1 Macc. 5 26). Being in Gilead it cannot be, as some say, the Beer-elim spoken of in Is. 15 8 as belonging to Moah, and the Beer of Nu. 21 16 (see BOSOR). It has been placed by Merrill at Alma, S. of Edrei, and by Schumacher at Kefr el-MB, E. of Lake of Galilee; hut it is probably *'Ilmā*, 10 m. SW. of the Lejā, and of Buṣr el-Hariri, which is probably Bosor. (Cp Buhl *Topog.* **des** *N. Ostjordanlandes* 13; We. *IJG* 212 [3rd ed. 257] n.) G. A. S.

ALEMETH or **ALLEMETH** (עָלֶמֶת; so everywhere [Bä Gi], except 1 Ch. 7 8 'in pause' עָלָמֶת, ALAMETH, ΓΕΜΕΕΘ [B], ΕΛΜΕΘΕΜ [A]; ordinary edd. have עַלֶּמֶת, whence RV ALLEMETH in 1 Ch. 6 60 [45] = Josh. 21 18, where the form is ALMON, עַלְמוֹן, ΓΑΜΑΛΑ [B], ΑΛΜΩΝ [A], ΕΛΜ. [L]; usually ΓΑΛΕΜΕΘ [BA], ΑΛΑΜΩΘ [L]), a Levitical town in Benjamin (1 Ch. 6 60 [45], ΓΑΛΗΜΕΘ [A]), the name of which appears in 1 Ch. 8 36 (ΣΑΛΑΙΜΑΘ [B], ΓΑΛΕΜ. [A], ΑΛΕΦ [L]) = 9 42† (ΓΑΜΕΛΕΘ [B], ΑΛΕΦ [L]) as that of a descendant, or family of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. β). See also ZALMON, ii. (end), ELAM, ii. 1. Robinson's identification (*LBR*) with the modern *'Almīt*, 1 m. NE. from *'Anāta* (Anathoth), is generally accepted.

ALEXANDER (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟϹ [AKV], 'helper of men'). 1. Alexander III., king of Macedon (336-323 B.C.), surnamed the Great. The victories of Alexander powerfully impressed the Jewish imagination; yet the only biblical passages in which he is mentioned by name are 1 Macc. 1 1-8 **6** 2. The writer of Daniel (166 or 164 B.C.) recalls a 'mighty king' ruling 'with great dominion,' whose kingdom is 'broken' after his death (Dan. 11 3 *f.*). In the vision of chap. 7, it is the fourth of a series of 'beasts'; it is 'dreadful and terrible,' and 'devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped' the rest. Naturally, it was the destructive side of Alexander's work that impressed the imagination; the fall of Tyre and Gaza would bring that aspect into prominence. His Palestinian conquests are thought to be alluded to in Zech. 9 1-8 (see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF); and in Is. 25 *f.*, the fate of Tyre may be contrasted tacitly with that of Jerusalem (see ISAIAH, ii. § 13). It is during the seven months' siege of Tyre that Jewish history comes into connection with Alexander (333-332 B.C.). The tradition is given by Jos. ***Ant.*** xi. 8 3 *ff.* (cp *Yoma*, 69*a*).

The Jews refused compliance with Alexander's requisitions. After the two months' siege of Gaza he advanced on Jerusalem; hut Jaddua (Jaddus), the high priest (cp Neh. **12** 11 22), warned by a dream how to avert his anger, met the conqueror at Scopus. Alexander worshipped the Name on the high priest's mitre, and entering Jerusalem sacrificed in the Temple, heard Daniel's prophecies relating to himself, and gave the Jews autonomy, not only in Jerusalem but also in Babylon.

As to all this other writers preserve absolute silence, and the story in Josephus seems inconsistent with the statement in Arr. iii. 1, that in seven days from Gaza Alexander was at Pelusium in Egypt. Yet Just. xi. 10 says that 'many kings wearing fillets met him'; and Curt. iv. 517, that he visited some who refused to submit. Jewish soldiers were certainly in his armies, even on his most distant expeditions; and in Alexandria, founded immediately after the supposed visit, the Jewish element was large. The privileges conferred on the Jews are *a* feature of subsequent history. It is possible that Alexander derived from the Jews much valuable information about the interior of Asia (Mahaffy, ***Greek*** *Life*, chap. 20). Whether true or false, the episode strikes a true note in Alexander's character. Nevertheless, it raises suspicion to find the story appropriated by the Samaritans. Still more, to remember the visit to Gordium before the battle of Issus, and that to the oracle of Ammon before the Persian expedition. Finally, the king's action at Babylon is a curious parallel (Arr. iii. 16). He there rebuilt the shrines destroyed by Xerxes, especially that of Belus—τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν.

The Jerusalem episode must be characterised as an attempt to secure Jerusalem a place in the cycle of Alexander-legends, on the model of the visit to the Egyptian Ammon. (Cp H. Bois, *Rev.* ***de*** *théo. et phil.*, Lausanne, **1891**; Henrichsen, *St. Kr.*, 1871). W. J. W.

2. Alexander Balas, a man of low origin, who passed himself off as the son of Alexander Epiphanes (cp 1 Macc. **10** 1, 'A. ὁ τοῦ 'Αντιόχου 6 'Επιφανής [AKV], see MACCABEES, FIRST BOOK OF, § 2); 'Αλέξανδος [A] in *v.* **58**. His real name was Balas (so Strabo [p. 751], τὸν Bdhav 'Αλέξανδρον; Jos. [*Ant.* xiii. 4 8], on the other hand, 'A. 6 Βάλας λεγόμενος), which may possibly be connected with בעלא, 'Lord.' The additional name 'Alexander' seems to have been given him by Attalus II. of Pergamum, who was one of the first to support him against DEMETRIUS. In rivalry with the latter Balas exerted himself to secure an alliance with JONATHAN (1 Macc. 10 1 *ff.*), and by conferring upon him the title of 'high priest of the nation and friend of 'the king,' was successful (*a* 20). After a varying career he was compelled to flee to Arabia,

[1] The seventeenth of the thirty-five festivals prescribed in *Megillath Taanith*—viz. on 23rd Marchesvan—has by some, *e.g.*, Gratz, been brought into connection with the *sōreg* and Alcimus. This is however contested, *e.g.*, by Derenbourg, *Hist.* ***Pal.*** 60 *f.* (see text of *Meg.* Taan., *ib.* 442 *ff.*).

[2] Josephus, ignoring his previous irreconcilable statement in xii. **106**, already quoted above, expressly says (*Ant.* **xx.** 10) that on the death of Alcimus the office of high priest was vacant for seven years.

[3] Cp We. *Phar. u.* ***Sad.*** § **v.**; Lucius ***Der*** *Essenismus*, etc. 75 *ff.* ['81], with Schiirer's review (*TLZ* ['81], especially col. **494**).

where he was killed at Abæ after a reign of five years, 150-145 B.C. (1 Macc. 11 13-18). For classical references see *Dict. Class. Biog.*, *s.v.*; Schürer, *GJV* 1 178, n. 10; and for the history of the time see ISRAEL, § 76, MACCABEES, i. § 5.

3. Son of Simon of Cyrene, mentioned together with his brother, RUFUS [*q.v.*] (Mk. 15 21).

4. A member of the family of the high priest in Acts 4 6 probably to be identified with the third son of Annas, called Eleasar by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2). See ANNAS.

5. Of Ephesus, a Jew, who was 'brought forth' (προεβίβασαν [Text. Rec.]) from the multitude, or 'brought down' (κατεβ. [D, etc.]) or (more probably) 'instructed' (συνεβ. [BℵA], cp RV mg.) by the Jews, and unsuccessfully attempted their defence in the theatre on the occasion of the tumult excited by Demetrius the silversmith (Acts 19 33). There is no conclusive reason either for or against identifying him with :

6. The coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς), who is described (2 Tim. 4 14) as having done Paul 'much evil' (at his trial?).

7. Mentioned with HYMENÆUS (*q.v.*) as having 'made shipwreck concerning the faith' (1 Tim. 1 19 *f.*), and as having been, in consequence, delivered by the apostle unto Satan. Whether or not he is to be identified with no. 6 above, we cannot tell. In some texts of the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, he appears with Demas and Hermogenes as a hypocritical companion of Paul; in others it is 'Alexander the Syriarch' who is mentioned. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. Gesch.* ii. 1 462 466.

ALEXANDRIA (αλεξανδρ[ε]ια [VA], 3 Macc. 3 1; gentilic αλεξανδρεγς [BℵA], Acts 6 9 18 24†). The site of the city was chosen by Alexander the Great during his passage from Memphis down the Canobic (Canopic), or most westerly, branch of the Nile, on his way to the Oracle of Ammon (331 B.C.).

1. The city.

Holm remarks that it was a novelty to call a city after its founder, this particular form of name having previously been made only from names of deities (*e.g.*, Apollonia); it indicates Alexander's desire for divine honours, a claim supported by the priests of Ammon (Holm, *Gk. Hist.* 3 384 ET). The city was laid out by Deinocrates under the king's supervision, 12 m. W. of the Nile, and thus its harbours were not choked by the Nile mud, which is carried east by the current.

It lay on the neck of land, 2 m. broad, interposed between the Mareotis lagoon and the sea. A mile distant, parallel with the coast, lay the island of Pharos, connected with the city by a dam (which served also as an aqueduct to supply the island), seven stades in length (hence called the Heptastadium), pierced with two openings. Two harbours were thus created, both protected by projections from the mainland.

The western harbour was called that of Eunostus, after a king of Soli, son-in-law of Ptolemy I. (but see Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 163 for another suggestion). The eastern harbour was then the more important, although it is not so to-day. Its entrance was marked by the huge lighthouse (built on the island by the Cnidian Sostratus) which gave its name (*pharos*) to all similar structures. Opposite to it ran out the point of Lochias.

Bordering on the great (eastern) harbour was the palace-quarter (Brucheium), the abode of the Macedonians. The western division of the city, occupied previously by the village Rhacōtis, continued to be the Egyptian quarter. The Jewish colony was in the east of the city.

Lake Mareotis was connected with the sea by a canal, and as it communicated also with the Nile, the periodical flood prevented the accumulation of silt and the formation of morass. To this, and to the constant Etesian winds, Strabo traces the salubrity of the site (p. 793). The lake was the haven for the products of upper Egypt coming directly from Syēnè, as well as for those of India and the East, brought by way of Arsinoè on the Red Sea and the royal canal to the Nile, or through Berenicè or Myos Hormos, lower down the coast. Hence the commerce of the lake was more valuable than that of the outer ports, whose exports largely exceeded their imports (Str., p. 793). Alexandria became the great port of transshipment for eastern commodities, while Egypt, under the Ptolemies, also took the place of the Black Sea coast as a grain-producing country. Most of her grain went to Italy (cp Acts 27 6 28 11; Jos. *BJ* vii. 21; Suet. *Tit.* 5). Near Ostia was a sanctuary modelled on the Alexandrian temple of Sarāpis, with a mariners' guild (*CIL* 14 47). Even under the Lagids Alexandria contained a large colony of Italians engaged in the trade with the West (cp *Eph. Epigr.* 1 600 602). For the importance of Egypt to Rome see Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 252 ET.

Alexandria was not organised as a πόλις—*i.e.*, it possessed neither deliberative assembly nor senate (βουλή),—but from the first was merely a 'royal residence of the satrap king, never a foundation of Græco-Macedonians with city privileges in a foreign land' (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 76). The burgess body was Greek (primarily Macedonian),—standing alongside of the native Egyptian and the foreign elements not reckoned Hellenic, in somewhat the same way as the English in India alongside of the natives (Momm. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2 262 ET). Chief among the non-Hellenes were the Jews, occupying two out of the five wards, apparently here not on the Ghetto system, but on the basis of original settlement; they were naturally attracted by the commercial advantages of the city, and were also deliberately settled there by the founder (Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 4, *BJ* ii. 18 7). Josephus asserts that the Alexandrian Jews had equal rights with the Macedonians and other Greeks. This, though technically an exaggeration, was probably practically true, seeing that such rights can only have been privileges enjoyed by the Greeks over the natives: but it is doubtful whether the Jews were free from the poll-tax. Of all the non-Hellenes, the Jews alone were allowed to form a community within that of the city, with a certain amount of self-government. 'The Jews,' says Strabo (quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), 'have in Alexandria a national head of their own (ἐθνάρχης), who presides over the people and decides processes and disposes of contracts as if he ruled an independent community' (ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς). Josephus traces their legal position to Alexander; but it was apparently Ptolemy I. who settled them in Egypt in large numbers (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1; App. *Syr.* 50). The general result was that 'in acknowledged independence, in repute, culture, and wealth, the body of Alexandrian Jews was, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, the first in the world' (Momm. *op. cit.* 2 267 ET). Cp DISPERSION, §§ 7, 15 *ff.*

2. Its constitution.

Of the development of the city, and especially of the foundation of the institutions which gave it its place in the history of literature and science, little is known. The famous Museum was probably founded by Ptolemy I., aided by the advice of Demetrius of Phalērum, who migrated to Egypt on his expulsion from Athens (307 B.C.).

3. Letters.

The name (Μουσεῖον) points to an Attic origin. No detailed description can here be given. Besides, the materials are very scanty. It was a royal foundation, with a common hall, porticoes, and gardens, for the exclusive use of literary and scientific workers dependent on royal bounty, under the presidency of a priest who was the king's nominee: it was the 'first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government' (Holm, *op. cit.* 4 317 ET). It was not a teaching establishment or training-place for youth, but a home of research adequately endowed. Attached to it was the Library, with more than 500,000 volumes (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 1).

The Museum and the Library combined were essentially a centre of learning, not of creative power. In their artificial atmosphere exact science and literary criticism flourished with brilliant results; but literature decayed—perhaps the uninspiring environment of the city had no slight effect upon its art and poetry (Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 165).

The Museum served as a model for subsequent foundations—*e.g.*, that of the emperor Claudius;—both Jews and Christians at a later time had similar centres of learning in the city. The fate of the library is uncertain; it is doubtful whether it was accidentally burnt along with the arsenal in 48 B.C. (Cæs. *BC* 3 111). The words of Dio, 42 38—ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον, τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων,—πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς φασι, γενομένων,—καυθῆναι,—perhaps refer only to stores of books for sale (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 454).

Ptolemy II. established a supplementary library in the Sarapieion, in the quarter Rhacōtis. In science,

especially, Alexandria maintained a sort of primacy throughout the imperial period, and residence in the Museum was the hall-mark of learning (cp Acts 18 24, and a φιλόσοφος ἀπὸ Μουσείου, in Halicarnassus, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 4 405. Alexandrian physicians, in particular, were regarded as the best in the empire; cp οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί [Wood, *Ephesus*, Appendix, Inscriptions from Tombs, etc., 7, *l.* 6]).

In Roman times Alexandria was the second city in the empire, and the first commercial citv in the world (Strabo, p. 798; μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης). At the end of the Ptolemaic period she numbered upwards of 300,000 free inhabitants, and in imperial times still more (Diod. 17 52). Mommsen (*op. cit.* 2 262 ET) develops the comparison between her and Antioch—both 'monarchical creations out of nothing' (Paus. viii. 333).

4. Character.

The latter excelled in beauty of site and in the magnificence of her imperial buildings; the former in her suitability for world-trade. In the character of their population and their attitude towards their respective national religions, the similarity between the two cities is close. The Alexandrian mob, like that of Antioch, was capricious and turbulent; the smallest spark kindled a conflagration to he quenched only with blood (Diod. 184, Dio 39 57).

Polybius (34 14) says that a personal visit to the city filled him with disgust at the demoralisation produced by the constant presence of masses of mercenaries necessary for keeping under control the mongrel mob the degenerate descendants of the Greeks; compared with these two, the native Egyptian element struck him as 'aciiteandeducated.' Cæsar draws a similar picture (*BC* 3 110). A vivid illustration is found in the bloody scenes which heralded the accession of Ptolemy V. (Pol. 15 30-33). A point of similarity with the Antiochians was the fondness of the Alexandrians *for* giving nicknames (cp Paus. v. 21 12: καί πως καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσίν ἐστιν. Id. i. 9 1; Sen. *ad Helv.* 196: 'Loquax et in contumelias præfectorum ingeniosa provincia . . . etiam periculosi sales placent'). The Ptolemies had each a nickname, and even Vespasian, for his tax on salt fish, was called the 'sardine-dealer' (Suet. *Vesp.* 19: Κυβιοσάκτης). As regards the status of the highly composite population, the Roman emperors mostly retained the old state of things. The Alexandrians continued to stand quite apart from the rest of the country in character and in privileges (cp Philo, *in Flacc.* 10; *CIG* 4957), so much so that the Alexandria-franchise was a necessary preliminary to the acquirement of Roman citizenship (Pliny, *Ep. ad Tr.* 6 [22]: 'Admonitus sum a peritioribus debuisse me ante ei Alexandrinam civitatem inpetrare, deinde Romanam, quoniam esset Ægyptius.'—Jos. *c. Ap.* 24). The Egyptians of the Nomes were unable to gain Roman citizenship, like other provincials, by enlistment in the legions.

The greatness of Alexandria has led some to speak of its founder as though he were endowed with more than human foreknowledge, and had foreseen the future of the city as a centre of Hellenism and queen of the Levant. Others regard the city as merely a Greek emporium, a second and more successful Naucrătis, owing to accident its rise to the position of a cosmopolitan capital.

5. Its success.

Nevertheless, it must have been evident to Alexander that, after the destruction of Tyre, 'the great trading area of the Levant was for the moment without focus' (Hogarth, *Philip and Alex.* 188), and the site actually selected was the only one possible on the Egyptian coast (though Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 12, calls this in question). Egypt further, offered peculiar facilities for that amalgamation of Greeks and Macedonians which he desired, and, owing to its support of his secret belief in his divinity, it had a special place in his affections. The success of Naucrătis undoubtedly exerted an influence in the way of directing attention to the W. of the Delta; and it is not without reason that Cleomenes, a native of Naucrătis, created financial governor of Egypt, is called one of the architects of Alexandria (Justin 13 4). Nor should we fail to account of the fact that the island of Pharos was the traditional landing-place of Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 4 355). This influence is distinctly asserted in the story of the dream which directed the king to the site opposite Pharos (Plut. *Alex.* 26).

In fine, considering Alexander's economic designs and achievements in the far East, and the success of his eastern colonies, we cannot venture to deny that he consciously created a centre for a new mixed race, with a definite dream of the possibilities afterwards realised.

Much has been hoped from systematic exploration.

6. Sites not recoverable.

The modern town stands mainly on the silt gathered on either side of the Heptastadium, which has thus converted the island of Pharos into a peninsula. All the great monuments of the Ptolemaic age seem to have stood within the present inhabited area, or on ground now absorbed by the sea; but the site of no ancient building is known, except that of the Cæsareum, which was near the sea. The Sema or Soma, in which Alexander's body was deposited, may perhaps be represented by the mosque of *Nebi Daniāl*, the most sacred locality in Alexandria. The last person known to have seen the body was the emperor Septimius Severus (Dio, 70 13).

The general result is that, owing to subsidence, the remains of Ptolemaic Alexandria are now below water level, and that nothing is to be hoped for from the site (*Egypt. Expl. Fund Report*, 1894-5). See, also, DISPERSION, § 7.

Literature.—Strabo, pp. 791-799; Herondas, *Mim.* 1 28 *f.*; Kiepert, *Zur Topogr. des alten Alex.* (Berl. 1872); Weniger, *Das Alex. Museum* (Berl. 1875); Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyc.*, 'Alexandreia' (Puchstein), and 'Alexandrinische Litteratur' (Knaack).

W. J. W.

ALGUM (אַלְגּוּמִּים), 2 Ch. 2 8 9 10 *f.*† See ALMUG.

ALIAH (עַלְיָה, Kt.), Gen. 36 40 = 1 Ch. 1 51 ALVAH.

ALIAN (עַלְיָן), 1 Ch. 1 40 = Gen. 36 23† ALVAN.

ALIEN (נָכְרִי, Job 19 15 Ps. 69 8; בֶּן נֵכָר, Is. 61 5; גֵּר, Ex. 18 3, RV 'sojourner,' Dt. 14 21†, RV 'foreigner'). See STRANGER.

ALLAMMELECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ [v. d. Hooght], etc.), Josh. 19 26† RV = AV ALAMMELECH.

ALLAR (αλλαρ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 36† RV = Ezra 2 59 IMMER, 2; cp also CHERUB, 2.

ALLEGORY (αλληγορουμενα [Ti.WH]), Gal. 4 24†. See PARABLES, §§ 1, 3, 5.

ALLELUIA (αλληλουϊα [Ti.], -ια [WH]), Rev. 19 1 3 *f.* 6†. See HALLELUJAH.

ALLEMETH (עַלֶּמֶת; but BL. Gi. עָלֶמֶת), 1 Ch. 6 60 [45] RV = AV ALEMETH.

ALLOM, RV **Allon** (αλλων [B]), 1 Esd. 5 34 = Neh. 7 59 AMON, 3.

ALLON (fib&), Josh. 19 33 AV. As a proper name this rightly disappears from RV. See BEZAANANNIM (Greek readings at end).

ALLON (אַלּוֹן; cp Elon and see AIJALON, 2; αμων [B], αλλων [A], σηλ. [L]), a Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 37†).

ALLON-BACHUTH, RV **Allon-Bacuth** (אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת, *i.e.*, 'the oak of weeping,' see also BOCHIM; βαλανος πενθους [BAL]); the spot 'below Bethel' where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried (Gen. 35 8† E). According to another tradition (cp DEBORAH, 1), however, it seems to have been a palm tree (Judg. 4 5); or rather, perhaps, *allōn* could be used of a palm tree, just as the cognate words *el* (in Elparan) and *elath* are undoubtedly used. In 1 S. 10 3 it seems to be called 'the terebinth [?] (אֵלוֹן, δρυος [BAL]) of Tabor,' where 'Tabor' (θαβωρ [BA], τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς [L]) may be a bad reading for 'Deborah' (Thenius).

T. K. C.

ALLOY (בְּדִיל), Is. 1 25 RV mg., EV 'tin.' See METALS.

ALMODAD (אַלְמוֹדָד, or rather as in 𝔊^AL and Vg. אֶלְמוֹדָד, Elmodad, *i.e.*, 'God loves'; a Sabæan name [*ZDMG* 37 13 18]; ελμωδαδ [AL]), one of the descendants of JOKTAN (*q.v.*); Gen. 10 26 (ελμωδαμ [E], ιελμωδαδ [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 20†. See Glaser, *Skizze* 280, 425, and cp *Mudadi* on a primitive Bab. contract-tablet (Hommel, *AHT* 113).

ALMON (עַלְמוֹן), Josh. 21 18† = 1 Ch. 6 60 [45] ALEMETH (*q.v.*).

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (עַלְמֹן־דִּבְלָתָיְמָה; on form of name see NAMES, § 107; γελμων δεβλαθαιμ [BAL]), a station of the Israelites between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Abarim, Nu. 33 46 and (γ. δαιβ-

λαθαιν [A]) *v.* 47†; apparently the same as BETH-DIBLATHAIM (*q.v.*).

ALMOND, ALMOND TREE, ALMOND BLOSSOM (שָׁקֵד,[1] καρυον [ADL] Gen. 43 11, Num. 17 8 [23] καροια [B]; αμυγδαλον [BℵAC], Eccles. 12 5; as an adjective καρυινην [BQ and practically ℵA], Jer. 1 11†; מְשֻׁקָּד = 'made like almond blossoms,' εκτετυπωμενοι καρυισκους [BAFL], Ex. 25 33 *f.*; καρυωτα [BAL] 37 19 *f.*†). The Hebrew root means to 'wake' or 'watch'; and the tree is said to be so named because it is the first to awake from the sleep of winter.[2] The etymology is alluded to in Jer. 1 11 *f.*

The almond is referred to in the story of Jacob, who (Gen. 43 11, J) instructs his sons to take with them into Egypt a present of the fruits of Palestine including almonds. The verisimilitude of this detail cannot be questioned. It was natural for a Hebrew to presume that Palestinian almonds would be prized in Egypt, nor need we trouble ourselves as to the exact date of the acclimatisation of the almond tree on the banks of the Nile.[3]

The original native country of the almond (*Prunus Amygdalus*, Stokes) was W. Asia; from which it has gradually spread, in the main probably by human intervention, throughout the Mediterranean region. Almonds are still an important article of commerce in the Persian Gulf, nor is there anything improbable in their being exported from Syria into Egypt in early or even in more recent times. No ancient writer, according to Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 298), mentions them as grown in Egypt.

The 'cups made like almond blossoms' on the branches of the golden candlestick, consisting each of 'a knop' or knob 'and a flower' (Ex. 25 33 *f.* 37 19 *f.*) represented, says Dillm. (*ad loc.*), 'not the corolla but the calyx of the almond flower.' Some have proposed to translate מְשֻׁקָּדִים 'awakened' *i.e.*, fully opened (as opposed to closed buds); but this is certainly untenable. In Jer. 1 11 an almond staff seen by the prophet becomes, from the associations of its name, a symbol of Yahwè's watchfulness. The most interesting reference is in the difficult passage Eccles. 12 5. There are three clauses in the verse, and in each unfortunately there is some obscurity. It is the first, rendered by AV, 'The almond tree shall flourish, [RV blossom],' which now concerns us. As regards this, it has been doubted, (1) whether שקד by itself can mean the almond *tree*; (2) whether the pinkish-white blossoms are a likely metaphor (according to the ordinary view) for an old man's white hairs; and (3) what is the meaning of the verb (יָנֵאץ). The consonants of the Heb. text support the meaning 'he will reject the almond,' *i.e.*, will be unable to eat it, though a delicacy; but the vowel-points and all the ancient versions have the same rendering as EV. This seems on the whole more probable. Though Jer. 1 11 is not sufficient to prove that שקד can mean the tree, the equivalent form in Syriac, *šegdā*, appears to have this sense. The metaphor is possible if we remember that the flowers come out as a pale flash on the dark leafless branches; if the metaphor is to be pressed closer, the flowers are, as Koch describes them, 'white or of a pale red.'[4]

(2) See HAZEL. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALMS. The English word is derived through the A.S. form 'ælmæsse' from the eccl. Lat. *eleemosyna*, which again is borrowed from the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη.

1. Terms. The Greek word, which is exceedingly rare in classical authors, means *pity*, and in the Greek of the NT (Lk. 11 41 12 33 Acts 3 2 *f.* 10 9 36 10 4 31) signifies also a special result of pity—viz., relief given in money or kind to the poor. In biblical Hebrew there is no corresponding word, and it is not even quite certain that the technical and restricted use of the word ἐλεημοσύνη occurs in 𝔊. No doubt in such passages as Ecclus. 7 10 and Tob. 4 7 12 8-11, the author or translator has almsgiving chiefly or even exclusively in view. Still ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην does not in itself mean more than עשׂה חסד, 'to do that which is merciful or kindly.' On the other hand, the NT use of 'to give ἐλεημοσύνας,' etc., is quite decisive for the specialised sense of the word.

The close connection between religion and deeds of mercy frequently appears in ancient religion.

2. OT estimate. The Bedouin Arabs, maintaining therein a primeval usage, regard the wayfarer as 'the guest of Allāh,' to whom hospitality is due (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 228). The sacrificial meal often included an act of charity to the poor. Thus the poor were allowed to take handfuls from the meal-offering made to the Arab god, al-'Oḳaiṣir (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 223), and the same use of sacrifice was familiar to the Greeks (see, *e.g.*, Xen. *Anab.* v. 39). Indeed the general law of sacrificial feasts was open-handed hospitality in which the poor shared. The OT, however, carries this beneficent tendency farther than any other ancient religion. It made systematic provision for the poor, and institutions of this kind can be traced throughout the religious history of Israel, from the eighth century onwards. Indeed it is significant that in the OT scarcely a trace of beggars and begging in the strict sense is to be found (see, however, 1 S. 2 36 Ps. 109 10). In the 'Book of the Covenant' (see EXODUS, ii. § 3), Ex. 23 10 *f.*, the Hebrew landowner is directed to leave his land fallow each seventh year 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' The merciful spirit of the Deuteronomist is conspicuous in the stress he lays on the care for the poor. Every third year the owner was to bring forth a tenth from his granaries and bestow it exclusively on the poor, including the Levites (Dt. 14 28 *f.*). According to a custom still preserved in Palestine, every Israelite was free to pick and eat grapes from his neighbour's vineyard, or to pluck ears from the cornfield, as he passed along (Dt. 23 24 *f.* [25 *f.*]). Out of consideration for the poor, the owner must not, in a grasping spirit, glean to the uttermost his cornfield, vineyard, or oliveyard (Dt. 24 19-22). The earliest part of the Priestly Code, viz., the 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICUS), reflects the same precept (Lev. 19 9 *f.* 23 22); besides this, in Deuteronomy and generally in the later writers of the OT, private and voluntary almsgiving is especially commended. On the whole it may be said that the prophets plead the rights of the poor as their advocates, while in Deuteronomy and in post-exilic literature, the needy Israelite is commended to the charity of his brethren. See, among passages too numerous to quote, Is. 58 7 (a very late passage) Prov. 14 21 19 17 Ps. 112 9 Job 29 12 *f.* One reference to almsgiving—viz. Dan. 4 27 [24]—deserves special notice. Probably the force of the Aramaic words is 'redeem' or 'make good thine iniquities . . . by showing mercy to the poor,' and if this interpretation of פְּרֻק be correct, we have here a clear implication of the later Jewish doctrine that alms had a redemptive or atoning power.

In the OT Apocrypha and in Rabbinical literature almsgiving assumes a new and excessive prominence.

3. Apocrypha and Rabbin. literature. So much was this the case that צדקה, which in the older writings means 'righteousness' in general, came to be used for almsgiving in particular, and this use of the word has been naturalised in the Arab. *ṣadaḳat*[un] 'alms for God' (*Ḳor. Sur.* 9 104, etc.;

1 Syriac has the same word in the form *šegdā*; the Arabic for almond is *lauz* = Hebrew לוז (see HAZEL).

2 Lag. *Uebers.* 45. Cp Plin. 16 25 (quoted by Celsius): 'Ex iis quæ hieme aquila exoriente concipiunt, floret prima omnium amygdala mense Januario; Martio vero pomum maturat.'

3 Cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 27.

4 Prof. Cheyne informs us that the wild almond, now rare, was noticed in a glade of Hermon by Robertson Smith, who found its blossoms distinctly white. Tristram speaks of many wild almond trees on Mt. Carmel (*NHB* 332).

Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 446), and the Syr. *zedk̥etha* (Pesh. Lk. 11 41, etc.).

The following citations furnish examples of the propitiatory virtue ascribed *to* alms in later Judaism: 'Shut up mercy (ἐλεημοσύνην, perh. 'alms') in thy treasuries, and it shall deliver thee from all affliction' (Ecclus. 29 12); 'Mercy' (or 'alms') 'delivereth from death' (Tob. 4 10); 'Through alms a man partakes of eternal life' (*Rosh hashshanah* 3); 'He who says, I give this piece of money as alms, that I or my sons may inherit eternal life, is a perfectly righteous man' (Pesacbin, 5; Reff. from Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.* 276 *f.*); 'Almsdeeds are more meritorious than all sacrifices' (San. 49 *b*); 'As sin-offering makes atonement for Israel, so alms for the Gentiles' (*Baba Bath.* 10 *b*; Reff. from Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* צדקה).

Alms were systematically collected in the synagogue of the Diaspora for poor Jews in Palestine (this custom is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his time), and also every week for the poor of the synagogue itself. Officers were appointed to make the collection, and boxes for the reception of alms also were placed in the synagogues (Vitring. *Syn. Vet.* iii. 1 13). In Mk. 12 41 *f.*, however, the reference is not to alms-chests but to one of thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes, placed in the court of the women to receive contributions towards the expenses of the temple worship (Schiir. *GJV* 2 209).

Jesus, then, did not need to awaken zeal for alms-giving among his countrymen: it was there already;

4. NT. and there was apparently more occasion for it, since in the NT we meet with persons who were, in consequence of bodily infirmity, beggars by profession (Mk. 10 46 Lk. 18 35 Jn. 9 *f.*, and note the technical term προσαίτης). He purified it from the ostentation which often corrupted it (Mt. 6 2-4); he accentuated the feeling of compassion, without which it is worthless (Lk. 10 33); above all, he taught that the disposition which gives alms by mechanical rule and bargains with God for compensation here or hereafter should yield to that impulse of the new heart which sees the supreme reward in likeness to a heavenly Father (Mt. 5 45). We cannot wonder then that, in the infant church at Jerusalem, without compulsion or rigid communistic system (see Acts 5 4), there was an ideal charity which made 'all things common' (Acts 4 32), and prompted rich men like Barnabas to sell their property for the sake of the needy (Acts 4 36 *f.*). No doubt the expectation that Christ's second coming was at hand stimulated this uncalculating generosity; but low esteem of worldly goods and love of the brethren were the mainsprings of this new development. It is also significant that the first election of Christian officers was made to secure a due distribution of alms. The Gentile churches, moreover, were bound to the mother church at Jerusalem by the offerings which they made for the poor in that city (Rom. 15 26 *f.* 1 Cor. 16 1-3 2 Cor. 9 1 *f.* Acts 24 17). Of course almsgiving found other channels. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews assumes that it is a necessary feature of the Christian life, and speaks of it as a sacrifice of thanksgiving which continues after the Jewish altar has been done away with. From very early days each church had its lists of poor (1 Tim. 5 9) and its common fund (Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 4); and whereas in heathen clubs 'charity was an accident, in Christian associations it was of the essence' (Hatch, *Organ. of Early Christ. Church* 36). Cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, especially § 5. W. E. A.

ALMUG or **ALGUM**[1] **TREES** (אַלְמֻגִּים, πελεκητά [BA], απ. [L], 1 K. 10 11 *f.*†; אַלְגּוּמִּים, πευκινα [BAL], 2 Ch. 2 8 [7] 9 10 *f.* [π. απελεκητα, L, *v.* 10; απελ., L, *v.* 11]†) yielded a precious wood, which was brought to Solomon, along with gold and gems, from OPHIR (*q.v.*; cp SOLOMON) by the ships of Hiram, and was used to make 'pillars' (מִסְעָד, ὑποστηρίγματα [BAL], RV mg. 'a railing,' 1 K. 10 12 = 2 Ch. 9 11 מסלות, ἀναβάσεις [BAL], EV terraces') for the temple and the palace, as well as harps and psalteries;' In 2 Ch. 2 8 [7], these trees appear along with cedars and firs among the products of Lebanon, with which Solomon asks Hiram to furnish him; but there is no mention of them in the parallel passage in Kings.[1]

The very various opinions that have been held as to the identity of the tree are enumerated by Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 171 *ff.*).

Three may he mentioned: (1) The Jewish traditional rendering is 'coral'; but this is obviously unsuitable, unless we may understand by 'coral-wood: simply a red wood. (2) Kimhi takes it to be 'brad-wood, the *bak̥k̥am* of the Arabs, a red dye-wood found in India. (3) Most moderns, following Celsius (see his reasons, *op. cit.* 1179 *ff.*), believe it to he 'sandalwood, probably of the redder sort (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn.) which is still used in India for purposes similar to those recorded in Chronicles. The ancient versions yield no light; but see below.[2]

The evidence appears to point to some valuable Oriental wood brought (like lign aloes and cassia) into the Eastern Mediterranean by the ancient commerce of the Red Sea. If we may assume it to be a red wood adapted for carving, it may well be either (1) brad-wood (a name of uncertain origin; the French *braise*, a glowing coal, has been suggested; it was *transferred* to the S. American country) = *Cæsalpinia Sappan*, Linn., a tree of India and the Malay Isles, apparently the *bak̥k̥am* of the Arabs; or it may be (2) red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn., an inodorous dye-wood, still surviving as a colouring matter in pharmacy,[3] a native of Southern India, where it is much valued for temple pillars. Possibly both species may be included under the expression.

[𝔊 in 2 Ch. 2 8 9 10 *f.* gives ξύλα πεύκινα, which agrees with the Chronicler's statement that the algum-wood came from Lebanon. Cheyne, therefore, proposes to identify 'almug' (the form attested by the earlier record, that in Kings) with *ēlammāku*, the name of one of the trees used by Sennacherib in building his palaces. The tree seems from its name to have been of Elamite origin; but so useful a tree may have been planted in Hermon and Lebanon. For מֵאֹפִיר in 1 K. 10 11, it is possible to read מִשְּׂנִיר. Less probably we may suppose with Hommel that this hard and rare wood was "a product of the trade of Ophir.' See *Exp. T.* 9 470 *ff.* 525 ('98), and cp ALAMMELECH.] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALNATHAN (ελναθαν [A]), 1 Esd. 8 44, RV ELNATHAN, 2.

ALOES and (once) **Lign Aloes**[4] (אֲהָלִים; Num. 24 6 σκηναι [BAL], EV 'lign aloes'; Pr. 7 17 τον οικον μου [BKA]; or אֲהָלוֹת Ps. 45 8 [9],

1. Substance. στακτη [Aq. αλωθ], Cant. 4 14 αλωθ [BA], αλοη [א] (Aq. αλοη, Sym. θυμιαμα), Jn. 19 39† αλοη [BאA]),[5] the modern *eagle-wood*, a precious wood exported from SE. Asia, which yields a fragrant odour when burnt. It is entirely distinct from (1) the common bitter 'aloe' used in medicine, to which alone the name was given by classical writers;[6] (2) the plant

[1] The two forms, though differently rendered by 𝔊 and other versions, are obviously variants of the same word. The etymology is unknown.

[1] The Chronicler has probably mistaken an imported article of merchandise for a native product of Phœnicia.

[2] Jerome renders *thyina—i.e.*, 'citron wood' (*Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent.)—an Algerian tree inordinately valued by the Romans for tables, not likely to have been known in biblical times or *to* biblical people.

[3] It was the 'sanders' used in mediæval cookery for colouring sauces.

[4] *I.e.*, lignum ἀλόης, a hybrid phrase; *vide* Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, *s.v.*

[5] [The critical student will not fail to observe that three of the four OT passages in which אהלים or אהלות occurs belong to books or parts of hooks which eminent critics have regarded as post-exilic, and may be reminded here that the occurrence of rare plant-names is one of the phenomena which have to be considered in fixing the period of such documents. He will also notice that the reading of the fourth passage has on good grounds been amended. See the close of this article.—ED.]

[6] This latter is described, among ancient writers, hy Pliny (*HN* 27 4) and Dioscorides (3 22), and its hitterness alluded *to* by Juvenal (6 181; 'plus *aloes* quam *mellis* habet').

commonly known as the American aloe (*Agave americana*), celebrated for the long period which elapses before its flowering. The biblical wood most probably corresponds to that described by Dioscorides (1 21) under the name ἀγάλλοχον[1] (cp Ges. *Thes.* אהלים)—'a wood imported from India and Arabia, resembling thyine wood (Rev. 18 12), compact, aromatic, in taste astringent and rather bitter, with a skin-like and somewhat variegated bark.' He speaks of its medicinal use—sweetening the breath and improving the internal condition of the body—and adds that it is burned instead of frankincense (cp Ar. *kutār* and see INCENSE).

2. Name. The Hebrew name אהלים or אהלות and the Greek ἀγάλλοχον[2] are almost certainly, and the Greek ἀλόη and English *aloe* not improbably, derived from the same Sanskrit word *aguru* = eagle-wood (see especially Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, art. 'Eagle-wood').

This appears in Pali as *agaru* or *agalu*, in Mahratti as *agaru* or *agara*; probably another form is the Malayālam *agil*, whence Portng. *aguila*, Fr. *Bois d'aigle*, and Eng. *eagle-wood*. 'The Malays call it *Kayū* (wood) *gahru*, evidently the same name though which way the etymology flowed it is difficult to say' (Yule, *l.c.*). [Hommel, *Exp. T.* 9 525, compares *aigalluhu* (var. *akarhu*?) in Am. Tab.]

It is, however, possible that Gr. ἀλόη, Syr. *'alwai* (or *'elwai*), Pers. *alwa*[3] have an entirely separate origin: the Syriac word oftener means the bitter medicinal aloes (so in the majority of references quoted in PS *Thes.*, s.v.), and the Persian word is so explained by the lexicographers.[4] In that case we have an instance of what is not uncommon in language, viz., that two things have arrived at the same name from different starting-points.

3. Source. The 'aloes' and 'lign aloes' of the Bible are thus identified with the product of some tree of the genus *Aquilaria*, the chief home of which is in SE. Asia. According to Arab writers there were many different varieties of the *aghālūjī* or *'ūd* found in different parts of India and Ceylon, differing from one another in value according to the greater or less compactness of the wood, though all had the property of yielding a fragrant vapour if burned when dry.[5] They speak of its use in perfuming clothes and persons, thus illustrating Ps. 45 8 [9] and Cant. 4 14; and there are parallels to the usage mentioned in Pr. 7 17.

It would seem that the kind of eagle-wood most likely to be introduced into Europe in classical times was that yielded by a tree generally distributed through the Malayan region, which in early Eastern commerce would therefore naturally be associated with cassia. This is *Aquilaria malaccensis*, which is figured by Rumphius under the name of *Garo*, and has from ancient times been esteemed by the Chinese. To this day 'it is the most important product of the forests of S. Tenasserim and the Mergui Archipelago. Another eagle-wood is obtained in NE. India from *Aquilaria Agallocha*; but it is less likely that this should have formed an article of commerce in biblical times. Other kinds were obtained from the East in the Middle Ages: what the early Arab travellers have to say about them may he seen in Dymock, *Pharmacographia Indica* 3 218 220. They were similar but no doubt inferior products derived from different trees, and are probably to be regarded as comparatively modern substitutes.

Eagle-wood consists of diseased wood, infiltrated with odoriferous oil and resin. It occurs in irregular pieces varying in colour from grey to dark brown. It is found in the centre of the tree, and the search for it is laborious. The account of Dioscorides (see above, § 1) is accurate. The exterior, which cannot of course be the bark, is veined with a darker colour.

As regards the importation of this substance into W. Asia no difficulty arises when we remember the undoubted fact of a trade carried on by China with India and Arabia in early times, of which Ceylon was probably a chief depot. See on this subject Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 2nd ed., p. 520 *f.* A difficulty, however, appears when we consider Balaam's words (Num. 24 5 *f.*):—

'How good are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy dwelling-places, O Israel!
As valleys stretched forth,
As gardens beside a river,
As *lign aloes*[1] which Yahwè has planted,
As cedars beside waters.'

The wood may, indeed, have been imported by the Phœnicians, and thus be mentioned side by side with myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, etc., the spices of Arabia and India; but how could a Palestinian writer use, as a suggestive simile for the expansion of Israel, the growth of a tree which *ex hypothesi* was never seen in Palestine, but only far away in SE. Asia? The difficulty is pointed out by Dillmann, who remarks, 'Perhaps the original reading was אֵילִם (palms, Ex. 15 27; Gen. 14 6).' The word suggested, however, seems generally to mean 'terebinths'; Prof. Cheyne points out the parallel in Is. 61 3.[2] *Pistacia Terebinthus*, though often only a bush, may be a tree of from twenty to forty feet.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

[1] In later Greek also called ξυλαλόη.

[2] This latter passed into Arabic as *aghālūjī* or *aghālūkhī*; but Arab writers usually call it *al-'ūd* 'the wood' *par excellence*, or *al-'ūd al-Hindī*, 'the Indian wood.'

[3] These three are evidently forms of the same word; but here again it is difficult to say which way the etymology flowed.

[4] On the other hand, in the single instance mentioned by Dozy (*Suppl.*) of the occurrence of the same word (*alwiy*) in Arabic—viz., in a poem quoted by Al-Makkarī (*Hist. and Lit. of Arabs in Spain*, ed. Dozy etc. 2 776 *l.* 15)—it seems to have the same meaning as the biblical word. Describing the pride of certain people, the poet says, with allusion to the old Arab custom of lighting fires in prominent places near their dwellings to attract wanderers to hospitable entertainment, 'and they throw on the fire of hospitality, from pride, their *alwiy* and their *kibā'*' (the latter also is said to be a species of *agallochum*).

[5] See the Arabic references discussed at length in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1 135-171.

[1] Instead of אֲהָלִים 𝔊BAF reads אֹהָלִים, 'tents'; but this is obviously unsuitable. Cp its rendering in Pr. 7 17 (τὸν δὲ οἶκόν μου).

[2] But see *SBOT*, Heb. on Is. *l.c.*, and cp CEDAR.

ALOTH (עֲלוֹת). According to 1 K. 4 16 Solomon had a prefect, Baanah, 'in Asher and in Aloth' (ἐν τῇ Μααλα [B], . . . Γαλααδ [L] omitting 'Asher'; ἐν Ἀσηρ καὶ ἐν Μααλωτ [A]). It is better, as in RV and Kau. *HS*, to read 'in Asher and Bealoth.' See BAALATH-BEER. Klostermann, recognising that a more northerly place is desirable, suggests the emendation 'Zebulun' (notice 'Naphtali,' *v.* 15, and 'Issachar,' *v.* 17).

ALPHA AND OMEGA (τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ω [Ti. WH] Rev. 1 8 21 6 and [τὸ α in B] 22 13). For similar use of first and last letters of the alphabet in Rabbinic writings see Schottgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ* 1 1086 *f.*

ALPHABET. See WRITING.

ALPHÆUS (ἀλφαῖος [Ti. WH]; Heb. [Aram.] חַלְפַי [חִלְפַּי], either a contraction from חַלְפְיָה or a *gentilicium* from the place-name Heleph; on account of the ח W & H write Ἁλφαῖος).

1. Father of Levi the publican, named only in Mark (Mk. 2 14 = Lk. 5 27 = Mt. 9 9 [where Matthew is usually identified with Levi]).

2. Father of the second James in the lists of apostles (Mt. 10 3 Mk. 3 18 Lk. 6 15, Acts 1 13; see APOSTLE, § 1), not to be identified with Clopas and so made a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. See CLOPAS, § 3.

There is no reason for identifying (1) and (2). The Itala, it is true, and apparently also the more important of the MSS known to Origen, as well as D, read Ἰάκωβον instead of Λευειν in Mk. 2 14; but if this had been the original reading, it would be impossible to account for the subsequent substitution for James of a quite unknown Levi. The reading Ἰάκωβον arose simply because, at a very early date, a copyist knew of no son of Alphæus but James, and therefore took Λευειν for an error which he was bound to correct. If the Alphæus of Mk. 2 14 were to be identified with the Alphæus of the lists of apostles, on the assumption that Levi and the second James were brothers, then we should expect to find these two

brothers forming a pair in the lists just as Peter and Andrew do, or John and the first James. This objection to the identification, however, is valid only on the assumption that Levi under the name of Matthew was admitted into the number of the twelve.

The Syrian writer Amrus in the 14th cent. makes Alphæus accompany Nathanael (identified with Bartholomew) on his journeyings through Nisibis, Mesopotamia, and the rest of Western Asia (Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 261 *f.*). P. W. S.

ALTANEUS (ἀλτανναιος [A]), RV MALTANNEUS, 1 Esd. 9 33† = Ezra 10 33 MATTENAI, 2.

ALTAR.[1] The Heb. מִזְבֵּחַ means literally 'a place of slaughter or sacrifice' (cp Ar. *Madbaḥ*,[2] and Syr. *Madhbᵉḥa*).

1. Names. The Gk. and Lat. terms, βωμός (cp βουνός), *ara* (cp ἀείρω), *altare* (cp *altus*), on the other hand, describe the form of the altar as a raised structure without reference to its purpose. Occasionally (23 times) 𝔊 uses the Gk. word βωμός; as a rule, however, מזבח is rendered by θυσιαστήριον. The translation thus effected is close and exact; but θυσιαστήριον is unknown in classical literature, being apparently confined to biblical, Jewish,[3] and ecclesiastical writers. In the NT βωμός occurs only once (Acts 17 23), and there the writer is speaking of an altar used for heathen worship. Elsewhere θυσιαστήριον is always employed.

We have, then, in the Hebrew word an accurate definition of the altar : it is a place of sacrifice. Why

2. Primitive idea. an altar should be required in order that the victim may be slain in a manner acceptable to the deity, and advantageous to the worshipper, is not so obvious as we might at first be inclined to think. We might deem it a sufficient explanation to say that the altar served ends of obvious convenience. The flesh of the victim being placed on a raised platform specially appropriated to this object, the sacrifice was separated from contact with common things and from contamination, while a means was provided for performing the rite with due solemnity and in full sight of those who desired to associate themselves with the sacred offering. There is evidence, however, that in primitive times the altar possessed a much deeper significance than this. (The development of this primitive idea is traced elsewhere. *See* IDOLATRY, § 2 ; SACRIFICE ; MASSEBAH.)

To the Arabs any stone might become for the nonce an altar, and evidently their Hebrew kinsfolk followed

3. Usage. originally the same ancient way. Thus, after the victory of Michmasb, when Saul was told that his hungry warriors were devouring the flesh meat which they had taken as booty, without reserving the blood as an offering to Yahwè, he commanded his people to roll a great stone towards him, and on this natural altar the blood, the mysterious seat of the soul, was poured out, so that all was in order (1 S. 14 32-35). It is to be observed that here there is no question of burning. In Gideon's sacrifice, of which we have an account in Judg. 6 11 *ff.*, the offering of cooked flesh and unleavened cakes is indeed consumed by fire miraculously kindled; but the altar on which the gifts are placed is simply a rock, and the broth of the cooked flesh is poured out upon it or at its base.

According to Ex. 20 24-26, on the other hand—a passage which, whatever be its date (see EXODUS, ii. § 3), may represent an ancient usage—the altar is to be of earth—a material used in early times by other nations—*e.g.*, Carthaginians. Romans, and Greeks (for reference: see Di., *ad loc.*)—or, if of stone, then of unhewn stone, the reason given being that an iron instrument would destroy the sanctity of the altar. Originally, it can scarcely be doubted, the idea was that changing the form of the sacred stone would drive the deity from his abode (cp IDOLATRY, § 4); but such ideas had passed away when the compiler wrote, and iron tools continued to be forbidden in deference to ancient custom no longer understood. Further, the altar here prescribed was to have no steps. In this way the person of the sacrificer was to be saved from exposure, an object secured by the priestly legislator in a very different way—viz., by making 'linen breeches,' or drawers, part of the priestly attire. Altars so constructed might be erected all over Israel : see HIGH PLACE, § 2 *f.* On the recognition of the altar as a sanctuary for homicides see WRS *Rel. Sem.* 183 *f.*, and cp ASYLUM.

Very different was the altar erected in the forecourt of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The first

4. Solomon's temple. Book of Kings (9 25) makes direct mention of the fact that Solomon built an altar on which he offered sacrifice three times a year. So, too, in 8 64, reference is made to the altar which 'stood before Yahwè'—*i.e.*, in front of the temple proper—and it is described as the 'brazen altar' (מזבח נחשת). Thus the material itself offers a striking contrast to the altars of earth and stone which had been in use previously. Like the rest of the temple and its furniture, it was the work of a Phœnician artist, Huram-Abi (2 Ch. 2 13, perhaps rightly; see, however, HIRAM, 2). Unfortunately, the account of the altar, which we should expect before 1 K. 7 23, is wanting.

The text of the passage has been mutilated because a later editor, misinterpreting 1 K. 8 4 (itself a very late insertion), supposed that the furniture of the tabernacle, including, of course, the brazen altar, had been moved by Solomon into his temple, so that no further altar of this kind was needed. The excision of the passage describing Solomon's brazen altar must have been effected in comparatively modern times, for the Chronicler shows that he had it before him in the text of the Books of Kings which he used (see St. in *ZATW* 3 157 ['83]).

The Chronicler (2 Ch. 4 1) gives its dimensions. It was 20 cubits long and broad by 10 cubits high. Now, these are precisely the measurements of the altar in Ezekiel's temple (Ez. 43 13 *ff.*). The prophet really constructs his ideal temple of the future from his recollections of the old temple in which he may very well have served as a priest. We shall, therefore, not go far wrong if, with most modern archæologists, we take Ezekiel's description as applicable to Solomon's altar. On that supposition, although the altar was 20 cubits broad and long at the base, the altar-hearth[1] was only 12 cubits by 12. The altar consisted of three platforms or ledges, the higher being in each case two ells narrower than the lower ledge. At the base was a gutter (EV 'the bottom,' RV mg. 'the hollow,' Ez. 43 13) one ell broad (חֵיק, κόλπωμα, κοίλωμα, κύκλωμα in 𝔊), intended apparently for the reception of the sacrificial blood; and there was a similar gutter at the top round the altar-hearth.

5. Horns of altar, etc. At the four corners on the top were four projections called 'horns.' Possibly they represent, as Stade has suggested, the beginning of an attempt to carve the altar stone into the form of an ox, which symbolised the power of Yahwè[2] (Nu. 23 22 24 8). Be that as it may, down to the latest times the horns of the altar were regarded as specially sacred, so that in the consecration of priests (Ex. 29 12) and in the ritual of the sin offering (Lev. 4 7 *ff.*) the blood was sprinkled upon them. It has been inferred from Ps. 118 27 that at one time the horns were used also for fastening the victim; but the meaning of the words is exceedingly obscure, and no conclusion of any value can be deduced from them.

The ascent to the altar was made by a flight of steps

[1] On references to Greek altars see UNKNOWN GOD and ABOMINATION, ii.

[2] The Arabic *Madbaḥ* does not mean 'altar.' It has acquired that meaning through translations of the Bible. It is also used in the sense of 'trench' (on which see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 341 n. 1 ; cp the remarks on *ghabghab*, *op. cit.* 340 *f.* 198 228).

[3] Prof. Moore has pointed out that it occurs, not only as is sometimes stated, in Philo, but also in Eupolemus, *Ep. Arist.*, Jos., and other Jewish authors.

[1] The word for hearth or place for burning, which should probably be written אריאל (see ARIEL, 2), occurs not only in Is. 29 1 *ff.*, but also on the stone of Mesha (*ll.* 12 17 *f.*).

[2] Robertson Smith, however, regards the 'horns of the altar' as a modern substitute for the actual horns of sacrificial victims, such as the heads of oxen which are common symbols on Greek altars (*RS* 436).

on the **E.** side, and it is plain that an arrangement of this kind was absolutely necessary, when we consider the great height of the structure.

On the whole matter we must remember that Solomon had no strict rule to follow : he simply desired, with the help of Phœnician art, to consult for the splendour of the royal worship. We need not, therefore, wonder that one of his successors, Ahaz (2 K. 16 10 *ff.*), with the co-operation of Uriah the priest, constructed a new altar after the pattern of one that he had seen at Damascus, and made it the chief place of sacrifice.

6. Ahaz's altar.

Solomon's altar was placed, as has been already implied, in front—*i.e.*, on the **E.** side—of the temple proper. Can we identify the exact site? Not perhaps with anything like certainty; but it is worth while to mention the theory advocated by Willis, and more recently by Nowack. The Kubbet eṣ-ṣaḫra, or dome of the rock, which stands on the temple area, covers a great rock pierced by a channel which passes into a sink beneath, and is connected with a water-pipe. The rock has been an object of the highest veneration to Christians, and (especially) to Moslems. It has been supposed that the rock stood on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (on the name see ARAUNAH), that it was there David saw the angel (2 S. 24 16 *ff.*) and erected his altar, and that Solomon (2 Ch. 3 1 *ff.*) afterwards included the ground within the temple site. Solomon would naturally build his altar on the spot already chosen by his father and hallowed by the apparition; nor is it incredible, when we consider how tenaciously Orientals, under changed modes of belief, cling to the old sacred places, that David and Solomon built their altars on the rock now covered by the Kubbet eṣ-ṣaḫra. The story of the apparition to David would, on this hypothesis, find a parallel in the apparition to Gideon (Judg. 6 11 *ff.*), and in that to Manoah (Judg. 13 19). The perforation, the water, and the sink would be explained as means for carrying off blood and offal from the altar. It is true, as Dean Stanley has pointed out, that the rugged form of the rock would make it unsuitable for a threshing-floor; hut that is no reason why the rock should not have stood 'by the threshing-floor' and been the place where the angel appeared. Cp ARAUNAH.

7. Site.

Within the temple proper, and in front of the Debïr or innermost shrine, stood another altar, mentioned in 1 K. 6 20 *f.* The text, which is corrupt, should be emended thus, with the help of 𝔊^A (κέδρου): 'he made an altar of cedar in front of the Debir.' From Ez. **41** 22 we learn that it was **3** cubits high by 2 cubits broad, and that the altar had 'corners' which took the place of the horns of the brazen altar. Ezekiel speaks of it also as a 'table.' Upon it, from ancient times (1 S. **21** [6] 7), the shewbread was placed before Yahwk, to be afterwards consumed by the priests.

8. Altar of shewbread.

We assume here that the TABERNACLE (*q.v.*), as described by the 'priestly writer,' is an ideal structure. Said to have been made at Sinai, it was in reality an imaginary modification of the temple, suitable (*so* it was supposed) to the circumstances of the time when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness.

9. P's brazen altar.

(*a*) The altar, called simply 'the altar' (**Ex.** 27 1 **30** 18 **40** 7 32, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (Ex. **30** 28 31 9, etc.), or 'the brazen altar' (Ex. **38** 30 39 39), stood in the outer court, and was square, 5 cubits broad and long, by **3** high. Instead of being wholly of brass, it was a hollow framework of acacia planks overlaid with brass. It was thus small and portable. It had four 'horns'; midway between top and bottom ran a projecting ledge (so RV, AV 'compass'; כרכב; 27 5), intended, perhaps, as a place for the priest! to stand upon when they ministered, though the meaning of the word and the purpose intended are disputed. Below this ledge there was a brazen grating (so RV, AV 'grate,' 27 4) or NETWORK (*q.v.*), מכבר מעשה רשת נחשו, which may have been a device to support the ledge and admit the passage of the blood poured out at the base of the altar. There were four brazen rings at the corners of this network, and into them the staves for carrying the altar were inserted. These staves, like the altar itself, were of acacia wood, overlaid with brass. *So*, too, the altar utensils—viz., סִירוֹת or pans for clearing away ashes, יָעִים or shovels, מִזְרָקוֹת basons or saucers for catching the blood and sprinkling, מִזְלָגוֹת fleshhooks or forks, מחתות or fire-pans for removing coals, etc.—were all of brass. Perpetual fire was to burn on this altar (Lev. 6 12 *f.*).

(*β*) Ezekiel, as we have seen, mentions an altar within the 'holy place,' which he also calls 'the table which stands before Yahwè.' The 'priestly writer' calls it 'the table' [Ex. 25 23 37 10), 'the table of the face or presence' (Nu. **4** 7, לחם פָּנִים, cp RITUAL, § 2), because it stood before Yahwè (Ezek. 41 22), 'the pure table' (Lev. **24** 6). In 2 Ch. **29** 18 it is spoken of as 'the table of shewbread,' שֻׁלְחַן הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת—lit., the table on which rows (of loaves) were laid—to describe the purpose for which it was intended. It was of acacia wood overlaid with gold, and was 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad, 1½ high. It was surrounded by a golden rim or moulding (זֵר, Ex. 25 11; see CROWN), and at the bottom there was a border or ledge (הַמִּסְגֶּרֶת, Ex. **25** 25, EV 'border'), with a golden rim of its own. Where the feet of the table joined the ledge, golden rings were placed for the insertion of staves. The table was furnished with deep plates (קְעָרוֹת, Ex. 25 29, EV 'dishes'), 'spoons' or saucers (כַּפּוֹת) for the incense (Lev. 24 7), 'flagons' (קְשָׂוֹת, Ex. 25 29 [see FLAGON]) for the wine, 'bowls' (so EV, מְנַקִּיּוֹת 25 29) for pouring the wine in libations.

10. P's 'table.'

(y) The altar of incense (מִזְבֵּחַ מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת, Ex. 30 1, or מִזְבַּח קְטֹרֶת), also called 'the golden altar' (Ex. 39 38), belongs only to the secondary sections of the Priestly Code. Ezekiel knows of no altar within the temple proper save the altar of the shewbread, and originally 'the golden altar' was only another name for this table. The Priestly Code, in its original form, speaks of the brazen altar as '*the* altar'; and, whilst in Ex. 30 10 the high priest on the day of atonement is to place blood on the horns of the altar of incense, in Lev. 16, where the solemn ritual of that great day is minutely prescribed, nothing is said of an altar of incense. The mention of the altar in the books of Chronicles and Maccabees (as also in the interpolated passage 1 K. 7 48) is due simply to the influence of these novellæ in the 'Priestly Code.'

11. P's incense altar.

This altar was to be made of acacia wood; it was to be 2 cubits high, 1 cubit broad and long; the flat surface on the top (גַּב, **Ez.** 43 13, **AV** 'higher place,' RV 'base'), and the sides and horns, were overlaid with gold. It had a golden moulding round it (זֵר), and beneath this at the four corners were golden rings for the staves, which also were overlaid with gold.

In the reign of Darius a new altar of burnt offering was built, probably on the old site (cp Hagg. 2 15), but, in accordance with the law in Ex. 20 25, of unhewn stone (1 Macc. 4 44 *ff.*). It was desecrated, and, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5 4), removed by Antiochus Epiphanes. A new altar, also of unhewn stone, was built by Judas Maccabaeus. Within the temple proper were the table for the shewbread and the golden altar of incense (1 Macc. 1 21 4 49 *f.*); but the latter, as far as it was distinct from the table, seems to have been introduced late, for Hecataeus (Jos. c. *Ap.* **1** 22) mentions only the

12. Post-exilic.

candlestick and one altar (or table) as the furniture of the holy place.

In Herod's temple the altar of burnt offering in the court of the priests was still of unhewn stones. The Mishna (*Middoth* 31) states that it was 32 cubits square at the base, and gradually narrowed to 24 cubits at the top; but the dimensions are differently given by Josephus (*BJ* v. 56), and, before him, by Hecataeus (Müller, *Fragm.* 2394). The priests approached it by an ascent of unhewn stone. There was a pipe to receive the blood, which was afterwards carried by a subterranean passage into the Jordan, and there was a cavity beneath the altar for the drink offerings. On the N. side were brazen rings for securing the victims. A red thread marked the place for sprinkling the blood. The altar of incense stood within the holy place, between the golden candlestick and the table of shewbread.

13. Herod's temple.

As we have seen (§ 1), the word θυσιαστήριον is frequently used in the NT for the Jewish altars; and the Apocalypse speaks of the 'golden altar' (83, and 'altar' in the same sense *passim*), because the writer pictures the worship of heaven under forms drawn from the old temple worship. In a passage which is unique, the author of Hebrews (13 10) speaks of a Christian altar. The altar is, of course, not material but spiritual; it is the cross on which Christ offered himself, and the author is following the same line of thought when he exhorts believers 'to do good and communicate, since with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'

14. NT.

For the origin of altars see IDOLATRY, § 2; SACRIFICE; HIGH PLACE, § 3, and WRS *Rel. Sem.*; for the Hebrew altars in later times Benzinger's and Nowack's *Heb. Arch.* (both works '94). See also Stade, 'Text d. Berichtes üb. Salomos Bauten (*ZATW* 3 129 *ff.*), Smend's *Ezekiel* ('80), Cornill's critical text of Ezekiel ('86), and the comm. of Bertholet in *KHC*. For an account of the older literature on the archæology of Ezekiel's temple see Bottcher, *Proben ATlicher Schrifterklärung*, 1833.
W. E. A.

AL-TASCHITH, RV **Al-Tashheth** (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת; 𝔊BℵAq., Symm., μη διαφθειρης; Symm. Ps. 75 1, περι αφθαρσιας). It is usual to supply עַל or אל before the phrase (Ps. 57-59 75†, headings [v. 1]), and to explain 'To the tune of "Destroy not"' (cp Is. 65 8; so WRS *OTJC*(2) 209). If, however, the view of the musical notes in the headings taken in PSALMS is correct, there can be no doubt that the phrase is corrupt, and that we should read with Gratz עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית, 'on the Sheminith' (see SHEMINITH).

ALUSH (אָלוּשׁ; Sam. אליש; αιλουc [AFL], -λειμ[1] [B]; *ALUS*), a desert station of the Israelites between Dophkah and Rephidim (Nu. 33 13 *f.*† [P]). Not identified with certainty; but see Di. on Ex. 17 1. The Ar. (ed. Lag.) reads *al-wathanain*, 'the two idols,' probably because the translator understood by Alush the heathen temple at Elusa (see BERED, i. 1, and cp. WRS *Kin.* 293 *f.*). See WANDERINGS, §§ 12, 14.

ALVAH (עַלְוָה, γωλα [ADEL] = עולה? *ALVA*), Gen. 36 40 = 1 Ch. 1 51†, *Kr.* (EV ALIAH after *Kt.* עַלְיָה; BA as above; αλουα [L]), one of the 'dukes' (?) of EDOM (*q.v.*, § 4). Cp ALVAN.

ALVAN (עַלְוָן; γωλων [A], -ωμ [DE], -αμ [L] transposing ל and ו), Gen. 36 23 = 1 Ch. 1 40† ALIAN (עַלְיָן, but in many MSS עַלְוָן; so αλουαν [L], but cωλαμ [B], ιωλαμ [A]), a name in the genealogy of Seir. Cp ALVAH.

AMAD (עַמְעָד; αμιηλ [B], αμαδ [A], αλφααδ [L]), an unidentified point in the border of Asher (Josh. 19 26†). 𝔊B presupposes Ammiel. There are several other place-names compounded with עַם. See Gray, *HPN* 48 *f.*, who rightly declines the explanation of Am'ad as 'people of eternity.' 𝔊L's αλφααδ may point to אלפעל (ELPAAL) for which 𝔊B in 1 Ch. 8 11 gives αλφααδ. This may be correct.
T. K. C.

[1] 𝔊B points to a reading אֵילִם, Elim. Perhaps the writer, wishing to fill up the interval between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim (cp Ex. 17 1), repeated Elim, the name of an earlier station. See ELIM.

AMADATHA, RV **Amadathus** (αμαδαθου [B]), Esth. 16 10, etc. See HAMMEDATHA.

AMAL (עָמָל; αμαα [BA], αλαμ [L]), in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 35†.

AMALEK (עֲמָלֵק, αμαληκ [BAL], but -ηχ 1 S. 15 25 [A]; gentilic, **Amalekite**, הָעֲמָלֵקִי, αμαληκ [BAL], but also -κ[ε]ιτης [BAL]), a tribe with which the ancient Israelites, at several periods of their history, were engaged in warfare. According to two passages, each of which confirms the other, there appears to have been a time when Amalekites dwelt even in Central Palestine: in the Song of Deborah we read of 'Ephraim whose root is in Amalek' (Judg. 5 14; 𝔊AL, however, ἐν κοιλάδι), and Pirathon in Ephraim (the modern *Fer'atā*, about 6 m. WSW. of Nābŭlŭs) was situated 'on the mountains of the Amalekite,' or 'of the Amalekites' (Judg. 12 15, λαναακ [AL]). Of these northern Amalekites nothing further is known. According to several passages of the OT, the home of Amalek was in the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula. the modern *Tīh*, S. and SW. of Judæa. It is scarcely safe to conclude from Nu. 13 29 14 25 43 45 that they once had settlements also in southern Judæa; still less can we build any such theory upon Gen. 14 7, although the geographical allusions in this chapter have more authority than the legendary narrative itself.

1. Seat.

When the Israelites came out of Egypt into the desert of Sinai, they had an encounter with the Amalekites at Rephidim (Ex. 17 8-16), which is not very far from Mount Sinai (Nu. 33 15). It was natural enough that the nomads, who lived on the scanty products of this region, should do their utmost to expel the intruders, nor can we wonder at the mortal hatred with which the Israelites thenceforth regarded Amalek. That the narrative, in spite of its legendary features, has a historical foundation cannot be doubted. The story of an encounter in the desert of Paran—*i.e.*, the *Tīh* itself (Nu. 14 25 43 45)—is probably nothing more than a less accurate version of the same struggle, which, it is true, can hardly have been limited to a single skirmish. Whether the account of the Deuteronomist (Dt. 25 17-19) was derived from any other source besides Ex. 17 8 *ff.* is not quite clear, although he mentions one additional circumstance, namely 'the cutting off of those who were wounded (?)'—the term נחשלים was perhaps suggested by ויחלש in Ex. 17 13. The verbal repetition of the curse is worthy of note. In 1 S. 15 2, there is an obvious allusion to the passage in Exodus.

2. Exodus.

The mention of the Amalekites in Judg. 3 13 is perhaps due only to an ancient dittography (עמון ועמלק), a reading which, at all events, must have been known to the author of the Maccabean Psalm 83—see *v.* 7 [8]); but it may be questioned whether Bndde is justified in considering the reference to the Amalekites in connection with the Midianites (Judg. 6 3 33 7 12) as a mere gloss; it is in fact by no means improbable that besides the Midianites various other nomadic tribes made inroads upon the Israelite peasantry at the period in question.

The account of the wars of Saul against the Amalekites (1 S. 15) is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy. Even in its original form it must have contained many exaggerations; and it has been subjected to considerable revision. The high figures which appear in the narrative have no historical value. The same may be said of the vast extent attributed to the Amalekite territory in a passage imitated from Gen. 25 18 (1 S. 15 6). We may with some certainty, however, conclude that the very first king of Israel inflicted severe losses upon the wild nomads (cp SAUL, § 3). In this connection we read of King Agag (the only

3. Saul and David.

Amalekite proper name known to us, it may be noticed in passing), to whom the words of Balaam in Nu. 24 7 refer. The description of the death of Agag, obscure as it is, has a very antique colouring, and reminds us of Judg. 8 18-21. Popular tradition has strangely interwoven the fate of the Amalekites with that of Saul. According to one story, which does not agree with the narrative in 1 S. 31, Saul was slain by an Amalekite, who forthwith carried the news to David, but instead of being rewarded was put to death. Even in the book of Esther, composed many centuries later, reference is made to the enmity between Saul and Agag, as the Rabbins long ago observed: the righteous Mordecai is descended from the one, and the wicked Haman from the other.

At the moment when Saul fell on Mount Gilboa, the Amalekites, as it happened, were signally defeated by David. An ancient and well-informed narrator tells us how David, an exile at the court of the king of Gath, while professing to be very differently occupied (see ACHISH, DAVID, § 5), was in reality carrying on a war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes, in particular the Amalekites (1 S. 27 8). On one occasion the Amalekites profited by his absence to seize his residence, Ziklag, and carried off all its inhabitants. He pursued them, however, made a sudden attack with a band of only 600 men, rescued the whole of the spoil, and slew them all, with the exception of 400 who escaped on their camels (1 S. 30). Even the details of this narrative may, for the most part, be regarded as historical; it is obvious that the struggles here described were not wars on a large scale but mere raids such as are usual in the desert.

4. Later times. In after times Amalek does not come into prominence. The words of Balaam, which describe it as 'the first-born of nations' (*i.e.*, primeval nation?), and at the same time foretell its overthrow, are spoken rather from the point of view of the age in which Balaam is placed than from the point of view of the real author, who seems to have lived about the eighth century B.C. (cp BALAAM). According to the remarkable notice contained in 1 Ch. 4 42 *ff.*, 500 men of the tribe of Simeon, under leaders whose names are specified, exterminated the last remnant of the Amalekites in the mountain country of Seir and settled down in their place. Hence it would appear that the last Amalekites dwelt in the mountains of Edom. With this it agrees that Gen. 36, the substance of which must be at all events pre-exilic, represents Amalek as the son of Esau's first-born, Eliphaz, by a concubine—*i.e.*, as an Edomite tribe of inferior rank: see Gen. 36 12 (of which 1 Ch. 1 36 is an incorrect version), and compare *v.* 16. The concubine in question is Timna, according to *v.* 22 (= 1 Ch. 1 39), a sister of Lotan of Seir, and according to the second list in *v.* 40 *ff.* (where Amalek is omitted), an Edomite tribe or settlement. Thus the remnants of Amalek are, to some extent, reckoned as members of the Edomite race.

5. Late writers. The mention of Amalek among the contemporaneous enemies of Israel, by a psalmist of the Maccabean period (Ps. 83 7 [8]), is merely an example of the poetical licence whereby an ancient name is applied to a modern people, just as, *e.g.*, Greek writers of the sixth century A.D. call Goths 'Scythians.' As far as we can judge, the Amalekites were never a very important tribe; at their first appearance in history they are threatened with total destruction, and it would seem that neither Egyptian nor Assyrian records allude to their existence. Ancient Arabic authors, indeed, describe them as a mighty nation which dwelt in Arabia, Egypt, and other countries, and lasted down into post-Christian times. The present writer, however, thinks that in his short essay 'On the Amalekites' (Gottingen, 1864), he has succeeded in proving that these and other similar statements are either fancies suggested by passages in the OT, or else deliberate fictions, and therefore have no historical value. At the present day this opinion seems to be generally accepted.

6. Kenites. One branch of the Amalekites, it is true, appears to have lasted somewhat longer than the rest. When Saul attacked the Amalekites he ordered the *Kenites* to separate themselves from the doomed people, on the ground that they had shown kindness to Israel at the time of the exodus (1 S. 15 6). The Kenites must therefore have belonged to Amalek, or must, at least, have stood in close connection with them (cp Judg. 1 16 as in *SBOT*). Thus we find that the oracle of Balaam (Nu. 24 21 *ff.*) mentions this people, under the name of Kain (*v.* 22, EV mg.), immediately after Amalek. Their friendly relations with Israel are, moreover, shown by the fact that, according to Judg. 1 16, the father-in-law of Moses was a Kenite (elsewhere a Midianite), and also by the fact that his descendants entered Palestine in company with the tribe of Judah. Hence the Kenites are reckoned as a part of Judah (1 S. 30 29, cp 1 Ch. 2 55); but according to the more accurate view they were a distinct people, though they dwelt in the south of Judæa, and were recognised as kinsmen by David (1 S. 27 10). From 1 Ch. 2 55, it would appear that the Rechabites, with whom the nomadic life had become a religious institution, were included among the Kenites (Jer. 35 2 K. 10 15 23). In another district, the great plain of S. Galilee, we meet with Heber the Kenite (Judg. 4 *f.*). For W. Max Muller is mistaken when he derives the name from a city called Kin (*As. u. Eur.* 174); the Song of Deborah reckons Jael, the wife of Heber, among 'women in the tent' (Judg. 5 24), which shows that the people in question are nomads. Accordingly we have no right to regard these Kenites as wholly distinct from those in the South. The oracle of Balaam mentions Kenites in the rocky hills of the South, foretelling that they will be carried away captive by the Assyrians. Gen. 15 19 includes the Kenites among the ten nations whose land God will give to Israel.

This people must therefore have been a nomadic tribe, which, at least in part, belonged to Amalek, in part was absorbed into Israel, and in part, it may be, maintained a separate existence for some time longer. It is not impossible that the Bedouin tribe, Ḳain, which dwelt in the desert of Sinai and the neighbouring districts about six centuries after Christ, may be connected with the Kenites (Ḳain) of the OT, as the present writer, following Ewald, has stated (*op. cit.*). At the present time, some further arguments might be brought forward in favour of this hypothesis, which, however, is still very far from being absolutely proved.

7. Cain. On the other hand, there are many objections to the theory that Cain, the fratricide, is a representative of the Bedouin tribe of the Kenites, as well as to other hypotheses of Stade (*ZATW* 14 250-318 ['94]), great as is the acuteness with which they are supported. A few points alone can be here referred to. Cain, the brother of Abel the shepherd, is expressly described as a *husbandman*. After his evil deed he becomes 'a wanderer and a fugitive'—*i.e.*, an outlawed, homeless criminal. This is something quite different from a nomad, who regularly goes to and fro within the same pastures in the 'desert.' That the Kenites, from among whom Moses fetched a wife, and who have a good name almost everywhere in the OT, were a tribe of smiths[1] (and therefore of pariahs), has no evidence in its favour, nor can we find any indication that the later Arabian tribe of Kain (Bal-Ḳain) was of such a character. In the Ar. *ḳain*, which, it is true, also means 'smith, craftsman,' several words appear to be combined. Besides, blood-vengeance, which is first mentioned in the story of Cain, is by no means a

[1] Similarly Sayce, *Races of OT* 118. 'They formed an important guild in an age when the art of metallurgy was confined to a few.' See however Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 280-282.

peculiarity of nomad tribes; it prevailed also among the ancient Israelites, who of course were agriculturists (see also CAIN, § 4 *f.*). TH. N.

AMAM (אֲמָם; ϹΗΝ [B]; ΑΜΑΜ [AL]), an unidentified site in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 26†).

AMAN. 1. (ΑΜΑΝ [A], ΑΔΑΜ [B], ΝΑΔΑΒ [א]) Ward of Tobit's nephew Achiacharus (Sennacherib's vezir, Tob. 1 22), who basely ill-used his benefactor, but came to grief himself while his victim escaped (Tob. 14 10); called Nadan in romance of Aḥiḳar (see ACHIACHARUS), and no doubt, therefore, the same as NASBAS (*νασβας* [BA], *ναβαδ* [א]; ܢܒܬ; *nabath* [Vg.], *nabal* [It.]), the *ἐξάδελφος* (EV 'brother's son') of Achiacharus (Tob. 11 18†), probably to be rendered, in accordance with the romance, '*sister's* son' (cp accompanying table). See ACHIACHARUS.

Tobiel
Tobit — Anael
Achiacharus (Tob. 1 21 *f.*) — sister
Nasbas (Tob. 11 18)
i.e., Nadan (romance)
prob. = Aman (Toh. 14 10).

2. (*αμαν* [BאAL]) 'Rest of Esther' 10 7, etc. *See* HAMAN.

AMANA (אֲמָנָה 'firm, constant'; 𝔊^BאA translates 'from the top of Amana' *ἀπὸ ἀρῆς πίστεως*; ܐܡܢܐ; *Amana*). 1. The name of a mountain, in Cant. 4 8, where 'the top of Amana' is introduced parallel to 'the top of Senir and Hermon.'

'With me from Lebanon, O bride, with me from Lebanon come;
From the summit of Amana, from the summit of Senir and Hermon.'

In the preceding distich reference is made to Lebanon. Evidently the poet means some part of the range of Antilibanus, probably the Jebel ez-Zebedāni, below which is the beautiful village of Zebedāni and the source of the Nahr Baradā (the Heb. ARANA, *q.v.*). In inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sennacherib the mountain ranges Libnana and Ammanana are coupled (Del. *Par.* 103 *f.*).

2. Considering how well the form Amana is attested, it becomes a question whether in 2 K. 5 12 we should not adopt the Kr. in preference to the Kt., and read 'Amana' (so AV mg.) or AMANAH (so RV mg.) as the old Hebrew name of the Nahr Baradā (see ABANA).

Many MSS with the two Soncino and the Brescia editions have this reading in the text in Kings; Targ. and Pesh., with the Complut. ed. of 𝔊 and the Syro-Hex. text, **also** presuppose it. T. K. C.

AMANAH (אֲמָנָה Kr.), 2 K. 5 12† RV = AV AMANA, *2*.

AMARIAH (אֲמַרְיָה [and אמריהו, see nos. 5, 6, 7] 'Yahwè hath spoken' [see NAMES, § 33] or 'promised.' Less probably 'man of Yahwè' on analogy of Palm. n. pr. אמרשמשא 'man of the sun,' see Baethg. *Beitr.* 89 n.;[1] ΑΜΑΡ[Ε]ΙΑ [BAL]), a name occurring frequently, but with the exception of (1) only in post-exilic literature.

1. b. Hezekiah, an ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph. 1 1, *αμορ[ε]ιου* [BA], *αμμορεου* [א*], *-ριου* [א^c.b vid.], *αμαριου* [א^c.c vid. Q]). The readings with 'o' as the second vowel suggest the pronunciation 'Amori' = Amorite. Another ancestor is called 'Cushi'—*i.e.*, the Cushite.

2. In list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 4 (*σαμαρ[ε]ια* [BA], *αμ.* [א], *-ιου* [L]) = 1 Ch. 9 4, IMRI, abbreviated form (אִמְרִי, *αμρ[ε]ι* [BA], *-βρι* [L]).

3. One of the b'ne BANI in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 42 (*μαρια* [Bא], apapras [AL]).

4. A priest in Zernbbabel's band (EZRA, ii. § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 2 ([*εσδραμ*]*αριαμ*[*αλουλ*] [B], *μαρεια* [א], *αμ.* [א^c.a], *αζαριας* [L]), cp *v.* 13 (*αραμια* [א*]), and in list of signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 3 [4] (*αμαριας* [L]). A comparison of

[1] For another suggested compound of [א]מר see MERIBBAAL.

the lists in Neh. with 1 Ch. 24 makes it plausible to identify 'Amariah' with the priestly house of 'Immer' (*v.* 14) whose institution is ascribed to David's time (see IMMER, 2).

In the following (nos. 5-8), the unhistorical nature of the context strongly suggests that the name is introduced merely to give an air of antiquity to this priestly family.

5. Chief priest, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19 11 אמריהו; Jos. apauras).

6. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 31 15 (אמריהו; papras [BA], *αμ.* [L]).

7. One of the b'ne Hebron, a Kohathite Levite (*αμαδια* [B]); 1 Ch. 23 19; in 24 23 אמריהו (*αμαριας* [A]).

8. Amariah occurs twice in the genealogy of the high priests, (*a*) as son of Meraioth; 1 Ch. 6 7 [5 33] (*αμαριας* [A]; Jos. *Ἀροφαῖος*) = 6 52 [37] (*αλιαρεια* [B, *i.e.*, MA misread ΛΙΑ]), and (*b*) as a son of Azariah, 6 11 [5 37] (*αμαριας* [AL]), cp Ezra 7 3 (*σαμαρεια* [BA] *αμαριου* [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 2 (*αμαρθειου* [B] *αμαριου* [AL], EV AMARIAS, as in 4 Esd. 1 2, *Ameriæ* [ed. Bensley]), probably the same as 5 above (cp Be.). See further HIGH PRIEST and note the suspicious recurrence of the sequence Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (cp We. *Prol.*(4) 222). See MERAIAH.

AMARIAS (ΑΜΑΡΙΟΥ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezra 7 3 AMARIAH (*q.v.*, 4).

AMABA (אמשא; rather, perhaps, עַמִּישַׁי Ammishai, cp ΑΜΕϹϹΑΕΙ [B in 2 S. 19, BA in *c.* 20, A in c. 17], -ΕϹΑΙ [A], -ΕϹϹΑ [L always; A occasionally], and other variants, see below; cp ABISHAI, AMASAI. The form Amasa rests on a false etymology [from עמש = עמס]; cp AMASHSAI; so Marq. *Fund.* 24).

1. Son of Abigail, the sister of Zeruiah and David (1 Ch. 2 16 *f.* 2 S. 17 25 *αμεσσει* [B], *-σσαει* [A]). His father was Jether a Jezreelite—not an 'Israelite' or an 'Ishmaelite' (see ABIGAIL, 2). He was among those that fell away from David to ABSALOM (*q.v.*), who entrusted him with the command of his forces (2 S. 17 25). In spite of this, David thought it prudent to conciliate Amasa by a promise of the same position in his own army, JOAB (*q.v.*) having earned the king's displeasure (2 S. 19 13 [14] *αμισσαι* [A]). On the renewal of revolt under Sheba (2 S. 20 1), in which according to one view he was implicated, Amasa was entrusted with mustering the men of Judah (*v.* 4). Joab soon took his revenge upon his rival. Amasa having failed to appear at the appointed time, David commissioned Abishai (2 S. 20 6)[1] to go with his men in pursuit of the rebels, and Joab naturally joined the party. The cousins met at Gibeon, and while Joab was pretending to give Amasa a friendly salute, he gave him a deadly blow[2] (2 S. 20 8-10). The narrator is not interested enough in the unfortunate man to tell us whether he ever received an honourable burial (*v.* 12 *αβεσσαει* [B once], *αμεσαι* [A once]). See SHERA, ii. 1 (end).

His death is referred to in 1 K. 2 5 *αμεσσαια* [B] *-σσα* [L], *αμμεσα* [A] and *v.* 32 (*αμεσσα* [EL; A omits]). (The *β* of *αμεσσαβ* in 1 Ch. 2 17 [B] may come from the following Hebrew word.)

2. (*ἀμασ[ε]ίας* [BAL]), an Ephramite, temp. Ahaz (2 Ch. 28 12†). T. K. C.

AMASAI (עֲמָשַׂי, perhaps rather to be read עַמִּישַׁי, Ammishai [so We. *IJG*(2) 24, n. 2], cp ܥܡܝܫܝ ܠܥܡܫܝ in 1 Ch. 6 25 35 ABISHAI; ΑΜΑϹΑΙ [BAL]. -ϹΕ [א]).

1. A name in the genealogy of Kohath (1 Ch. 6 25 [10], *αμεσσει* [B], *-μασι* [A], *-σα* [L]; 1 Ch. 6 35 [20], *αμαθειου* [B], *-μας* [A]).

2. Chief of David's 'thirty,' 1 Ch. 12 18 [19]; see DAVID, § 11 *a* iii., to whom the Chronicler ascribes an obviously not very ancient poetic speech.

He has been variously identified with Amasa (*e.g.*, by Ew.) and with Abishai, who is called Abshai in 1 Ch. 11 20. Ki. even corrects to 'Abishai' (*SBOT*, *ad loc.*). Neither Amasa nor Abishai, however, occupied the rank of chief of the thirty, according to the lists in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11. The matter is of no great moment, since the connection in which Amasai is mentioned in 1 Ch. 12 does not permit us to use the passage for historical purposes. The Chronicler's conception of Saul's fugitive son-in-law is dominated by the later view of David as

[1] Most critics change Abishai here and in *v.* 7 to 'Joab' (the reading of Pesh.), but perhaps mistakenly. See Bu. *SBOT*, *ad loc.*

[2] See Dr., or Bn., for restoration of the text.

the 'anointed' of Yahwè and the founder of the one legitimate dynasty (We. *Prol.*(2) 180).

3. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 15 24).

4. Ancestor of Mahath, a Kohathite Levite, temp. Hezekiah; probably a family name; cp no. 1 (2 Ch. **29** 12: μασι [BA], αμεσσι [L]).

5. See below, AMASHAI.

AMASHAI, or rather, as in RV, **Amashsai** (עֲמַשְׁסַי, where ס implies a reading עמסי based on a false derivation from עמס; perhaps really to be read Ammishai, see AMASAI), a priestly name in the post-exilic list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 15 *a*), Neh. 11 13 (αμαc[ε]ια [BℵA], -cαι [L], -μεcαι [A]) = 1 Ch. 9 12 where the name is MAASAI, AV MAASIAI (מַעְשַׂי [Bä. Gi.], some authorities מַעְ׳ [Gi.]; μααcαια [B], -σει [L], μαcαι [A]; [Syriac], in Neh. [Syriac]).

AMASIAH (עֲמַסְיָה, § **29**, 'Yahwè bears,' cp AMOS; μαcαιαc [B], -αιιαc [A], αμαcιαc [L]), one of Jehoshaphat's captains (2 Ch. 17 16†).

AMATHEIS (εμαθθιc **[B]**), 1 Esd. 9 29 AV = Ezra 10 28 ATHLAI.

AMATHIS (αμαθειτιν [A]), 1 Macc. 12 25† **AV**, RV HAMATH (*q.v.*).

AMAZIAH (אֲמַצְיָהוּ, and in nos. **2-4**, אֲמַצְיָה, § 29, 'Yahwè is mighty,' cp AMOZ; αμεcc[ε]ιαc [BAL], -εcι. [AL], -μαc[ε]ι. [BAQ], -μαcci. [L]).

1. b. Joash; father of Uzziah and king of Judah *circa* **796-790** B.C. (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ **35, 37**) **2** K. **14** 1-20 **2** Ch. 25. Two points in his favour are mentioned in Kings—viz., that he punished his father's murderers and that he reconquered the Edomites who had revolted (see EDOM, § 8; JOKTHEEL, 2). Whether he was to any extent successful against that restless and warlike people has indeed been doubted, but on grounds which will not bear examination.

Am. 1 11 *f.* is, in fact more than probably **a** later insertion (see AMOS, § 9), so that 'the inference, drawn from this passage by Stade (in '87) and Kittel, that Amos knew of no great calamity befalling Edom in recent times, falls to the ground.

Amaziah's unfortunate challenge to Joash king of Israel (who treated him, according to the narrative, '**as** a good-natured giant might treat a dwarf,' 2 K. 14 8 *ff.*) ended seriously enough, in the strengthening of the old supremacy of northern over southern Israel (see ISRAEL, § **31**). It is quite possible that the Edomites took advantage of the weakness of Judah to recover in some degree their independence; but of this we have no information.

The Chronicler assures us (2 Ch. 25 **14**) that, on his return from the sanguinary battle in the 'valley of salt' (cp 2 K. 14 7), Amaziah adopted the worship of the Edomitish deities, forgetting that such an act would be possible only if the Edomites were either the masters or the allies of the people of Judah.

Like his father, Amaziah died a violent death; possibly, as Wellhausen, Stade, and Kittel suppose, the conspiracy against him was not unconnected with the disgrace which he had brought on his country. The Chronicler's treatment of Amaziah's reign is of special significance for the Chronicler's period (see Bennett, *Chron.* **413-417**, and cp Kue. *Einl.* § **51**, n. **4**).

Sources. The account given in Kings is of composite origin. 2 **K.** 14 8-14 comes from **a** somewhat unfriendly source, which may be of N. Israelitish origin. The rest of ch. 14 belongs to the Deuteronomistic compiler, who lays stress on Amaziah's better side, and who **at** the close of his story probably makes use of the royal annals.

2. Priest of Bethel, temp. Amos (Am. 7 10 12). See AMOS, § 1.

3. A Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 34 αμασ[ε]ια [BA], -σσιου [L]).

4. A Merarite, temp. David (1 Ch. 6 45 [30] αμεσσεια (?)[B], -ασια [L], μαεσσια [A]).

T. K. *C.*

AMBASSADOR, the EV rendering of the following three Hebrew words :—

1. *Mēlīṣ* (מֵלִיץ) in 2 Ch. 32 31 (πρεσβύτης), more properly 'interpreter' (as EV in Gen. 42 23 [ἑρμηνευτής], in Is. 43 27 [RV mg. ambassador, ἄρχοντες 𝔊BℵAQΓ, but Aq. Sym. ἑρμηνεῖς], and in Job 33 23 [𝔊BℵA have θανατηφόροι]).

2. *Mal'ākh* (מַלְאָךְ) in 2 Ch. 35 21 Is. 30 4 33 7 Ez. 17 15 (√לאך to send; cp BDB *Lex.*, ***ad loc.***; ἄγγελος), **a** word used indefinitely of any messenger, so, *e.g.*, of **a priest** (cp Mal. 2 7), a prophet (Is. 42 19; οἱ κυριεύοντες), or (as frequently) an angel. *Mal'ākh*, accordingly, often approximates *to* the idea of 'ambassador': cp the emissaries sent to Edom, Sihon king of the Amorites, and Ammon (Nu. 20 14 21 21 πρεσβεις, Judg. 11 12; EV 'messengers').

3. *Ṣīr* (צִיר) in Is. 18 2 (ὅμηρα [BℵAQΓ and Th., but Aq. πρεσβύτης, Sym. ἀπόστολος, 'hostages,' cp 1 Macc. 1 10 8 **7** 9 53, etc.]), Is. 57 9 **R**V (AV '**messengers**'; **πρέσβυς**), Jer. 49 14 Pr. 13 **17** 25 13 (EV in the **last,** messenger, **ἄγγελος**) and Ob. 1 1 (**περιοχή**, **a** confusion with מְצוּדָה or מָצוֹר). The denom. vb. הצטיר, '*to* feign one's self an ambassador,' found in MT of Jos. 9 (cp EV) should he read הצטיד, 'take provision' (so RV mg. after most versions; cp Bennett, *SBOT*, ***ad loc.***).[1]

In the Apocrypha 'ambassador' represents **πρέσβυς, πρεσβ[ε]υτής** in 1 Macc. 9 70 **119** 14 **21** (**πρεσβύτεροι** [ℵV]) **40** (**πρεσβυτέροις** [V]) 15 17 2 Macc. 11 **34** (in 1 Macc. 13 14 **21** AV has '**messengers**'), and **ἄγγελος** in Judith 3 1 AV (RV here and EV elsewhere '**messenger**'). In NT the word occurs in 2 Cor. **5** 20 Eph. 6 20 (πρεσβεύω), Philem. 9 RV mg. (πρεσβύτης).

A distinction between messengers and diplomatic agents naturally presupposes an acquaintance with state-craft hardly possible in Israel before the monarchy, and even in David's time emissaries from one court to another were liable to be abused, although the punishment inflicted upon the offenders may suggest that ambassadorial rights were beginning to be recognised (see **2** S. 10 1 *ff.*). The first use of *ṣīr*, apparently the only approach to a specific word for 'ambassador,' naturally belongs to the time when Israel had been forced into diplomatic relations with Egypt and Assyria (of whose frequent intercommunication at a much earlier period the Amarna tablets tell us so much). From the nature of the case *ṣīr* is presumably a loan-word.[2] The employment of the term *mēlīṣ*, 'interpreter,' is the more interesting since Aramaic was the language of diplomacy for Assyrians and Hebrews; cp Is. **36** 11, and see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § **2.** See ***POST,*** RABSHAKEH.

S. A. *C.*

AMBER (חַשְׁמַל; in pause **[Ez.** 8 2, where, however, Co. regards it as a gloss] חַשְׁמַלָה).

1. Ḥashmal = amber. Cp Egyp. *ḥsmn*, 'electrum'? or 'bronze'; see EGYPT, § 36, last note, also Lag. *Uebers.* 221; but cp Erman, *ZDMG* 46 115 ['92], and also Ebers, *ib.* 31 454; against the usual explanation of ׳ח see König, *Lehrgeb.* 1 99. Fr. Del. in Bä.-Del. *Ezekiel* xii. identifies the Egyptian word quoted, and also Heb. חשמל, with Ass. *ešmarū* which he defines in *Ass. HWB* as **a** costly brilliant metal (?). 'So Hommel, ***Die*** *Semit. Völker* 1 450.

The Heb. *ḥashmal* occurs thrice (or twice; see above) in Ezek.[3], and is rendered by the EV 'amber.' 𝔊BAQ has ἤλεκτρον, Vg.[4] *electrum*, a rendering which most scholars (*e.g.*, Smend) have adopted, supposing, from the context, that some metallic substance is meant, and understanding ἤλεκτρον to mean here a certain alloy of gold and silver (Egyptologists have given the same meaning to the apparently related Egyptian word). This interpretation, however, rests upon a mistake as to the ancient use of the term ἤλεκτρον (see also EGYPT, § **36**, last note).

It is true the name is sometimes used of **a** metallic substance. Thus, to cite the earliest case, Sophocles (*Antig.* 1036-38) makes Creon speak of electrum from Sardis (**τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον**) and Indian gold (**καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν**), doubtless meaning by the former what the Greeks commonly called pale gold (**λευκὸς χρυσός**), a natural alloy of gold and silver (one part silver to three or four parts of gold) found native in great abundance in Lydia. That electrum, however was not a term commonly applied *to* such an alloy seems 'indicated by the pains which Strabo takes to explain the term as used in metallurgy of the residuum (**κάθαρμα**) left after the first smelting of gold ore (*circa* 146). He

[1] צִיר, 'ambassador,' appears in 𝔊 in four other places in Is., viz. 13 8 (for צִיר, 'a pang') 21 2 (צִירֵי מָרַי for צָרֵי מָדַי) 39 1 (between ספרים and מנחה) and 63 9 (for צָר compare Du., ***ad loc.***, Che. *Intr. Isa.* 350).

[2] The connection with Ar. *ṣār*, 'to go' (Ges.-Bu.), does not commend itself. It may perhaps be compared with Ass. *ṣirratu*, 'stick' or 'sceptre' (see Del. *Ass. HWB, s.v.*)—the official derives his name from the emblem of office, originally the courier's stick (?).

[3] 1 4 27, 'and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber,' '**I** saw as the colour of amber'; 8 2 'as the appearance of brightness as the colour of amber.'

[4] For **a** rendering ἶρις in Ezek. 1 4 see Field, *Hexapla.*

himself usually employs the expression 'pale gold' when he alludes to the native alloy. Sophocles, too (*l.c.*), shows that he is employing the word in an unusual and extended way, by appending the qualifying phrase 'from Sardis.

Usually the word has quite another meaning.

In Homer, *e.g.*, where the word occurs thrice and is significantly applied to an article trafficked in by Phœnicians, the trader who captured Eumæus is described (*Od.* 15 460) as having a golden necklace (μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο) strung with pieces of electrum (similarly in *Od.* 18 296, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον). The use of the term in the plural in these passages forbids us by any possibility taking it as meaning the gold and silver alloy.

If, then, by electrum the versions do not mean metallic electrum they must mean amber. There are, however, two kinds of amber, and it remains to consider which is meant. The one, usually a dark red (rarely of a light colour), is found in the south of Europe (Catania, Reggio) and in the Lebanon; the other, usually of a yellow or golden colour, but occasionally darker in hue, has from ancient times been met with in great abundance on the shores of the Baltic (whence our chief modern supply is derived), and also occurs on the coasts of the North Sea. As the Phœnician had red amber thus at his very door, he may early have learned to employ it for purposes of art and ornament, just as he learned his art of dyeing with purple from having the murex in abundance by his shores. Moreover, red amber is, as stated above, also to be found in Sicily, and may have been procmed thence. As increased demand called for an increased supply, traders, sailing round the coast of the Ægean in quest of new fishing grounds for the purple-fish, would naturally search keenly for fresh supplies of the precious substance, for the ancients prized amber far beyond its modern value.

Its power of attracting light substances, and the fact that when warmed it emitted a faint perfume, invested it for them with an element of mystery. How far they actually ascribed to it certain medicinal properties, as is still the case in the East with ambergris—an animal substance that has lent its name (adopted by us from the Arabs) to amber—it is impossible to say. As these two substances, which have really nothing in common save the power to emit a kind of perfume, have been called by the same name, the fact that ambergris is prized as an aphrodisiac may perhaps indicate that there was some belief that amber (electrum) possessed some similar potency. This is actually stated by Pliny (*NH* xxxvii. 3 11), who tells us that in his own time the peasant women in the regions north of the Po wore amher necklaces, chiefly as an ornament, but also for medical reasons, and goes on to enumerate a number of ailments for which it was regarded as a specific, either taken as a potion or applied externally. That its property of attraction (whence our modern word electricity) was early known to the Greeks is proved by the notice of Thales.

But how would red amber naturally give a name to a metallic electrum? To the eye of the Greek the essential, difference between pure gold and the alloy (to which we have in English confined the name electrum) being the pale colour of the latter (λευκὸς χρυσός), any name which he would apply to it to differentiate it from pure gold would naturally be one which would indicate this paleness. The reddish amber of the South would not furnish such a name, having no resemblance in hue to metallic electrum. But the yellow Baltic amber, varying as it does in shade from almost white to a bright golden, would give a fairly accurate description of the alloy, whose hue varies with the proportion of its component parts. Similarly when, in the second passage quoted above from the Odyssey, a necklace of gold set with pieces of amber is likened to the sun (ἠέλιον ὥς), the golden (Baltic) amber answers to the description far better than the red. We may assume, then, that from remote ages supplies of Baltic (yellow) amber as well as of red amber were available.

2. Perhaps yellow amber.

Nor is this a mere hypothesis. It has been removed from the realm of probability into that of established fact, by the finding of amber in the tombs discovered at Mycenae by D. Schliemann in 1876, and of beads of the same material in his more recent excavations at Tiryns. As the red amber and the Baltic amber differ essentially in chemical composition, Dr. Helm, an eminent chemist of Dantzig, has been able to prove by actual analysis that this amber is the Baltic variety Schliemann's *Tiryns*, 1886, App. p. 372).

It was, doubtless, from the German tribes along one of the highways which were in constant use in historic times that the ancient supplies of Baltic amber were obtained. We know that down to the time of Herodotus (about 430 B.C.) the Greeks had not as yet opened up any line of communication with the amber coasts from the side of the Euxine.

Herodotus visited Olbia, and though he has given a pretty full account of those regions, mentioning a trade-route leading towards the East, and though we kuow from his own words (3 115) that the amber trade was a subject which had excited his attention, he expresses the commonly received opinion that it was obtained at the mouth of the Eridanus [Pol.

Neither does Baltic amber seem to have reached Greece in his time by any Russian-Balltan route (59). Down to the time of Theophrastus (315 B.C.) it was entirely through northern Italy that the Greeks got their supply of it.[1] .The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and the valley'of the Po have yielded abundance of beads of Baltic amber, and similar beads are well known in the tombs of central Italy. We need have little hesitation, therefore, in believing the statement of Pliny[2] (*NH* xxxvii. 3 44) that it was brought by the Germans into Pannonia and thence reached the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic.[3] As the main lines of commerce change but little through the ages, it was probably by this route that the amber beads reached Mycenae and Tiryns in the bronze age. and articles of the same kind may even have reached Palestine. The bead found at Lachish, however, has been proved, since this article was in print, to be not Baltic amber, but, like that found at Tell-Zakariya (*PEFQ*, April 1899, p. 107), a resin, and no trace of amber has yet been found in Mesopotamia (Per.-Chip., *Art. Chald.* 2 362). Nevertheless it is possible that even the yellow variety may have reached Palestine in the sixth century B.C., and the view of the ancient versions that the Hebrew *ḥashmal* indicates this substance may be correct.

W. R.

AMEN (אָמֵן;[4] in 𝔊 usually γένοιτο;[5] in work of Chronicler ἀμήν, and so in NT very often),[6] an adj.[7] signifying stability, used only as an interjection expressive of assent of one kind or another.[8] Three stages may be distinguished: (1) *Initial* Amen, referring back to words of another speaker: probably the earliest usage, occurring even in common speech[9] (1 K. 1 36 Jer. 28 6 11 5, the only certainly pre-exilic Amens).[10] (2) *Detached* Amen, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Dt. 27 15-26 Neh. 5 13; double in

1. In OT.

1 They appear to have confused with it a stone called λιγγούριον or *ligurius*; as so often occurs they mistook the region whence the article was transmitted to them for the actual place of production (Theophr. *De Lap.* 16).

2 Pliny's statement is confirmed by a remark of Herodotus (1 196) from which it appears that the only knowledge then obtainable respecting central Europe came by way of the Veneti, a fact which shows that the Greeks knew of a line of communication in this direction.

3 Pytheas of Massilia had, in the fourth century B.C., found the Guttones gathering it and giving it in trade to the Tutones.

4 It probably occurs in twelve places in the Hebrew, for in Is. 65 16, although Aq. (πεπιστωμένως), Sym., Pesh., and Vg. have *amen*, it should probably (so Che. Di. Du. Rys. in *HS*, and perhaps Targ. Jon. 𝔊^{BאAQΓ} [αληθινον]) be vocalised otherwise, perhaps]$ (as in Is. 25 1, where indeed the Gk. Vss. [hut Sym. not, as usual, ἀμήν, but πίστει] and Vg. read *amen*). 𝔊^{BאAQ} read it also, in a corrupt text, in Jer. 15 11 and in Jer. 3 19. EV has *amen* always; RV even in Jer. 11 5. It occurs in six places in 𝔊 Apocr. (for Judg. 13 20 cp Eth. Pesh.). Vg. adds Tob. 9 12 13 23 and 2 Esd. [Neh.] 13 31; in Ecclus. 50 29 it is probably late.

5 Eight (eleven) times, ἀληθῶς once.

6 There is much variety of text. T R has it in some 119 places, of which RV rejects 19 (see below, § 2).

7 See, however, Earth, *NB* §§ 5*c* and 7*b*.

8 For three kinds see *Shebu'oth* 36*a* (mid.).

9 It seems most likely that in Jer. 3 19 𝔊 read אֵיךְ as 'א'ך = אָמֵן יהיה כ'.

10 𝔊 has it also in Jer. 3 19 15 11 (Is. 25 1 is not pre-exilic).

Nu. 5 22 and in Neh. 8 6 = 1 Esd. 9 47). Amen must have been in liturgical use in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 16 36 = Ps. 106 48). Later, but very similar, are Judith 13 20 Tob. 9 12 (Vg.), and Tob. 8 8. With the fact that none of these relates to temple service may be compared, *e.g.*, *Jer. Berach.* 14c. The Chronicler, however, appends Amen (*l.c.*) to extracts from Pss. 105 and 96.[1] *(3)* An apparent *final* Amen, there being no change of speaker; frequent from NT Epp. onwards, but in OT only *(a)* in subscription to first three (four) divisions of Psalter and *3* and 4 Macc.; and (6) at end of prayer, Neh. 13 31 and Tob. 13 18 (both only in Vg.). In Tob. 14 15 (BℵA) we have almost a fourth stage: (4) a simple *subscriptional* Amen, like that, *e.g.*, of the TR of Lk., without, strictly speaking, any preceding doxology.[2]

2. In NT. Just as 𝔊 translates, as we have seen, by *γένοιτο* in the Law, the Prophets, and even the Psalter, but has *ἀμήν* in the Chronicler and Apocrypha,[3] so in NT Lk. often avoids (omits or translates) Amen, and so even Mt. and to a *less* extent Mk. Stage (1) is represented by only Rev. 7 11[4] 19 4 22 20; (2) by Rev. 5 14 and the usage testified to by 1 Cor. 14 16; *(3)* by usage of Epistles (fifteen doxologies, mostly well-attested;[5] nineteen blessings, mostly ill-attested).[6] There is no real instance of (4).

The Amens of the Gospels (fifty-two in Synopt., twenty-five in Jn.) are a peculiar class, declared by Delitzsch[7] unparalleled in Hebrew literature: initial Amens[8] like group (1), but lacking the backward reference. The sayings that they introduce are only sometimes at all related to what now precedes them. The double *ἀμήν* (twenty-five times) of the Fourth Gospel, which occurs even in Jn. 13 38 (= Mk. 14 30, etc.), Delitzsch tried (*l.c.*) to explain as = Aram. *amen amēna* (= *amen amer' na* = *ἀμὴν λέγω*), which sounded like *ἀμὴν ἀμήν*; but Dalman argues strongly against this.[9] For a suggestion of a different kind see GOSPELS, § 50 n.[10]

The key to Rev. 3 14 *(6 ἀμήν)*, 'the faithful and true witness,' is doubtless the traditional Massoretic pointing of Is. 65 16 (at least as old as Sym.) with possibly a reminiscence of the practice of Jesus and of 2 Cor. 1 20. Here, again, *ἀμήν* is neut., and the meaning is not quite so clear; but probably *ἀμήν* has about the same meaning as in 1 Cor. 14 16.

3. Elsewhere. The liturgical use of Amen, vouched for in apostolic times by this last passage, is attested, **as** regards the Eucharist, by Justin Martyr for the second century (*Apol.* i. 65 ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν), and, *e.g.*, by Jerome two centuries later (preface to **Bk.** ii. of *Com.* **in** *Ep. ad Gal.*, 'ad similitudinem . . . tonitrui ***amen*** reboat'), while the introduction of Amen in the baptismal service is probably later. Post-hihlical Judaism greatly developed the theory of the use of Amen.[11] He who pronounced it was greater than he who blessed. It opened the gates of heaven.[12] It must not be uttered in a slovenly or careless way nor yet prolonged too much.[13] The synagogue still uses it[14] and Mohammedans are in the habit of adding it after reciting the first ***Sura*** of the Koran.

4. Literature. For references to older literature see, *e.g.*, Vigouroux, *Bib. Dict.*, *s.v.*; for references to passages in Talm. see, *e.g.*, Kohut's *Aruch*, *s.v.*; for usage of temple doxology Gratz, *MGWJ*, **1872**, pp. 481-96, and *Psalmen* 62 *f.* 91 *ff.*; for Rabbinic treatment, *e.g.*, Jebuda Khalas, *Sefer ha-Mūsār*, *Pereq.* 4 (ed. Mantua, 42); Yosēf Caro, ***Beth*** *Yosēf* (*Orach-Ḥajim*) ed. Venice, 1550, 1 fol. 84*b*-85*b*. On the whole subject see H. W. Hogg 'Amen, notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-diblical times,' *JQR* 9 1-23 ['96] and in connection therewith Nestle, 'The Last Word in the 'Bible,' *Expository Times* January 1897, p. 190 *f.* To the ahove must now be added Dalman, ***Die*** *Worte Jesu* 185-7 ('98). H. W. H.

[1] Gratz accordingly argues that our Psalms are a synagogue arrangement.

[2] This is hardly trne of *N*.

[3] Except Judith 13 20.

[4] W & H give in square brackets, also a final 'Amen.'

[5] All except 2 Pet. 3 18.

[6] Also Rev. 1 7 (after *ναί*; neither doxology [?] nor benediction). Rev. 1 18 1 Jn. 5 21 2 Jn. 13 are excluded in RV. Cp *JQR* 9 8, n. 2.

[7] 'Talm. Stud. ix. ἀμην ἀμην' in *ZLTh.*, 1856, pp. 422-4.

[8] All in sayings of Jesus. The five finals (Mt. 6 13 28 20 Lk. 24 53 Jn. 21 25 Mk. 16 20) are wanting in the best MSS.

[9] See Dalm. *Gram.* 193 (cp 71 77 4°, 228 146).

[10] See now also Dalman as cited below, § 4.

[11] See *Shebu'oth* as above and many other places. For an example of 'Amen' in conversation see *Aboda Zara* 65 *a*.

[12] *Shabbath* 119 *b* mid. of p.

[13] *Ber.* 47a.

[14] *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*, N. M. Adler, 1891.

AMETHYST (אַחְלָמָה, **αμεθυςτος** [BAF], -**coc** [L], *amethystus*, ܚܡܪ ܚܠܐ). The amethyst is a variety of quartz (SiO_2) or rock-crystal (see CRYSTAL) of a clear purple or bluish violet colour (from iron peroxide or manganese), often marked by zigzag or undulating lines (the colour being disposed in clouds). The Greek name [Rev. 21 20; cp Ex. 28 19 = 39 12 [36 19 in 𝔊]), which was adopted into Latin, implies an ancient belief that the wearer of an amethyst could drink wine freely without fear of intoxication. The source of the belief is found in Theophrastus (*Lap.* 31), who is the earliest Greek writer to mention the stone, which he calls *τὸ ἀμέθυσον*. It is a simple case of sympathetic magic, for Theophrastus says *(Lap.* **31)** *τὸ δὲ ἀμέθυσον οἰνωπὸν τῇ χρόᾳ*: it is wine-coloured, hence its amuletic potency against the effects of wine. Greek engravers, accordingly, not infrequently cut Bacchanalian subjects on this stone. Hence the point of several epigrams in the *Anthologia Græca* (*e.g.*, ix. 752, on the ring of Cleopatra, adorned with Methè, Drunkenness; and ix. 748, on a gem engraved with a figure of Bacchus). It seems also to have been believed that the amethyst caused those who wore it to dream, or to have propitious dreams (cp the extract from Burhān in Lag. *Mitth.* 1 236). Hence the engraved *aḥlāmā* of the 'Breastplate' of P (Ex. 28 19 = 39 12; explained by Kimchi as the dream-stone; אחלמה from חלם 'to dream') has been commonly identified with the amethyst (thus apparently 𝔊), so much engraved by the Greeks. Cp PRECIOUS STONES.

Del., on the other hand (*Heb. Lang.* 36 n.), derives the name from *Aḫlamū*, an Armenian people and district often mentioned in Babylonian and Assyrian texts, supporting the suggestion by referring to Sennacherib's repeated mention of Armenia and its neighbonrhood 'as a rich mine of certain precious stones. Bondi considers it an Egyptian loan-word (*ekhnōme*), while Di. connects it with חַלָּמִית, the mallow, and adopts the explanation 'green malachite.' W. R.

AMI (אָמִי), Ezra 2 57† = Neh. 3 59 AMON (*q.v.*, 3).

AMINADAB (**αμιναδαβ** [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 4 and (**αδμειν** [WH], mg. **αδαμ**) Lk. 3 33† AV = RV AMMINADAB (*q.v.*, 1).

AMITTAI (אֲמִתַּי, § 52, from אֱמֶת, 'truth,' perhaps a theophorous compound; αμαθ[ε]ι [BAL]), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. 14 25 Jonah 1 1?).

AMMAH, The Hill of (גִּבְעַת אַמָּה; **ο Βογνος αμμαν** [B], **-μα** [A], **εμμαθ** [L], **ομματον** or **αμμ.** [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 1 3]), an unknown hill 'that lieth before Giah' (?), where Joab and Abishai stayed their pursuit after Abner (2 S. 2 24†). From a comparison of *vv.* 24 and 25 it is probable that we should restore the name also in *v.* 25 for 'one hill,' AV 'an hill' (גבעה אחת).

So Bu. (*SBOT*), Sam. ***ad*** *loc.* following We.'s suggestion that the two hills are the same. Oherwise Klo., who in *v.* 25 conjectures (מעלה) אדמים, the ascent of Adummim.

In *v.* 24 Sym. (*νάπη*, gully) Theod. (*ὑδραγωγός*) and Vg. (*aquæductus*) give the word a meaning which it hears only in post-hihlical Heb.; moreover, since the word אמה has no article prefixed, it cannot be an appellative here.

AMMI (Hos. 2 1, and, in Lo-ammi, 2 23 [25]). See LO-RUHAMAH.

AMMI, Names with. The element *'ammi* (עַמִּי) *or*, at the end of words, *'am* (עָם) has been interpreted in three different ways—viz., as meaning (1) [my] people, or (2) [my] kinsman or uncle, or else as being *(3)* the proper name of a god.

1. Initial ammi- = paternal uncle. So long as this group of names[1] was regarded by itself in the light of Hebrew philology alone,

[1] The exact limits of the group are uncertain; for in the case of several names that have been included in it, it is open to doubt

the interpretation of *'ammi* or *'am* by 'people' seemed the most obvious, and was most generally adopted for all names alike. The result was not quite satisfactory; for 'the people of God' or 'my people is God' (*'ammiel*) was, to say the least, an improbable meaning for the name of an individual. In the light of comparative philology and newly recovered parallel names in other languages, it became clear that 'people' was not the real meaning of the element in at least some of the names.

Names containing *'ammi* are common in the S. Arabian inscriptions, but in Arabic *'amm* signifies not 'people,' but 'paternal uncle'; the latter, therefore is the most reasonable interpretation of the element in Arabic words.[1] A closely similar interpretation is also thoroughly justifiable in Hebrew names; for the sense 'uncle,' or perhaps rather the wider meaning 'kinsman,' is secured for *'am* in Hebrew by a comparison of the parallel phrases נאסף אל אבותיו and נא׳ אל עמיו; cp the use of Ass. ammi for 'relatives' in Am. Ta. 6.45 32 : *KB* 5 106. Such an interpretation of *'ammi* in Semitic names generally is further supported by the fact that names of this type are found side by side in the same languages with names identical in form containing another element (see ABI, NAMES WITH) denoting a kinsman; thus, *e.g.*, in Hebrew we have the series Ammi-el, *Abi*-el Hi-el (= *Ahi*-el); *Ammi*-nadab, *Ahi*-nadab, *Abi*-nadab; and,' in S. Arabian (following *CIS* 4, *e.g.*, nos. 73 *10* 20 *1* 69 55 *3*) *'Am*-karib, *Abū*-karib, *Akhū*-karib, *Dōd*-karib.[2]

The interpretation of *'ammi* by 'uncle' (or 'kinsman') in the S. Arabian names and in several at least of the Hebrew instances (Ammiel, Amminadab, Eliam, Ammi-shaddai (?), Ammihud, Ammizabad, Ben-ammi) is now generally adopted; and this much at least may be regarded as well established,—that names in Ammi originated from the same circle of ideas as names in Abi, Ahi.

On certain ambiguities common to all these classes see ABI, ii. (viz. on their syntactical interpretation, § 1 *ff.*; on the human or divine, § 4, and on the general or special character of the reference, § 5).

With regard to the present group in particular a further question has arisen, viz., whether *Ammi* be not

2. Not = divine proper name. the proper name of a deity, and whether, in consequence, we ought not to assume the worship of this deity where such names are found. The facts which have raised this question are these:—

(1) Compounds with *'ammi* are parallel not only to compounds with *abi*, *ahi*, but also to compounds with divine proper names, thus in Hebrew we have Ammiel, Joel; Eliam, Eli*jah*; *Ammi*-nadab, *Yĕhō*nadab (cp Moabite *Chĕmōsh*nadab), Rĕhab*'am* (Rehoboam), and Rĕhab*yah*. (2) The chief god of the Katabān (or *walad 'amm*—a S. Arabian people) was called 'Amm, and Emu was a name given to the god Nergal by the Shuhites on the W. of the Euphrates; cp also the name AMMON (*q.v.*, § 1).

These facts, however, are insufficient to warrant us in separating names in *'ammi*, at least so far as their origin is concerned, from names in Abi, Ahi. Still, it is clear that *'amm(i)*, originally an appellative, applicable and applied by different clans or peoples to different gods, became in certain cases the proper name of a deity; and, where this usage can be independently proved to have been current, it is reasonable to interpret *'am* in such cases as the proper name of a deity (cp the parallel case of Baal); but we are scarcely justified in inferring from the mere existence of names in *'ammi* among a certain people that the proper name of their deity was *'Amm*; in particular it is very hazardous to conclude that the Hebrews worshipped a distinct deity *'Amm*.

The compound personal and local names in *'am* (final) present some considerable difficulties, which require

3. Final 'am. further consideration. Is the sense 'kinsman' for *'am* always the most natural

whether the text is sound, sometimes even in its consonants. The apparent cases of initial *'ammi* are the following six:—Ammiel, Ammihud, Ammihur, Amminadab, Ammishaddai, Ammizabad, and the place-name Amad; those of final *am the following seven:—Aniam, Eliam, Ithream Jashobeam, Jekameam, Jeroboam, Rehoboam, and the five Glace-names Jibleani, Jokdeam, Jokmeam, Jokneam, Jorkeam. Cp also Ben-ammi. See JEROBOAM, also AMASA AMASAI, AMASHAI.

[1] Glaser produces evidencd from the Minæan inscriptions to show that 'ammi,' as a term for God, was long in use, though at a distance from Palestine: see Hommel, *ZDMG* 49 526 ('95). Cp, however, Gray's remark, *HPN* 53.

[2] But cp DOD, NAMES WITH, where a different view is taken.

me? Or may we in some cases prefer the sense 'people,' 'kinsfolk,' on the grounds put forward in *HPN* 59 (cp 215)? The question is sometimes complicated by the uncertainty of the form in MT. It must also be remembered that Rehoboam (Rĕhab'am) was the son of an Ammonitish mother, and that the eponym of the Ammonites is called Ben-ammi (see AMMON, § 1); also that some have conjectured that Jeroboam was of foreign origin. Cp IBLEAM, ITHREAM, JASHOHEAM, JEKAMEAM, JEROBOAM, JOKNEAM, etc. (see col. 138, n. *1*).

As to the history of the names. Actual usage proves

4. History of names. that, like compounds with *abi* and *ahi*, Semitic compounds with *'ammi* (=kinsman) are of a very ancient origin.

We find at least two names (Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga) of the type among the kings of Babylon belonging to the Hammurābi dynasty (circa †2000 B.C.), and not improbably a third in the name Hammurabi itself.[1] The non-Babylonian character of these names has gained general acceptance in spite of Jensen's criticism (*ZA* 10 342 *ff.* ['95]); according to Winckler (*GI* *130*) they are of Canaanitish, according to Sayce (*RP*(2) 3 10 *ff.*) and Hommel (*AHT* 98 *ff.*), of Arabian origin.

Names of the type are certainly common in the early S. Arabian inscriptions; and Hommel goes so far as to assert that the biblical names beginning with *ammi* are, like those of the kings of the Hammurabi dynasty, of Arabian origin, and were introduced among the Hebrews at the time when they had close intercourse with the Arabs in Sinai (*ZDMG* 49 525, n. *1* ['95]). However this may be, it is clear not only that these names are of ancient origin, but also that at a still comparatively early period they fell into disuse among the Hebrews, and also, according to Hommel (*ANT* 86), among the *S.* Arabians. The only question with regard to the Hebrew instances is whether one or two of them (especially AMMI-SHADDAI, *q.v.*) are late—*i.e.*, post-exilic—artificial formations. Hommel has recently defended the genuine antiquity of 'Ammi-shaddai on the ground of its virtual equivalence to Ammi-satana (see above); but, even granting his premises, his conclusion does not necessarily follow, and, as a matter of fact, the equivalence is questionable; for (1) the transliteration of Ammi-satana is uncertain: some—*e.g.*, Sayce (*PSBA*, Nov. '97, p. 292)—transliterate Ammiditana; and (2), if it be correct, the word is quite as possibly a 3rd sing. pf. (so Winckler, *l.c.*) as = 'our mountain.' Cp SHADDAI, § 2.

The most recent discussions of these names (together with references to the literature, which is considerable) will be found in Gray, *HPN* 41-60 198 *f.* 245 253 *ff.* 323, *Expositor*, Sept. 1897, 173-190, and Hommel, AHT 48 83 *ff.* 106 *ff.* G. B. G.

AMMIDIOI, AV **Ammidoi** (αμμιδιοι [B]), 1 Esd. 5 20. See CHADIASAI.

AMMIEL (עַמִּיאֵל), § 46, 'El is my [?] kinsman,' cp ELIAM and AMAD, and see AMMI, § 1 *f.*, αμ[ε]ιηλ [BAL]).

1. Danite 'spy' (Nu. 13 12 [P]).

2. Father of Machir, 2 S. 9 4 (αμαηρ [B], -μμιηλ [L]), 5, 17 27 (αμιηρ [A]).

3. Doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26 5).

4. Father of Bathsheba, 1 Ch. 3 5 (ηλα [L]), called in 2 S. 11 3 ELIAM, 2. *See* AHITHOPHEL.

AMMIHUD (עַמִּיהוּד, 'my [?] kinsman is glory,' § 46, see AMMI, § 1, cp also AHIHUD; εμιουδ [BA], αμ. [L]).

1. Father of Talmai, king of Geshnr: 2 S. 13 37 Kr., Kt. עמיחור, AMMIHUR (*q.v.*).

2. Father of Elishama (*1*), temp. Moses; Nu. 1 10 2 18 7 48 53 10 22† [P] (εμιουδ [FL], σεμ. [AF in 1 10, and F in 7 48 10 22]); 1 Ch. 7 26 (Αμιουειδ [B], -ουδ [A]).

3. Father of Shemuel (2), temp. Joshua; Nu. 34 20 [P] (σεμιουδ [B], εμ. [Bab AFL]).

4. Father of Pedahel, temp. Joshua; Nu. 34 28 [P] (βενιαμ[ε]ιουδ [B], αμιουδ [AFL]).

5. Father of Uthai, one of the b'ne Perez; 1 Ch. 9 4 (σαμμιου [B], αμιουδ [AL]). The name is not found in the ‖ Neh. 11 4. See ATHAIAH.

AMMIHUR (עַמִּיחוּר), father of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 *S*. 13 37 Kt.; Kr. [acc. to Gi. also Kt. in some

[1] Cp *HPN* 56, and see HAM (i.). But cp references in Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* 320, *s.v. xammu*.

texts] ; 𝔊^BAL, etc., AMMIHUD [*q.v.*, ■]). Kr. may be a miscorrection, since a compound of חוּר would be not unlikely for a native of the S. Palestinian Geshur (see GESHUR, 2). Cp perhaps the Nab. and Sin. חורו ; and see HUH.

AMMINADAB (עַמִּינָדָב, § 46, 'my kinsman apportions,' or 'the [divine] kinsman is munificent'; ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝΑΔΑΒ [BAL]).

1. Father of Elisheba, Aaron's wife, and of Nahshon 'head' of Judah [see ELISHEBA] (Ex. 6 23, αμιναδαμ [A]; Nu. 1 7, -δαμ [F]; 2 3 7 12 17 10 14 [P] αβιναδαβ [F]†). The names of father and son have been introduced into the genealogy of David (Ruth 4 19 *f.* 1 Ch. 2 10; also Mt. 1 4 Lk. 3 33, where—AV AMINADAB [on the variations Aminadam, Adan, see Tisch.]; cp We. *De Gent.* 17).
2. A Levite, temp. David (1 Ch. 15 10 *f.*).
3. b. Kohath, 1 Ch. 6 22 [7] (ισσααρ [A], *i.e.*, IZHAR, the MT reading in the ‖ *v.* 38). See IZHAR (1), ELISHEBA.
4. See ABIHAIL, 5.

AMMINADIB, an imaginary name in Cant. 6 12 AV, =עַמִּינָדִיב, a reading supported by 𝔊 (ΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝΑΔΑΒ [BℵA]), and the St. Petersburg Heb. MS (Strack) and other codices. To be consistent, however, AV should have recognised the existence of a proper name also in 7 1 [2] (MT *bath-nādīb* ; EV 'prince's daughter'; θ. ναδαβ [BK]), and rendered 'O daughter of Nadib,' or with 𝔊^A (ο. αμιναδαβ) 'of Amminadib.' The *dramatis personæ* of the pastoral poem *or* drama will then receive the addition of the father of the heroine (so Gratz). It has been shown elsewhere, however (see CANTICLES, § 6 *f.*), that the supposed drama or pastoral poem and its plot are non-existent; we are not in want of an 'Amminadib.' In 7 1 [2], the rendering of EV, 'O prince's daughter,' is sufficient, and נדיב (*nādīb*) at the end of 6 12 probably means 'prince,' as in 7 1 [2]. That '*ammi* and *nādīb* in 6 12 are separate words is expressly stated in the Massora, and most of our MSS follow this rule (so, too, Rashi and Ibn Ezra). On the right reading and translation of 6 12 *b*, and the right position of 6 11 *f.*, see CANTICLES, § 16. T. K. C.

AMMISHADDAI (עַמִּישַׁדָּי, §§ 42, 46, ΑΜ[Ε]ΙϹΑΔΑΙ [BAF], -ΔΕ [L]), father of Ahiezer (1), temp. Moses [P]; Nu. 1 12 2 25 (ϹΑΜ. [A]), 7 66 71 10 25 (ΜΙ. [A])†. The name seems to be a genuine old Semitic personal name (cp, perhaps, Ammi-satana at Babylon, 2161-2148 B.C.), and may mean 'The divine kinsman is my Lord.' Cp SHADDAI, § 2 *b* (end); AMMI, § 1. T. K. C.

AMMIZABAD (עַמִּיזָבָד; see AMMI, § 1), apparently son and lieutenant of BENAIAH, 1 (1 Ch. 27 6); but the passage is obscure and certainly corrupt (ΖΑΒΑΔ ... ΛΑΙΒΑΖΑΘ [B], ΑΜΙΡΑΖ. [A], ΑΜΕΙΝΑΖΑΒΑΔ [L, pointing to the reading Aminadab], ܥܡܝܙܒܕ).[1] See DAVID, § 11 *c*.

AMMON, AMMONITES. The people are called 'Children of Ammon' (בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן) or 'Ammonites'

1. Name. (עַמּוֹנִי, etc.); only twice is the tribe referred to as 'Ammon' (1 S. 11 11 [but see 𝔊], Ps. 83 7). For 2 Ch. 20 1 see MEUNIM (*c*), and for 2 Ch. 26 8, *ib.* (*b*) n.

𝔊^BAL αμμων but αμμαν in Gen. 19 38 [ADE], Nu. 21 24 [B once, AF twice]; Deut. 2 19 37 [B^ab A] 3 11 [B^ab AFL] 16 [BAFL]; αμμως Zeph. 2 8 [ℵ*]. The Ethnic αμμαν[ε]ιτης, or αμα. [A in 2 S. 11 1 *f.* 23 37, 1 K. 14 21]; and αμμων[ε]ι Ezra 9 1 Neh. 2 10, but αμμωνιτης [L] Neh. *l.c.* and in 13 1. The Ammonite persons mentioned in OT are Baalis, Hanun, Naamah (2), Nahash, Shimeath, Shobi, Tobiah, and Zelek; and in Apocr. Achior and Timotheus.

In the cuneiform inscriptions the land of Ammon is called Bît-Ammān (shortened into Amman), on the analogy of Bît-Ḫumri (Omri)=Samaria, as if Ammon were a person. The ancestor of the tribe, however, is not said, in the Hebrew Genesis, to be Ammon, as the ancestor of the Moabites is styled Moab, but Ben-ammi (בן־עמי; Gen. 19 38 [J]). The name of the reputed ancestor is indeed given in Gen. 19 38 (BAL; with which Vg. agrees) as Ammon; ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀμμάν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ γένους μου. The received Hebrew text, however, appears to regard the name of the father of the Ammonites as Ben-ammi ('son of my kinsman'), and it should be noted in this connection that 𝔊^BAL (not Vg.) of *v.* 37 inserts an etymology for Moab, viz. 'from my father.' The Yahwist's etymologies are, as they stand, examples of popular paronomasia. They may point the way, however, to more probable explanations, and we may safely regard both *ab* 'father' and *'am* ('uncle,' 'kinsman') as divine names:

Gesenius long ago compared the compound proper names Ammiel, Amminadab,[1] and J. Derenbourg in 1880 suggested (*REJ* 1 123) that Ammi may be a name of the local divinity of the Ammonites, comparing the Ammonitish royal name Amminadab (Del. *Par.* 294), which on the analogy of Kammuš-nadab=Chemosh-nadab, should contain a divine name. A comparison with the parallel names shows however that Ammi, if a divine name at all, was clearly known as such over a much wider area than the narrow territory of Ammon (cp NAMES, § 46;[2] AMMI, ii. § 2).

According to Judg. 11 13 22, the land 'from Arnon unto Jabbok and from the wilderness unto Jordan,' was

2. Land and People. originally occupied by the Ammonites, who were dispossessed by the Amorites under Sihon, some time before the Israelitish invasion. This evidence, however, is of doubtful value, since the section Judg. 11 12-29 is of uncertain origin, and may be no longer in its original form (see Bu. Comm. 81; and cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 125; Ki. *Gesch.* 2 80). At any rate, all that Nu. 21 24 (cp Judg. 11 21 *f.*) affirms is that the Israelites conquered the land of the Amorites 'from Arnon unto Jabbok, (that is) unto (the land of) the Ammonites,' and, as the same verse continues, 'the border of the Ammonites was Jazer' (so Ew., Di., Nöld. reading יַעְזֵר with 𝔊^BAFL instead of עַז)—*i.e.*, the frontier town of the Amorites towards Ammon was Jazer (see 71.32). According to this statement, the Ammonites occupied the east of the district now called Belḳā, a view which accords excellently with the easterly position of the ancient capital city Rabbah or Rabbath-Ammon, and is no doubt accurate for the period to which JE belongs.

Little is known of the social condition of this people; but there is nothing to suggest a high degree of civilisation. There were no doubt other 'cities' besides Rabbah (Judg. 11 33 2 S. 12 31); but they were too insignificant to be mentioned by name. Although the district of Rabbah (see RABBAH) was exceptionally well irrigated, the total area of tillage between the Israelite frontier and the arid steppes to the east was narrow. Some of the Ammonitish clans must have ranged over these steppes as nomads. Their population, too, must have been comparatively small. According to all analogies they would enter from time to time into loose and shifting alliances with the neighbouring tribes; so that their fighting strength would be subject to great and sudden fluctuations.

The real history of the Ammonites does not begin

3. Traditions. till the time of Saul, though we have one very interesting and probable tradition from the legendary period of the Judges (see below on Jephthah).

We do indeed hear, in a passage that sounds like history (Gen. 14 5), of a people, called Zuzim, whom Chedorlaomer 'smote in Ham' (בְּהָם)—a name which is most probably corrupt (see HAM, ii.), but which some regard as another form of Ammon; and it is tempting to identify the Zuzim with the Zamzummim whom, according to Deut. 2 20 *f.*, the Ammonites in early time; dispossessed. But what we hear of the Zamzummim has a family likeness to the legends of other aboriginal races which were expelled by more powerful invaders, and the author of Dt. 1-4 40 (D2) did not write till after 597 B.C. (Kue. *Hex.* 270). In his time there were various influences at work to hinder the accurate writing of history, and it is even doubtful whether we can safely accept what he tells us of the early

[1] See Barnes, *The Peshitta Text of Chronicles.*

[1] Cp also Nestle, *Eig.* 90, 187 (n.).
[2] For further evidence in favour of a Semitic god Ammu, Ammi, *see* Hommel's review of Meissner's 'Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht,' *ZDMG* 49 522 *ff.* ['95]; but cp Jensen's criticism (*ZA* 10 342 *f.* ['95]).

relations between the Israelites on the one hand and the Moabites and the Ammonites on the other (Dt. 29 19 37). All we can say is that the story in Gen. 19 36-38 (J) proves an early Israelitish sense of kinship (combined however with moral repugnance) to the Moabites and Ammonites, so that it is not in itself incredible that the Israelites should have refrained from attacking these two peoples. True, in Jos. 13 25 (P) we are told that 'half the land of the Ammonites' was assigned to the tribe of Gad; but the district intended here may be the Amoritish kingdom of Sihon, and so pre-suppose the view of history given in Judg. 11 13-22 (see above, § 2).

Dt. 23 4 [3] affirms that the Ammonites and Moabites hired Balaam to curse Israel, and did not supply Israel with provisions, as a punishment for which they are to be excluded from the Israelitish community to the tenth generation.

The spirit and purport of this passage, however, is at variance with that of Dt. 2 27, and the narrative of Balaam in Nu. 22-25 (mainly JE) speaks only of the Moabites. For several reasons it is very probable that Dt. 23 1-8 [2-9] (see BALAAM, § 7) is a record, not of the pre-exilic, but of the post-exilic period when 'the problem as to who should and who should not be admitted into the community was a burning question' (Ku. *Hex.* 265). At any rate the view which this passage presents of the Ammonites cannot be accepted.

It is of more historical interest that in Nu. 22 we have a combination of two distinct traditions (E and J) respecting the origin of Balaam, one of which represents him as an Ammonite (see BALAAM, § 1).

The settlement of Israelitish tribes in Gilead and Bashan (see MANASSEH) could not but excite the animosity of the neighbouring peoples. No doubt there was a chronic border-warfare sometimes developing into more serious hostilities, sometimes mitigated by truce, alliances, or the subjection of one or other of the combatants. In Judg. 10 6-12 7 we have an account of the deliverance of the Israelites of Gilead from Ammonitish oppressors by a recalled outlaw named Jephthah. The traditional stories have been much edited (see JUDGES, § 17) and tell us naturally more about Jephthah (who was one of the actors in a most moving tragedy) than about the Ammonites. We are upon safer ground in the story of Saul.

4. Saul and David.

The victory of this heroic chieftain over the Ammonitish king Nahash, who, encouraged by the weakness of cis-Jordanic Israel, had besieged Jabesh-gilead, and displayed his deep contempt for his foes, is doubtless historical (1 S. 11). It is also thoroughly credible that David, when out of favour with Saul, received friendly treatment from Nahash (so we must interpret 2 S. 10 2). Equally intelligible is it that a change ensued in the relations between David and the Ammonitish court when the former had taken up the work, interrupted by the death of Saul, of liberating and uniting the Israelitish tribes. Only we must not, it would seem, place the war with the Ammonites too late. The gross insult offered by Hanun, the son of Nahash, to the ambassadors of David implies that the power of the latter had not yet been so consolidated as to wipe out the recollection of the days of Israel's humiliation. The insult was bitterly avenged. Ammon and its allies were defeated, and the power of the former was, for the time, broken (see 2 S. 12 31).

It is noteworthy that Shobi, son of Nahash, of Rabbath-ammon, was friendly to David during Absalom's revolt (2 S. 17 27), that ZELEK, an Ammonite, was among David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23 37), and that Solomon had an Ammonitish wife (NAAMAH, 2) whom one account (see Klostermann) makes the grand-daughter of Nahash, and who became the mother of Rehoboam (1 K. 14 21; the details in 1 K. 11 1-8 are untrustworthy). See NAHASH, 3.

It is probable that the Ammonites recovered their independence after Solomon's death. Later, like the kings of N. Israel, they became tributaries of the Assyrians; this is expressly mentioned by Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon (Schr. *KGP* and *COT*). So far as our oldest evidence goes, they caused no serious trouble again to the Israelites till the time of Jeroboam II., when, as Amos tells us (Am. 1 13), they made incursions into Gilead, and displayed great

5. Assyrian Age.

inhumanity, which probably from their own point of view was but justifiable revenge. The Chronicler, indeed, relates victories over the Ammonites won by Jehoshaphat and Jotham (2 Ch. 20 27 5, cp 26 8); but these, according to Robertson Smith (*OTJC*(2) 146), are Midrash. From Jer. 49 1, we may infer that after the deportation of the trans-Jordanic Israelites in 734 the Ammonites occupied the land of Gad; and, even if Jer. 49 be post-exilic, the fact is too probable to be doubted. It is this outrage upon 'Yahwè's people' which seems to be alluded to in Zeph. 2 3-11 Jer. 9 26 [25] 25 21. Once again the vindictiveness of the Ammonites was manifested when, in the reign of Jehoiakim, they made incursions into Judah as the auxiliaries of Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 24 2). This is probably referred to in Ezek. 21 28 *f.* [25 *f.*]. Later, however, the general fear of the Babylonian rule seems to have altered the policy of the Ammonites, for Jer. 27 3 brings before us the king of Ammon entering into a league against Babylon with Zedekiah and other princes. It is to this act of rebellion that Ezekiel refers (21 18-32 [13 *ff.*]) when he anticipates the punishment of the Ammonites, while in 25 1-7 he threatens the same people with destruction for their malicious demeanour at the captivity of the Jews. Did the Ammonites withdraw in time from the anti-Babylonian league? It is a very probable conjecture, and, strange as it may seem, Jewish fugitives are said to have sought refuge with Baalis, king of Ammon, who instigated them basely to assassinate the noble GEDALIAH, 1 (Jer. 40 14).

In later times we find an Ammonite[1] among the chief opponents of Nehemiah, and at the same time connected by marriage with distinguished Jews (Neh. 6 18 13 4; cp TOBIJAH, 4). Other Ammonitish women had married into Jewish families (Ezra 9 1 *f.*)—*i.e.*, according to Kosters, into families which had remained on Jewish soil and not been touched by the reforming spirit of Ezra (see EZRA, ii. § 12). This would be all the easier if we are right in inferring from Jos. 18 24 (*vv.* 12-28 belong to P) that in *post-exilic* times there was in Benjamin a place called 'Village of the Ammonites' (CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI). It is to this period of mixed marriages that we should not improbably refer the composition of Dt. 23 1-8 (see above), in which passage are mentioned the same three peoples as in Ezra 9 2.[2]

6. Persian and Greek.

Nearly three hundred years later the Ammonites (Timotheus) are among the enemies defeated by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. 5 6-18); they are also mentioned in a psalm assigned by some to the same critical period (Ps. 83 7).[3] Up to this time, then, Ezekiel's threat (Ezek. 25) against the Ammonites as well as against the Moabites and (virtually) the Edomites that they should be dispossessed by the 'sons of the East' (*i.e.*, the Arabian nomads) had not been fulfilled so far as the Ammonites are concerned. Their fate, however, cannot have been very long delayed. In the fifth century B.C. we already find 'Arabians' among the enemies of Nehemiah (Neh. 2 19 4 7 [1]), and we can hardly doubt that by degrees the Ammonites, like the Moabites before them, had to amalgamate with the land-hungry intruders.

It is true, Justin Martyr, who died 166 A.D., states (cp *Tryph.* 119) that the Ammonites were still numerous in his time; but Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5) once says precisely the same thing of the Moabites, though elsewhere he speaks of the Moabites and Gileadites as Arabians (*Ant.* xiii. 9 1), which agrees with the statement of Origen (*in Jobum* 1 1) that the term Ammonites had become merged in that of Arabs. This makes it probable that the omission of 'Ammonites' in 1 Esd. 8 69 (= Ezra 9 1) was not accidental but deliberate.

The close connection of Ammon with Moab, and, in

1 See, however, BETH-HORON, 4.

2 Prof. Ryle (*Ezra and Neh.* 115) thinks that 'the mention of the Ammonite, Moabite, and Egyptian together, suggests the influence of Deut. 23 3-7 [4 *ff.*].' Guthe (*SBOT*) assigns the enumeration of the peoples to the Chronicler.

3 Cp also ACHIOR.

a less degree, with Israel, and the fact that the Moabites spoke a dialect of Hebrew (see HEBREW, § 6) renders it almost certain that the Ammonites also spoke the 'language of Canaan.' This view is confirmed by Ammonitish proper names', *e.g.*, Hanun, 2 S. 10 1 (חנון 'treated graciously'); Nahash, 1 S. 11 1 (נחש 'serpent'); Naamah, 1 K. 14 21 (נעמה 'pleasant'); and the royal names Amminadab (see above, § 1), Puduilu = Abdeel (Jer. 36 26), and Ba'sa = Baasha (Schr. *COT* 1 127).

7. Language.

Baethgen's argument (in his *Beiträge*) for the polytheism of the Ammonites is based partly on Judg. 10 6, partly on the analogy of Moabitish religion. The only extant Ammonitish proper name, however, which can be held to be compounded with a divine name other than that of the supreme God, is Baalis (see BAALIS). At any rate Milcom was as much the great national god of Ammon as Chemosh was of Moab (see MOLOCH); the strange slip by which Jephthah is made to speak of Chemosh as the god of Ammon suggests that 'Ammon' has been substituted by an editor for 'Moab' in the passage (Judg. 11 12-28) in which it occurs. In 2 S. 12 30 where Milcom (*q.v.*) should be read instead of *malkām* 'their king,' reference seems to be made to a huge statue of Milcom in the capital city. The statement that Solomon became a worshipper of Milcom in his old age rests on no good authority (see SOLOMON). When we pass to later times, it is tempting to infer with We. (*IJG* (2) 156, n. 1) from the name of Nehemiah's Ammonitish enemy that the worship of Yahwè had begun to attract the Ammonites. The dissolution of the old national bonds may have favoured the growth of a monotheistic tendency. T.K.C. (W.H.B.)

8. Religion.

AMMONITES (עַמּוֹנִים), 2 Ch. 20 1, RV^mg. MEUNIM (*q.v.*, [*c*]).

AMMONITESS (עַמֹּנִית), 1 K. 14 21 31 2 Ch. 12 13 24 26. See AMMON.

AMNON (אַמְנוֹן, in 2 S. 13 20† אֲמִינוֹן, *i.e.*, 'safe'?, by some regarded as a diminutive used in a contemptuous sense [cp Dr. *TBS*, *ad loc.* Wr. *Ar. Gram.* (2) I. § 269; Ges. *Heb. Gram.* [ET '98] *250*, n. 1]; We. [*IJG* (2) 24, n. 2] explains as אִמִּינוֹן, 'my mother is the serpent,' see NUN; ΑΜΝΩΝ [BAL], ΑΜΜΩΝ [A, 2 S. 13 1-6 10*a*]).

1. David's eldest son (see DAVID, § 11 iii. *d*), slain by Absalom in revenge for his outrage on Tamar (2 S. 3 2 13 1 *ff.*; 1 Ch. 3 1†).

2. In genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 20†).

AMOK (עָמוֹק, 'deep, inscrutable'), post-exilic priestly family; Neh. 12 7 20 (om. Bℵ*A; ΑΜΟΥΚ [L and, in *v.* 7, ℵ^c.a mg. sup. in *v.* 20 ℵ^c.a mg. inf. ΑΜΟΥ]). See EZRA, *a*, § 66, § 11.

AMOMUM (ΑΜΩΜΟΝ [Ti. WH following ℵ*AC]), an unidentified aromatic substance, mentioned only in RV mg., Rev. 18 13 (RV Spice, AV om. with Bℵ^c; Wyclif, however, gives 'amome'). The classical 'amomum' (= 'blameless'?) was a shrub of Eastern origin ('Assyriuni vulgo nascetur amomum,' Verg. *Ecl.* 4 25), from which were made oil for funeral rites and unguents for the hair. As, however, it is used also of any odour pure and sweet (Salm. *nd Solin* 284), its identification is uncertain. It may possibly be the vine *Cissus vitigena* (Linn.), a native of Armenia. The modern term is applied to a genus of aromatic plants (N.O. Zingibraceæ), including the cardamon and seeds of Paradise.

AMON (אָמוֹן), Jer. **46 25** RV. See NO-AMON.

AMON (אָמוֹן, אָמֹן, § 67; 'firm'? 'workmaster'? but see below). 1. (*αμως* [BA], *-ων* [L]; ܐܡܘܢ.) Fairly well attested as the name of the son of king Manasseh himself also king of Judah; 2 K. 21 18-26 (*αμμων* [A]) 2 Ch. **33** 14 (*αμνων* [B*A*, see Swete]), 2 Ch. 33 20-25. After a reign of 'two years' (*circa* 638 B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 36) he was assassinated by certain of his courtiers (see Kittel, *Hist.* 2 378). The event produced a profound sensation. Amon, though disliked by religious reformers, was a favourite with the people, who avenged his death. If his name is derived from the Egyptian (Theban) sun-god, it is an interesting proof of the fluctuations of political party (Egyptian and Assyrian) in the reign of Manasseh (cp ISRAEL, § 36).

2. (*σεμμηρ* [AL]) less certainly, the name of a governor of Samaria under Ahab; 1 K. 22 26 (*Σεμηρ* [B], *Αμμων* [A]) = 2 Ch. 18 25 (*Εμηρ* [B]). 𝔊 pleads strongly against the correctness of the form Amon. Semer or Semmer, indeed, can hardly be correct but Emer or Emmer is the 𝔊 form for the Immer of MT in Jer. 20 1 and elsewhere (see IMMER), and out of this form both Amon and Semer (שֶׁמֶר) can easily have arisen as misreadings. See Sta. *ZATW* 5 173-175 ['85].

3. (*αμεει* [L].) The b'ne Amon (so MT), a group of Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Neh. 7 59 (*ημειμ* [BℵA]) = Ezra 2 57 AMI (אָמִי; cp 𝔊^L everywhere; *ημει* [BA]) = 1 Esd. 5 34 ALLOM, RV ALLON (*αλλων* [B], *αδλ.* [A], *i.e.*, ΛΛ and ΔΛ for M).

T. K. C.

AMORITES (אֱמֹרִי, collective, and always with article, except Nu. 21 29 Ezek. 16 4 5; ΑΜΟΡΡΑΙΟΙ [BAL]).

Other 𝔊 readings are:—*αμμορρεοι* [Is. 17 9 ℵ], *αμαρραιοι* [Dt. 4 F, 2 K. 21 11 A, 1 Ch. 1 74 L], *αμορρει* [Judg. 10 8 B], *αμορις* Gen. 14 13 A], *αμορ[ε]ι* [Ezra 9 1 BA], *αμμοραιος* [1 K. 7 14 A], *Amoritæ*).

In the List of Peoples 'the Amorite' appears among sons 'begotten' by Canaan (Gen. 10 16 J = 1 Ch. 1 14).

The term is used: (1) of a pre-Israelitish people living E. of the Jordan, Nu. 21 13 21 25 Josh. 24 8 (all E), also Josh. 2 10 9 10 (JE), Dt. 1 4 3 2 8 9 Judg. 10 8 11 1 K. 4 19 (𝔊^BL om.), Ps. 135 11 136 19, and elsewhere, (2) of a people on the W. of Jordan, Josh. 10 5 *f.* 24 12 15 18 (all E), also Josh. 7 7 (JE), 5 1 10 12 (both D), Judg. 1 34-36 6 10; 1 K. 21 26, 2 K. 21 11, 1 S. 7 14, 2 S. 21 2; (3) of a southern people, Dt. 1 7-44, cp Gen. 14 7; (4) of the ancient population of Canaan in general, Gen. 15 16 (J or R), 48 22 (E), Am. 2 9 *f.*, and Is. 17 9 (Lag. WRS Che. following 𝔊^BℵAQΓ) with the Hivites.

The Amorites are mentioned also in the lists of Canaanitish peoples subjugated by the Israelites (Gen. 15 21 Ex. 3 8 and elsewhere). The lists commonly include the Canaanites, Girgashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites, and once, in Gen. 15 19-21, the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites, and Rephaim, for which reference must be made to the separate articles. On the variation in the order of these enumerations, which are obviously 'rhetorical rather than geographical or historical,' cp Dr. *Deut.* 96 *ff.*

The passage in Amos (2 9*b*) is remarkable, because Amorite is used, precisely as by the Elohist (E), as a general term for the primitive population of Canaan, and because the Amorites, as an extinct race, are invested with a half-mythical character (like the Anakim).

Wellhausen (*CH* 341 *f.*) regards the designation 'Amorites' as substantially synonymous with that of Canaanites, though not quite so comprehensive. According to this view, the Canaanites, in the time of the biblical narrators, are still living in the land (*i.e.*, in the cities of the plain which were not occupied by the Israelites). The Amorites, on the other hand, are thought of as the old inhabitants of the hill-country E. and W. of the Jordan, now inhabited by the Israelites. Thus the Amorites belonged exclusively to the past; they had their day and ceased to be (Gen. 15). This explains how it is that, although under ordinary peaceful circumstances the Canaanites are spoken of as the old inhabitants of the land, whenever mention is made of war and conquest, the Amorites at once take their place (Gen. 48 22). So Moses' adversaries, Sihon and Og, are kings of the 'Amorites'; and, similarly, it is with the twelve kings of the Amorites that Joshua has to deal W. of the Jordan. Winckler however (*GI* 1 52 *ff.*) disputes the synonymity of the terms 'Canaanites' and 'Amorites' on the ground that, as the Amarna letters show, the coast-land as far N. as Sidon or even farther, was called Kinaḫi (= Canaan), and that

the Amorite population had its seat in the interior. He explains the distinction in the nomenclatures from the different local origin of the two writers (an Ephraimite and a Judahite respectively). On the extra-biblical facts, and on the inferences to be drawn, see CANAAN, §§ 3-9 and cp PHŒNICIA.

AMOS (עָמוֹס, § 56, 'borne [by God]'; cp AMASIAH, Ar. *'Omeis*, Phœn. אשמנעמס; ΑΜΩϹ [BAQ]).

1. Prophetic activity. Amos is the earliest of the prophets of whose discourses and predictions we possess written records with an accompanying statement of their authorship. Of the external facts of his life we should know little but for the narrative digression in 7 10-17, which interrupts the series of prophetic visions on the fall of Israel. From a statement there assigned to Amaziah, 'the land is not able to bear all his words,' we may reasonably infer that Amos's ministry in the northern kingdom had lasted for some time, when it was brought to an abrupt close by an act worthy of the heroic Elijah. Amos, it appears, came forward at length in a place where success was more difficult than anywhere else, and uttered a prophecy to this effect—'Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall be carried away from its land.' It was in Bethel, the seat of the royal temple corresponding to that of Jerusalem in the south, and probably at some great festival, that Amos said this; and the priesthood, faithful to its royal head, took the alarm. Not so much because the prophet had threatened the reigning dynasty (for he had not done so in the interests of any upstart noble) as because he had begun to weaken the moral courage of the Israelitish people (Jer. 38 4). With the half-contemptuous speech, 'Carry thy prophecies to those in the neighbouring country who may think them worth paying for,' Amaziah, the head priest of Bethel, by the royal authority, bade Amos fly from the land of Israel. Amos would not retire without a parting testimony. These are his significant words: 'No prophet, no member of a guild of prophets, am I'; that is, I am no ecstatic enthusiast, like the prophets of Bethel, whose prophesying is a trade, and whose oracles are mere heathenish divination (cp Mic. 3 11). 'But a sheep-breeder am I,'[1] he continues, 'and one who tends sycomore figs' (see SHEEP, SYCOMORE): that is, I am above the sordid temptation to take fees. 'Yahwè took me from following the flock; Yahwè said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.' That is, My prophesying has an immediate practical object which concerns the whole nation, and it is due to a moral impulse which has come straight from Israel's God. Then, in answer to the command, Prophesy not against Israel, Amos repeats his message with a startling personal application (cp Is. 22 17 f.).

Such was Amos—a strange phenomenon to the head priest of Bethel, as representing an entirely new type of prophecy.

2. Home. Whence then did this prophet come? Was he a native of Israel or a 'sojourner' from Judah? The heading of the book (on the origin of which see below, § 4) at first sight appears to be decisive in favour of the latter view. Budde has made it probable[2] that we should render 'Amos, who had been among the sheep-breeders, (a man) of Tekoa.' In any case, Amos is represented as a Tekoite. Now, there is no trace in ancient or in modern nomenclature of more than one TEKOA (*q.v.*). That Amos belonged to the southern kingdom has, nevertheless, been doubted,[3] on the twofold ground (1) that the interest of Amos is absorbed by (northern) Israel, and (2) that Tekoa lies too high for sycomores to be grown there. As to the first point, Amos, though deeply interested in Israel, is not, like the native Israelitish prophet Hosea, a sympathetic observer of the life and manners of the north. The inner impulse from above sending him to Israel is psychologically accounted for by the vastly greater importance of Israel as compared with Judah in religion, in politics, and, we may add, in literature. As to the second, Amos may very well have possessed a plantation of sycomores in some low-lying district in the Shephēlah or in the Jordan valley (see SYCOMORE). We may accept it, then, as a fact, that Amos was a Judahite, and sprang from a place famous in the time of David for the quick wits of its inhabitants (2 S. 14 2).

3. Preparation. The situation, too, of Tekoa, was well fitted to develop the future prophet's capacities. From the extensive view which his own hill commanded, he would gain, at any rate, a sense of natural grandeur, though we must not infer from this that he was capable as a Tekoite of writing Am. 4 13 and the parallel passages.[1] Not far off, he would meet with the caravans of the Dedanites (Is. 21 13) and other Arabian peoples, and would imbibe from them a longing to see other men and manners. Possibly, too, such an idiom as עִם שְׁבִי סוּסֵיכֶם (4 10) may be explained from Arabian influence (so We.).[2] Whatever the social position of Amos may have been, he was not tied to the soil, and may, before his journey to Samaria, have wandered, either on business or from curiosity, far away from home, and have seen and heard much of which his neighbours were ignorant. To suppose this is not to deny that even the stayer at home had opportunities of hearing news,[3] but to try to understand the alertness of Amos's intellect, the width of his knowledge, and the striking culture and refinement of his style. At any rate, it is plain that he studied thoroughly, on the spot, the condition of life and thought in the northern kingdom, and we must regret that we have no further contemporary traditions respecting him, than that contained in 7 10-17. One very singular tradition, indeed, we have, which appears to be a very late distortion of his story. It is the story (1 K. 13) of the man of God from Judah, who went to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam I. and threatened the altar there with destruction by an earthquake[4] (cp Am. 3 14 7 9 9 1). Though this teaches us much concerning a late view of prophecy, however, it affords no fresh glimpse of Amos.

A post-exilic editor says (Am. 1 1) that Amos prophesied during the contemporary reigns of Uzziah of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel.

4. Notes of date. Of Uzziah there is no express mention in the book; but the description of the careless ease of Jerusalem in 6 1*a* accords with the circumstances of his reign; to Jeroboam II. the prophet refers in 7 9, and his biographer in 7 10 *f.* The heading also states that the prophecy as a whole was delivered (*i.e.*, in its original form) 'two years before the earthquake.' Unfortunately, our only other authority for this earthquake[5] in Uzziah's reign is about as late as this note (Zech. 14 4). It is no doubt plausible to defend its historical character by referring to 4 11 ('I wrought an overthrow among you'), and by our prophet's vivid idea of earthquakes as one of God's means of punishment (8 8; cp Is. 2 19 21). Am. 8 8, however, is certainly an interpolation, and it is not impossible that the rather too precise

[1] Read נֹקֵד with Oort, We. (𝔊BAQ, αἰπόλος); cp 1 1. Mesha is also called נֹקֵד (2 K. 3 4). The word refers to a breed of stunted sheep, valued for their fine wool (see SHEEP).

[2] Kohut *Semitic Studies* 20 106 *ff.*

[3] According to Oort, Amos was an Israelite who cultivated sycamores in his own country, but after his expulsion dwelt among the shepherds of Tekoa (*Th. T* 25 121, etc. ['91]). Grätz (and so formerly Oort), following Ḳimḥi, supposes a second Tekoa in the north.

[1] G. A. Smith (*HG* 315) has given eloquent expression to this view. In *Twelve Prophets*, however, he admits the late origin of the passages.

[2] On the intellectual opportunities of Tekoa see Stickel (*Hiob* 269-276), who makes Job to have been written in this district.

[3] Robertson *Early Religion of Israel* 510.

[4] Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.* 349 and cp KINGS, § 8, note.

[5] Jos. (*Ant.* ix. 10 4) gives a long fabulous story about it.

statement in 1 1 is merely an exegetical inference from 7 36 (cp 7 8 8 2), which seemed to the editor to imply that Israel's punishment had been twice postponed, and that each postponement meant a year's grace (so G. Hoffmann; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 3). It is remarkable that the author of the heading, if he had access to tradition, did not rather refer to the solar eclipse prophesied in 8 9 (in its present form). This seems to be the eclipse which an Assyrian list of eponyms assigns to the month Sivan 763 B.C.[1] It is less important that, according to the same list, pestilences ravaged Assyria in 765 (the year of a campaign in the land of Hadrach, near Damascus and Hamath) and in 759. Pestilence in the land of Israel is indeed mentioned in Am. 4 10; but it is described as 'after the manner of Egypt.' The Egyptian Delta was of course not the only source of pestilences: the Assyrian plague may have germinated elsewhere.

5. Circumstances.

Still, it remains true that the period indicated by these last dates sufficiently accords with hints dropped in the Book of Amos. For example, the Israelites, according to Amos, have no apprehension of a speedy attack from Assyria. The circumstances of the period just mentioned enable us fully to account for this. Shalmaneser III. (783-773) had too much trouble with the land of Urarṭu (see ARARAT, § 2, ASSYRIA, § 32), and his successor Ašur-dân III. (772-755) had too many revolts at home to put down, to be dangerous to the kingdom of Israel. Assyria being thus occupied, it was easy for Jeroboam II. to recover from Damascus (repeatedly humiliated of late by Assyria) the districts which Hazael had taken from Israel. Hence, when Amos wrote, the extent of the Israelitish dominion was 'from the point where the Hamathite territory begins (מִלְּבוֹא חֲמָת) to the torrent of the Arābah,' a definition which is presumably equivalent to that in 2 K. 14 25, which gives 'the *sea* of the Arābah'—*i.e.*, the Dead Sea. The prophet's hearers delighted to sun themselves in this new prosperity, and boasted of the capture of LODEBAR and KARNAIM in Gilead as a great military feat (see LODEBAR, and We. on Am. 6 13). True, melancholy thoughts of the past would sometimes intrude—thoughts of the recent terrible earthquake, of the famines and pestilences, of the friends and neighbours lost in battle, and of the revolting cruelties of the Syrians and their Ammonitish allies in Gilead (1 3 13 4 6-11). Nor is it arbitrary to connect the splendour and fulness of Israelitish ritual in the prophet's time with the popular anxiety lest Yahwè should renew the troubles of the past. On the whole, however, the tone of Israelitish society is joyous and optimistic. As in Isaiah's earliest discourses, the upper classes appear as self-indulgent and luxurious, and, as in Isaiah, the women come in for a share of the blame (4 1; cp Is. 3 16). Not only the king (1 K. 22 39) but also the nobles have houses inlaid with ivory (3 15 cp 6 4*a*). Feasting is habitual (6 4-6), and the new custom of half-reclining on the divan[2] has been introduced at Samaria (3 12*b*). The good old sentiment of brotherliness is dying away; oppression and injustice are rampant (2 6-8 3 9 end, 10 4 1 5 11 *f.* 8 4-6). This indicates that great economic changes are going on (Isaiah makes the same complaint, Is. 5). Side by side with this we notice a keen interest in the ritual side of religion (4 4 *f.* 5 21-23 8 14 9 1). Jubilant worshippers sing the praises of the incomparable 'God of Jeshurun' (5 23; cp Deut. 33 26), and, as they think of his deliverances in the past, they even 'desire the battle day of Yahwè' (5 18). Amos, a stranger, alone sees below the surface of things. He does not, indeed, once name Assyria,[3] and seems to have no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus'; but every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwè 'will raise up against them a nation' (6 14; cp Is. 5 26, where read לְגוֹי), and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus' (5 27). On the whole, we may probably date the original prophecies of Amos between 765 and 750 B.C.[1]

There are only two passages which may be regarded as inconsistent with this date, as referring to later events.

6. Objections to 765-750 B.C.

(*a*) In 1 5[2] it is predicted that 'the people of Aram shall go into captivity unto Kir,' which was fulfilled, according to 2 K. 16 9, on the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III. in 732. The prediction, however, was not meant to be taken so literally. 'Unto Kir' is evidently suggested by the tradition (9 7) that the Aramaeans came from Kir; the prophet cannot mean to lay stress upon such points as the locality of a captivity;[3] otherwise, why does he describe the scene of Israel's captivity so vaguely? The 'fulfilment' in 2 K. 16 9 is obviously due to interpolation; the later view of prophecy differed from that held by the great prophets themselves. (*b*) The other passage is 6 2, which, as emended by Geiger[4] (to make sense), reads thus, 'Pass ye to Calneh, and look; and go thence to Great Hamath, and go down to Philistian Gath; are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your region greater than theirs?' These places, says the writer, have already succumbed to the common enemy: how can Israel hope to escape? Calneh (not the Calneh of Gen. 10 10, but the N. Syrian city Kullani) was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III. in 738, Hamath by Sargon in 720, and Gath by the same king in 711;[5] and the passage breaks the connection between 6 1 and 3, and is not in the rhythm which is so closely adhered to in 6 1 3-7. The verse must, therefore, be a later insertion, by a scribe or editor who had read Is. 10 9 (Calno = Calneh), and is properly a marginal gloss on the words, 'Woe *to* them that are at ease in Zion' (6 1). Observe that Great Hamath (H. Rabba) contrasts with the simple Hamath of *v.* 14.

A strict analysis is indispensable, both for a sound view of the origin of this book, and for a due comprehension of the great prophet himself.

7. Analysis of Book.

We must, therefore, test the common assertion that the book possesses such a true literary unity as Amos, when in retirement, might naturally wish to give to his remembered prophecies. So much, at any rate, is clear, that, as it now stands, the book has three well-marked divisions. (1) Chaps. 1 2-2 16 present a series of judgments on the peoples of Syria and Palestine, each framed on the same plan, and coupling the description of an unpardonable moral fault with the declaration of punishment. The most detailed of the accusations is that brought against Israel, which forms a striking culmination of the series. The vaguest and least impressive is Judah's, which comes next before Israel's, and somewhat spoils its effect. (2) Chaps. 3-6 seem at first sight to contain three discourses, each introduced by 'Hear ye this word' and closing with a prediction of national ruin. Upon a closer examination, however, none of the 'discourses'

[1] See Schr. *COT* 2 193; Sayce, *TSBA* 3 149; Schr. *KGF* 338 *f.*, and cp CHRONOLOGY, § 24.
[2] In 3 12 render 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the cushion of a divan' (for דמשק read מִשְׁכָּב, an obvious correction, which We. has somehow not made). See *JQR* 10 572.
[3] According to 𝔊BAQ, however, there is once an express mention of Assyria (3 9, אשור=אשר, for אשדד, Ashdod).

[1] The reason offered for a later date (745-744) by Zeydner and Valeton (in Wildeboer *Einl.* 110) is insufficient. Any observer who was not blinded by a fanatical religious belief could see that the inactivity of Assyria was only temporary, not to mention that the year 765 saw the Assyrians on the northern border of Palestine. Besides, the events which accompanied the accession of Tiglath-pileser III. in 745 were of too exciting a nature not to have suggested to Amos a fuller and more precise threatening than we find in his prophecies.
[2] On the former part of this verse see BETH-EDEN and AVEN, 3.
[3] On 𝔊's readings see KIR.
[4] *Urschrift* 96 *f.* Torrey's hesitation to remove *v.* 2 from the context which it distorts (*JBL*, 1894, p. 62 *f.*) seems very needless.
[5] Schr.'s view of Calneh (*COT* 2 143 *f.*; *HWB* 1 254) seems untenable (see CALNEH).

proves to have more than a semblance of unity. The section may be analysed into ten loosely connected passages—3 1 *f.* 3 3-8 3 9-15 4 1-3 4 4 *f.* 4 6-13 5 1-17[1] 5 18-27 6 1-7 6 8-14. (3) Chaps. 7-9. This is a series of five visions, interrupted, first by a short biographical elucidation of the third vision (7 10-15), and then by a threatening address (8 4-14), and followed by an evidently composite discourse, closing with most unexpected promises of the regeneration of Judah.

Now, if this summary is correct, it becomes impossible to maintain the true literary unity of the book. More than one editor must have been concerned in its arrangement, and the latest editor has had considerable difficulty in so disposing his material as to produce three portions, each one of a reasonable length. Considering that the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets comes to us from the post-exilic age (see CANON, § 39), and that the primary object of the later editors was not critical accuracy but edification, we are bound to look out very sharply for post-exilic insertions.

8. Post-exilic insertions: chap. 1 2.

Such an insertion we find at the very outset. The opening verse (1 2) has been often viewed as the text of the following discourse; but it seems very ill-adapted for that purpose, for the object of the discourse is not to exhibit the connection between Yahwk and a privileged sanctuary, but to show that even Israel (which has so many altars of Yahwè, 28) shall be punished like the other nations. Nor is the elegiac tone of 1 2*b* at all in harmony with the cycle of stern declarations which follows. The truth is that 1 2*a* is borrowed from Joel 3 [4] 16*a*, where alone the words suit the context, and 1 2*b* has a close phraseological affinity to Joel and other late writings.[2] It is no argument to the contrary that in 3 8 Yahwk is said to 'roar' and that the phrase 'the top of Carmel' is used by Amos in 9 3 : the editor had naturally made some slight study of the language of Amos. The reason of the insertion will be clear if we compare (a) 1 9 *f.* with Joel 3 2-6, (*b*) 1 11 *f.* with Joel 3 19, and (c) 9 13 with Joel 3[4] 18. These passages can all be shown to be late insertions, and 1 2 can he understood only in connection with them.

First, as to (*a*) and (6) it will be noticed that 1 9 *f.* differs from 1 6 *f.* only in the substitution of 'Tyre' for 'Gaza' and in the addition of the words,' 'and remembered not the covenant of brethren.'

9. chap. 1 9 *f.* 11 *f.*

(Even if, with Winckler, we correct צר in *v.* 9 *f.* into מצר—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri [see MIZRAIM],—part of the following argument is still applicable.) It seems incredible that Amos should have condescended to repeat himself in this way, and doubtful whether the early Israelitish prophets knew anything about such an act as is imputed to Tyre in 1 9. And what can be the meaning of 'the covenant of brethren' in Amos's mouth? Many critics, indeed, have found in the phrase an allusion to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram (RV mg. refers to 1 K. 5 1 9 11-14); but this was a purely personal connection, and lay far back in the past. We might also think of the covenant between the kings of Israel and Tyre presupposed in 1 K. 16 31 *f.*; but would the Elijah-like prophet Amos have been the man to recognise this? Moreover, this was a personal or family covenant, whereas the charge against Edom in 1 11, that he 'pursued his brother with the sword,' presupposes a true national covenant resting on kinship (cp Mal. 1 2).

[1] Observe that between Am. 5 15 and 16 something analogous to *vv.* 7 10 must have fallen out (*vv.* 8 9 are an interpolation). *Vv.* 14-17 should correspond to *w.* 4-7 10-13.

[2] אָבַל metaphorically, as Joel 1 10; נְאוֹת, as Joel 1 19 *f.* 2 22 יָבֵשׁ as Joel 1 12. Cp also 1 2*b* as a whole with Jer. 9 [10] 9 23 10 25 37; Is. 33 9; Nah. 1 4 (all post-exilic passages except the first). See Che. Introd. to WRS's *Pr. Isr.* xv. *f.* [Volz. has lately expressed the same view (*Die vorexil. Jahveprofetie* p. 19 *f.*), which Nowack (*Kl. Proph.*, *ad loc.*) does not refute.]

This view is confirmed by Obad. 12, where 'in the day of thy brother' implies the same charge that is brought against Edom in the words quoted from Am. 1 11. Thus, the fault imputed to Tyre is that it co-operated with Edom in the time of Israel's distress, by making raids into Israelitish territory and selling captive Israelites to their unnatural 'brethren.' Was there ever such a time of distress for Israel between the age of David and that of Amos? It is, of course, the history of Judah, not that of N. Israel, that we have to search, for the claim to the overlordship of Edom was maintained by the Davidic family. The answer depends primarily on the results of our criticism of Chronicles. If we can regard the Chronicler as an only slightly prejudiced recorder of old traditions, we may believe that the Philistines and Arabians broke into and plundered Jerusalem (2 Ch. 21 16 *f.*), and conjecture that Tyrian slave-merchants drew their profit from the circumstances. Further, if, some time before that, the Edomites revolted from Judah and defeated King Joram (this, happily, is a fact attested not only in 2 Ch. but also in 2 K. 8 20-22), it is easily conceivable that Edomitish passion vented itself in a great slaughter of fugitive Israelites. Is it worth while, however, to defend the integrity of Am. 1 and the accuracy of the Chronicler by such a lavish use of conjectures? A prophet such as Amos was could not have fastened on such an offence of the Edomites to the exclusion of the cruel treatment of Edomites by Judahites referred to in 2 K. 14 7 (cp 2 Ch. 25 12), and we ought not to imagine a case of special barbarity in the ninth century when there is a well attested one in the sixth. It was, in fact, at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 that the Edomites, who had no such stern moralists as Amos and Isaiah to reprove them, filled up the measure of their revenge, to the indignation of Jewish writers, who forgot the cruelties of their own ancestors. Hence, to explain Am. 1 11-12 aright, we must refer to Ezek. 25 12 35 5 Is. 34 Obad. 10-14 Ps. 137 7, together with Joel 3[4] 19; and, to understand 1 9 *f.*, we must compare (besides the passages just mentioned) the description of the offence of Tyre in Joel 3(4) 2-6 (subsidiary evidence for the late date of Am. 1 11 *f.* is given below).[1] If it be asked, when these judgments on Tyre and Edom were inserted, the answer is, during (or much more probably after) the Exile, at a time when some fresh insult on the part of the Edomites reminded Jewish writers of earlier and deeper injuries (see ISAIAH, ii. § 14).

Next as to (*c*). Plainly, Joel 3(4) 18*a* is the original of Am. 9 13*b*. The opposite view would be inconsistent with the fact that Am. 9 13*a* is dependent on the late passage Lev. 26 5*a* (see LEVITICUS).

10. chap. 9 8-15.

Am. 9 13, however, is not a later insertion in the section in which it occurs. From 9 11 (or rather from 9 8) onwards, we are struck by affinities in expression of idea to works of the Babylonian and Persian periods, and by corresponding divergences from the style and thought of Amos.[2] That v. 7 cannot have been the conclusion of the prophecy is certain; but we have to regard *vv.* 8-15 as a post-exilic substitute for the original close. The editor cannot endure the idea of the final destruction of the whole house of Israel, and so he makes Amos declare in a strangely softened mood that only the 'sinful kingdom' (*i.e.*, that of Ephraim) will be wiped out, whereas the less guilty Judahites will

[1] Notice (1) the vague description of the offence of Edom. Does it consist in the purchase of Israelitish slaves from the Tyrian slave-merchants? or in the slaughter of Israelitish fugitives? or, more probably, did Edom prove that 'he kept his wrath for ever' in both these ways? (2) The mention of 'Teman' and 'Bozrah,' which names seem first to occur in Jer. 49 7 13. Cp the threat in 1 12 with that in Obad. 9.

[2] For the evidence, which is singularly strong, see Cheyne, 'Notes on the Prophets,' *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, pp. 44-47. On Am. 9 8-15 see also Preuschen, *ZATW* 15 24-27 ('95); Torrey, 'Notes on Am. 2 7 etc.,' *JBL* 16 8-172 ('96); Driver, *Joel and Amos* 120 *ff.*, who vainly endeavours to diminish the force of the arguments.

suffer the milder doom of dispersion among the nations. Even this will be only for a time. Israel shall return, the old Davidic kingdom shall be restored, and the sweet commonplaces of prophetic idylls shall be fulfilled.

Now, can we not see the reason of the insertion of the opening verse or prologue? It was to assure the post-exilic readers of Amos that the threats of the prophet had long since been fulfilled, and that restored Zion should be safe under the care of its lion-like divine protector. In other words, Amos was to be read in the light of the concluding portion of Joel. The insertion of the epilogue (9 8-15), in which we ought to note the reference to Edom (cp Joel 3 19), has a similar reason.[1]

Here, then, are already four certain post-exilic insertions. The companion passages now to be enumerated are equally noteworthy. No satisfactory picture of the prophet Amos is possible till we have recognised them.

11. chap. 2 4 f. First, Am. 2 4b is too deficient in concreteness to be the work of Amos, and is, on phraseological grounds, late.[2] If so, the *whole* of the judgment upon Judah also must be late. This is every way a gain. In particular, we can now see better how thoroughly Amos was absorbed in his mission to N. Israel. He cannot perhaps forget Judah; but his native country is only a fragment: the national pulse beats most vigorously in Ephraim (cp Is. 9 8 f. [7 f.]). The post-exilic editor, however, felt the need of a distinct reference to the sin and punishment of Judah, which he meant to be taken in combination with the encouraging statements of 1 2 and 9 11-15.

12. 4 13 b 13, 5 8 f. 9 5 f. It was a different feeling which prompted the insertion of 4 13 (with which 4 12b is connected) 5 8 f. 9 5 f. The conception of God had become deeper and fuller: the germs long ago deposited by the preaching of Amos and Isaiah had, through a widened experience, developed into the rich theology of II. Isaiah and the Book of Job. Not only by the wonders of history but also by those of nature was the sole divinity of Yahwè proved, and an ordinary reader of Amos inserted these doxologies (as we may call them) to relieve the gloom of the prophetic pictures.[3] Another such insertion was made (according to the text used by 𝔊) in Hos. 13 4.

13. chaps. 5 26 6 2. We now pass on to Am. 5 26. The construction and rendering of this passage have been much disputed. On the assumption that Am. 5 25-27 was all written by Amos, it is perhaps easiest (see Driver) to render ונשאתם, 'So ye shall take up . . . (Saccuth your king and Kaiwan your god, which ye made for yourselves),' והגלתי, 'and I will carry (you) into exile.'[4] But how unnatural this is! Nowhere else does the prophet mention an inclination of the Israelites to the worship of Assyrian gods, and the carrying of Assyrian gods by Israelites into Assyria is a very strange feature in a threat. Hence the whole verse is more than probably a later insertion, which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Is. 10 4a seems exactly parallel (see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). Whether or no Succoth-benoth, the name of a god in 2 K. 17 30, contains the divine name Saccuth,[1] we may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Synt.* § 368 b); the ו in ונשאתם is simply the *Waw explicativum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render, 'That is, ye carried in procession'; cp Is. 45 20. See CHIUN AND SUCCOTH.

14. chaps. 3 14b 5 13-15 6 2 9 8 8 11 f. Am. 6 2, another insertion, has been treated of already (see § 6 [b]). We pass on to 8 8 11 f. Verse 8 is not at all suitable as a description of the threatened punishment (see We., Nowack). The comparison with the Nile recurs in an interpolated verse (9 5). Passing on, we note that *v.* 13 speaks of literal thirst (suggested by the mention of the festivals in *v.* 10); but in *v.* 11 the hunger and thirst are metaphorical. Verses 9 f. 13 f. announce a sudden catastrophe; but in *v.* 11 f. a lengthened time of misery is described. The passage is clearly late, and is parallel to Is. 8 20 f. (partly late). The silence of prophecy is spoken of as a sore trial in Ps. 74 9. Other probable late insertions are 3 14 b 5 13-15 (cp Mic. 7 6), and the expression כדויד in 6 5 (see DAVID, § 13); and 6 9 f. is at any rate misplaced. To these it is plausible to add the reference to 'those who are at ease in Zion' in 6 1 (but it may be better to correct ציון into ann; so Che. *JQR* 10 573); also 3 7, which, as Duhm points out, may be a gloss on *v.* 8; certainly it interrupts a noble passage (*v.* 8 for יִנָּבֵא read יֶחֱרַד with We., or, much better, יִכָּאֵב). The last insertion is 9 8-15 (see § 10).

15. Pre-exilic editing. After these insertions have been removed, may we safely suppose that the rest of the book represents what Amos said in public? No: the analogy of the prophecies of Isaiah makes such a supposition highly improbable. Let us be content with knowing that we have a truthful record of the prophetic certainties of Amos, even though he did not always utter them in public. The manner and the contents of the passages into which the true Book of Amos falls must be our guide in determining the class (whether that of public or of private prophecies) to which they severally belong. It is both inherently difficult and contrary to analogy to suppose that 1 2-2 16 was ever really uttered; at any rate, 1 2-2 6a 8 is more adapted to produce an effect on readers than on hearers. Nor can we possibly imagine that the visions in chaps. 7-9 were used by the prophet as texts of spoken addresses; passages from discourses are no doubt here and there introduced, but they come from the arranging hand of the editor of this part.

It is a further question whether the arrangement of the different sections may he due to Amos himself. In answering it we must leave sufficient room for the *growth* of the book. It is not unreasonable to suppose that on his expulsion from Bethel the prophet paid a visit (perhaps a second visit; cp 6 1) to Jerusalem, and there 'noted' his prophecies 'in (on) a book for a later day' (Is. 30 8), when the judgment upon Israel should have been accomplished.' There, too, he may have committed his record (enriched with some never-spoken prophetic certainties) to the custody of those 'disciples' of Yahwè end of his prophets (see Is. 8 16), who began the long succession of students and editors of the religious literature. In their hands we may suppose that the hook assumed by degrees its present form. At any rate, a written record of Amos must have become quickly known; for Isaiah, it is clear, steeped himself in the originality of Amos before displaying his own truly

[1] There are similar interpolations in Hosea (*e.g.*, 1 7 1 10-2 1 [2 1-3] and the words 'David their king' in 3 5). See HOSEA, § 4.

[2] Cp 2 K. 16 15, Deuteronomistic. Critics on the other side quote Is. 5 24; Hos. 2 2 [4]; Ex. 18 16: Deut. 30 10; hut they do not meet the argument from weakness of style, and produce no parallel for the second part of the description of Judah's sin. Moreover, the two Pentateuch passages are not in point. Nor have critics realised the consequences of admitting the post-exilic origin of the prophetic hooks in their present form.

[3] The style is that of II. Isaiah and the later poets (cp Stickel, *Hiob* p. 276), not that of Amos. The strings of participles remind us of Is. 40 22 f.: Job 12 17-24; Zech. 12 1; Dan. 2 21 f. Notice also ברא (cp Cheyne, *Int. Isa.* xxi. 252), דרך על־במתי, י׳ הצבאות ,הבנה מעלתו ,מבליג ,צלמות ,כסיל ,כימה ,ארץ. In 9 5 violates the usage of Amos (but cp 𝔊). The ideas are equally late, though they are such as Amos, had he met with them, would have owned. *Inter alia*, comp. the third descriptive phrase in 4 13 with Ps. 139 2. It is probable that 5 8 f. originally stood after 4 13. Am. 9 5 f., however, presumably retains its original position.

[4] On the text see, besides the commentaries, N. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, p. 1 *ff.*; Torrey, *ib.* p. 61; WRS and Che., *Proph. Isr.*(2) 399 *ff.*; G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3 112 f.; Tiele, *Gesch. van* het *godsdienst* 315. On the construction see Dr. in Smith, *DB*(2) 122 (art. AMOS).

[1] So Del. *Par.* 215 f., hut see SUCCOTH-BENOTH.

AMOS

original genius. To Hosea, however, such a record cannot he proved to have been known (see We. on Hos. 8 14 4 15 10 5 8) : in other words, the circulation of Amos's prophecies was, originally at least, confined to Judah. The latest editor of the book, as we have seen, was post-exilic.

A special interest attaches to the description of the visions, together with the historical interludes in chaps. 7-9, partly because they exhibit the growth of Amos's prophetic certainty respecting the fall of Samaria, and partly because, like Is. 6 7 1-8 18, and 20 (in their original form), they appear to come from a partly biographic, partly prophetic, work, written or dictated by the prophet himself.

16. Amos's style.

Some have been surprised to find 'a plain countryman' like Amos possessed of such a refined and yet vigorous style.[1] They forget that the differences of culture in the East are still sometimes comparatively trifling, and that a man of low rank may express himself with considerable elegance. It is still more in point to remark that the most classic Arabic poems are the work of men who had a calling similar to that of Amos, while, even under the new Moslem empire, sons of the desert were wont to appear at court and win a rich guerdon by the finished style of their improvisations. Such critics have also forgotten the opportunities of self-culture which, both at Tekoa and elsewhere, Amos must have enjoyed; and when even G. Banr and Ewald point to certain 'solecisms in pronunciation and orthography' as evidences of provincialism, it may be replied that the errors in question may reasonably he ascribed to late copyists.[2] That Amos delights in images drawn from nature is clearly no fault (see, *e.g.*, 2 9 3 4 *f.* 8 12 5 19, and the first, second, and fourth visions). Only one of them is distinctively the comparison of a shepherd (3 12); and Amos is just as willing to speak of wonders of which he knows only by hearsay—such as the giant cedar trees (2 9), and (if the text be correct) the inundation of the Nile (88)—or of which he has a true Israelitish dread—such as an earthquake or a solar eclipse (8 8 *f.*), or the mysterious sea which yields no harvest (6 12; cp ἀτρύγετος), and which somewhere hides the terrible serpent of primitive mythology (9 3; see SERPENT, § 3 *f.*). It is a pity that, for reasons already given, we cannot speak of Amos as a sympathetic observer of the sky[3]—*that* is an essential characteristic of a much later poet (see JOB). As a literary craftsman he ranks high. In 1 3-2 16 we have a literary prophecy, which, until Amos forgets his art in his grief at the manifold offences of Israel, is marked by great regularity of structure. So in 4 6-11 we have the literary model of an equally symmetrical passage in Isaiah (Is. 9 8-21 [7-20] 5 26-30 10 1-4), and in 5 2 we have a short but strictly rhythmical elegy. Altogether, the Book of Amos forms a literary as well as a prophetic phenomenon.

17. Degree of originality.

It is true that both as a writer and as a speaker he must have had models; J and E were, of course, not the only writers of the pre-Amosian period, and Elijah and Elisha (of whose doings a faint echo has reached us) were not the only prophetic reformers (Am. 2 11 *f.* 3 7). There is no occasion, however, to suppose that there were prophets of precisely Amos's type before him—prophets who had exactly his conception of their duties, and were also, in a qualified sense, writers. It would he a mistake to infer, from Amos's use of formulae, that he was acquainted with earlier written prophecies. Prophetic formulæ could be transmitted by word of mouth as well as by the pen. That Amos had left Tekoa at intervals before his prophetic call is not only inherently probable, but also follows from such a passage as 3 7 *f.* (if correct), which Amos could hardly have written unless he had had the most vivid and direct ocular evidence of the effects of a true prophetic impulse even before his own turn came to receive one. His originality is shown, not only in his prophetic message, but also in his being (probably) the first to conceive the idea of using the pen in aid of the voice. The *tōra*-literature of the priests had already taken a considerable development (Hos. 8 12); Amos was, it appears, the first prophet who followed the example of the literary priests. The importance of this step it was beyond his power to estimate. Within a generation he expected Israel as a nation to disappear; but he thought it worth while to gather disciples who, like himself, could praise Yahwè even in the midst of ruin; and, after all, who could tell but Yahwè might have some other secret to reveal to one of these—to a Hosea or to an Isaiah? See § 18.

18. Pessimism.

That Amos's message is a gloomy one is in accordance with his conception of the divine character. In an age like his, the divine purpose could not be one of peace, though it required an immense devotion to Yahwè to be able to declare, seemingly unmoved, that He purposed the complete destruction of Israel (or, as we should say, of Israel and Judah). In spite of the universal scepticism which meets him (for how, it is said, can Yahwè be conceived of apart from his people?), Amos persists in his message, and even conceives the possibility that legendary supernatural agencies may be used to make the destruction more complete (9 3). It is not, therefore, open to us to account for the confidence of Amos simply by the advance of the Assyrian power. He does, indeed, regard Assyria as the chief destructive agent (6 14 7 17); but Assyria, when Amos spoke and wrote, was passing through a period of decline; consequently his conviction must have some other ground which naturally sharpens his eyes for the still present danger from Assyria. To this it must be added that, according to Amos, it would be easy for Yahwè, if the agency of Assyria were not available, to bring some other hostile nation from some corner of the earth, just as he 'brought up the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramaeans from Kir' (9 7). The real ground of Amos's prophetic pessimism is the increasingly unsound religious condition of his people. He may very possibly have admitted that there were fifty or at least ten Israelites who lived by the same pure religion as himself; but he could not conceive of Yahwè's saying, 'I will not destroy the land for ten's sake.' The righteous must, according to him, suffer with the wicked (9 10 was inserted to correct this idea), though he might perhaps have left a door of hope open for those who, like himself and his disciples, had close personal contact with the true God : the nation might perish; but when this had happened, God might have some secret purpose for those who 'knew' him.

Of this vague hope we hear nothing from Amos (cp ISAIAH). What the popular religion was, we know but too well. Whatever the nobler minds may have believed, 'the mass of the people,' as Robertson Smith well says, 'still thought of Him as exclusively concerned with the affairs of Israel,' and the connection between Yahwè and Israel had a non-moral, natural, basis. Ritual tended to make morality almost superfluous, and hy its increasing costliness actually promoted that injustice and inhumanity which Yahwè abhorred. There were also immoral superstitions at which Amos glances less (see 2 7) than Hosea. To this

19. Idea of God.

pernicious system the religion of Amos is diametrically opposed. Once, at any rate, he uses the striking title, 'Yahwè, the God of the Hosts' (5 27 is admittedly a genuine passage)—i.e., the God of celestial as well as earthly

[1] Against Jerome's application of Paul's self-depreciating language in 2 Cor. 11 6 to Amos see Lowth, *Prælect.* 21 (*Lectures* ET, 2 97 *f.*).

[2] Take, *e.g.*, יִשְׂחָק (7 9) for יִצְחָק. The same form occurs in Jer. 33 26, Ps. 105 9, both post-exilic passages. In 5 11 בּוֹשַׁסְכֶם is not a 'dialect form' for בּוֹסְכֶם; the scribe wrote ש by an error and then corrected it by writing ס. Read simply בּוֹס with We.

[3] GASm. (*HG* 315).

legions—together with 'the Lord Yahwè' (perhaps nineteen times), in antithesis to the nationalistic expression, 'Yahwè, the God of Israel.'[1] The Yahwè whom he himself worshipped was, in virtue of his perfect moral nature, the Sovereign alike of nature and of nations. Amos had not, indeed, fathomed the depths of this conception as had the Second Isaiah and the author of Job (Am. 4 13 and the parallel passages are later insertions: see above, § 12); but he is already to all intents and purposes an ethical monotheist, and his conviction of the impending destruction of Israel does but intensify his sense of the majesty of the one God. He does not, indeed, reject the old belief in the connection between Yahwè and Israel altogether (cp 7 15 'my people Israel'): he moralises it. For some wise object, Yahwè brought Israel out of Egypt (3 1 9 7), and entered into a personal moral relation to it; but his will, at any rate, is not unknown to the other nations, and their history is equally under his direction. Once, indeed, under the stress of moral passion, Amos even places the 'sons of Israel' on a level with the 'sons of the Cushites'[2]; this occurs near the end of his prophecy (9 7), and is evidently intended as a final withdrawal of a temporary and conditional privilege. It is not, however, on all the nations of the earth, but only on those which are in close proximity to Israel, that judgment is pronounced by Amos, as the spokesman of Yahwb; he aims at no theoretic consistency. These nations are to suffer the same doom as Israel at the hand of Assyria, because they, like Israel, have violated the unwritten law of justice and humanity. [Thus we can divine Amos's free attitude towards the lately written ethico-religious priestly laws (see EXODUS, § 3). He is probably acquainted with such laws (2 8; cp Ex. 22 25 *f.*); but he does not recognise them as of primary authority, for he nowhere appeals to them.[3]] And if by many favours, including the crowning favour of prcphecy (2 11), Yahwb has made himself specially known to the Israelites, it follows that he will judge Israel more strictly than he will judge the other nations (3 12). As a faithful friend, Amos assures his people that if they would only 'seek' the true Yahwè they would 'live' (5 4 14)—*i.e.*, would escape captivity and enjoy prosperity in their own land (cp Hos. 6 2 *f.*). He has no hope, however, that they will do so: the false popular religion is too deeply rooted. Indeed, Am. 5 has been so much interfered with by editors that it is doubtful whether *vv.* 4 14 can be appealed to as authorities on such a point; *v.* 14, at all events, appears to belong to an inserted section (see Nowack).

20. Denunciations.

It is not idolatry that Amos complains of. When he says, ironically, 'Go to Bethel and transgress' (4 4), he means, as he expressly tells us, 'Carry out the prescriptions of your wilfully devised ritual law.' Nor can we venture to say that a protest against the 'golden calves' is implied,[4] for no prophet is more explicit than Amos in mentioning the sins of his people. The two passages in which a reproof of Israelitish idolatry does appear to occur are certainly interpolations. In 8 14, for 'the sin of Samaria'[5] we should read 'the god of Bethel' (cp Gen. 31 13), in parallelism to 'thy god (אֱלֹהֶיךָ), O Dan,' and 'thy patron (read דֹּדְךָ with Wi. and see DOD), O Beersheba,' and the whole of 5 26 is a later. insertion, and is not true to the facts of the age of Amos (see above, § 12). What Amos most vehemently denounces is sacrifice. One may perhaps be tempted to suppose that he says more than he means, and that he does not object to sacrifices altogether, but only to the belief that when duly performed they can change the mind of the Deity. His language, however, seems too strong to be thus explained away, especially when we find him appealing in support of his statement to the fact that in the olden time, when Yahwb was so near to Israel, no sacrifices were offered (5 25). Is there, then, no form of worship in which Yahwb delights? None, except the practice of righteousness—*i.e.*, justice and humanity (see 5 21 24). But, alas, the Israelite will not recognise this. Pilgrims who are wholly indifferent to plain moral duties crowd to the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal, and even to the far-off southern shrine of Beersheba[1] (5 5 8 14, cp Hosea 4 15), and parade their devotion to the different local forms of Yahwb in pious oaths, as if the true Yahwè could he pleased with the offerings or the oaths of such worshippers. How painful will be the awakening from this moral sleep, when the greatest of all realities makes its existence known, annihilating at one blow the sanctuaries of Israel and their worshippers (9 1)! Such was the announcement of the shepherd of Tekoa.

21. Estimate of Amos.

Taken in connection with the ideas on which it is based, it seems to justify us in calling him a surprising phenomenon. That the phenomenon can be partly explained there is no doubt. Neither Amos nor his special follower Isaiah is so entirely abnormal a product as an unthinking study of the works of either might suggest (see PROPHECY). But not the most comprehensive study of the history of Israel will altogether account for their appearance. And if they neither of them saw the whole truth, and both needed the correction of history and of later prophets and sages, we may still pay them the reverence which belongs to those who first uttered great moral and religious truths with the power that belongs to God-possessed men.

22. Special helps.

See references in art. and cp also We. ***Die kleinen Propheten*** (for a corrected text), **1892**, and his ***Hist.*** *of Isr. and Jud.* **ET, 1891**, pp. **81-86**; WRS *Proph. Is.*(2) 120-143, 394-401; Dr. art. 'Amos,' *DB*(2) (with **full** bibliography); also ***Joel and Amos*** (Cambr. Bible), 1897; Duhm, ***Die Theol. d. Proph.***, **1875**, pp. 109-125; Smend, *Alt-test. Rel.-gesch.*, **1893**, pp. 159-188; Wi. *GI* 91 *ff.*; Oort (on the home of Amos, and on the genuineness of **4 13 5 8 9 9 5 6**), *Th. T*, 1891, pp. 121-126; **G.** Hoffmann (on the text of Amos), *ZATW*, **1883**, pp. 87.126; Schmidt, *JBL*, **1894**, pp. **1-15**; GASm., ***Twelve Prophets*** 1 61-210; **Nowack,** *Kl. Pr.* ['97] (thorough and judicious).
T. K. C.

2. Amos (Αμως [אBCD]) is the best supported reading in Mt. 1 10, where, however, King Amon (*q.v.*) is plainly intended; so TR and EV. It is a constant variation in 𝔊AB.

3. An ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband (**Lk.** 3 25 [BאA]). On the two **lists** see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS.

AMOZ (אָמוֹץ, § 57, 'strong'; αμωc [BאAOQΓL], αμμ. [A in 2 K. 19 2 20 1 Is. 37 2]; *AMOS*), father of ISAIAH, 1 (Is. 1 1 αμωc[ειν]=αμωc ην [א*vid.], 20 2 [KAQ om.], 2 Ch. 26 22 [BA om.]).

AMPHIPOLIS (αμφιπολιν [Ti. WH], πολιν [א*]), one of the most important positions in northern Greece; it stands on a bend of the river Strymon, between the lower end of lake Cercinitis and the head of the Strymonic gulf, thus commanding the pass leading from the east into Macedonia (Liv. 45 30). Consequently it was a station on the *Via Egnatia*, 'the great military road which ran through Macedonia and connected Rome with the Hellespont' (Cic. ***De prov. cons. 2*** § 4). Paul, therefore, 'passed through' Amphipolis

1 'Thy God (O Israel)' is put into Amos's mouth by a later editor (4 12*b*: see above, § 12).

2 Who these Cushites are, is uncertain (see CUSH i. § 2 *h*). Apparently they had recently experienced some calamity.

3 Here he contrasts with Hosea, who clearly invests the written *tōrōth* which arose in certain priestly circles with primary authority (Hos. 8 12). Perhaps, as Duhm suggests, Hosea was himself a priest.

4 So Davidson (*Expositor*, 1887 (1), p. 175). To say that Amos does not protest against the 'golden calves,' is of course not to assert that he thinks them worthy symbols of Yahwè. Cp St. *GVI* 1 579; WRS, *Proph.* 575 *f.*

5 The text appears to have been altered by the same editor who inserted the reference to 'the two iniquities' in Hos. 10 10.

1 Hal. thinks that a northern Beer-sheba (perhaps Beeroth) is intended (*REJ* 11 72-77); but if Elijah went on pilgrimage to Horeb, which was not even in Palestine, why should not N. Israelites have gone to a venerated spot in S. Israel? עָבַר is precisely the right word to use of a sanctuary across the border (cp 6 2).

on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (διοδεύσαντες, Acts 17 1†).

The site was intimately connected with some of the most interesting passages in Greek history; but it would be a mistake to imagine that the apostle or his companions either knew or cared for these things. It is now Nrochori. [Leake, *North. Gr.* 3 181 *f.*] W. J. W.

AMPLIAS, or rather as in RV Ampliatus (ΑΜΠΛΙΑΤΟC [Ti. WH]), saluted as 'my beloved in the Lord' (Rom. 16 8†); not otherwise known.

The name was not nnfrequently borne by slaves. In the list of the seventy disciples (Pseudo-Dorotheus) Amplias is represented as having been bishop of Odessus or Odyssus (on the **Black** Sea, near the site of the modern Varna).

AMRAM (עַמְרָם, § 77, 'in good condition'?or, 'the [divine] kinsman is exalted'; ΑΜΒΡΑΜ [BL; A in Ex. Nu.], ΑΜΡ. [AF; B in Nu.]).

1. b. Kohath, head of a Levitical subdivision, and father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. 6 18 20; Nu. 3 19 αμβραμ [AF], -βραν [L]; 26 58 *f.* 1 Ch. 6 2 [5 28]); from him come the Amramites (הָעַמְרָמִי, Nu. 3 27, 6 αμραμεις [B], αμβρααμ' εις [A], -ραμ' εις [F], -ραν εις [L]; 1 Ch. 26 23, αμραμι [A]). See LEVI.

2. One of the b'ne BANI, 2, in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i. § 5 end) Ezra 10 34 (μαρ[ε]ι [B], αμβραμ [א], αμβραμ και [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 OMAERUS, RV ISMAERUS (μαηρος [B], ισμ. [A], αμραμ [L]). See EZRA, ii. § 14 *b*.

3. 1 Ch. 1 41 (חַמְרָן), RV HAMRAN. See HEMDAN.

AMRAPHEL (אַמְרָפֶל; ΑΜΑΡΦΑΛ [ADEL]; Jos. 'Αμαρα Ψίδης), king of Shinar (Gen. 14 1 9†) = Hammurabi, king of Babylon, who, according to trustworthy cuneiform data, may have flourished about 2250 B.C. This assumes that אמרפל is corrupted from חמרבי or (Lindl, Sayce) חמרבי אל; but see CHEDORLAOMER (§ 4 *f.*), and cp Schr. *COT* 2 299 *f.*; Hommel, BAG 169, *AHT* 193; Wi. *AOF* 143 *ff.*; Bezold, *PSBA* 1188 ['88]. Targ. Jon. ingeniously, if uncritically, identifies Amraphel with Nimrod, who 'commanded Abram to be cast into the furnace.' If the identification with Ḥammurabi be accepted, we may be reminded that Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar delighted to imitate this founder of Babylonian greatness, both in his building plans and in his methods of administration (see BABYLONIA, § 66, and cp Rogers, *Outlines of Early Bab. Hist.* 27-30). It may be that some Jewish favourite at the Babylonian court, who had received a Babylonian education (Sanabassar or Sheshbazzar for instance—note the Babylonian name), heard Hammurabi spoken of, and made historical notes from cuneiform tablets on events which had happened 'in the days of Amraphel,' also that one of these was adopted by later writers as the basis of a Midrash on Abraham and Melchizedek. On the other hand, those who identify NIMROD (*q.v.*) with Nazi-maraddaš (Nazi-maruttaš) may incline to think that the setting of contemporary history may be derived from an early pre-exilic traditional source, though the narrative in its present form is undoubtedly the production of post-exilic writers. The latter view is the more difficult one, but not therefore to be hastily rejected. Cp Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorient. Chronologie* (1898) 84, and see ABRAHAM, § 4, CHEDORLAOMER (§§ 2, 4 end), HAM (i.), MELCHIZEDEK (§ 2), SHAVEH, I. T. K. C.

AMULETS is the RV rendering of *lĕḥāšīm*, לְחָשִׁים, Is. 3 20, a word used elsewhere of any charm (Is. 3 3, נְבוֹן לַחַשׁ, RV 'skilful enchanter'—not 'eloquent orator' or 'skilful of speech' as in AV and AV mg.), or, more specifically, of a charm against serpents (Jer. 8 17 Eccles. 10 11). In Is. 3 20 some sort of female ornament is meant, most probably earrings (so AV), which seem to be treated as idolatrous in Gen. 35 4. Doubtless, as WRS suggests ('Divination and Magic' in *J. Phil* 14 122 ['85]), the amulet is worn in the ear to prevent an incantation from taking effect. Among early peoples amulets and ornaments are closely connected (cp We. *Heid.*(2) 165). When the early significance of the protective power of the object is forgotten it serves as a simple adornment.[1] The Syr. equivalent *ḳĕdāšā* is properly 'a holy thing,' and the same idea is seen in the occurrence of the root in the old Yemenite *ḳădīs*, 'pearls'; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 453; and see MAGIC, § 3 (3), cp also RING, § 2.

AMZI (אַמְצִי, § 52, perhaps abbrev. from Amaziah).

1. In the genealogy of ETHAN: 1 Ch. 6 46 [31] (αμεσσεια [B], μαεσσια [A], αμασια [L]). *See* also LEVI.

2. In genealogy of Adaiah, 3, the priest (see MALCHIJAH, 3); Neh. 11 12 (αμασ[ε]ι [BA], -σιου [L], αμεσσει [א]), omitted, however, in the || 1 Ch. 9 12.

ANAB (עֲנָב, ΑΝΩΒ [AL]), a hill-town of Judah, Josh. 15 50 (ΑΝΩΝ [B], ΑΝΑΒ [L]), one of the seats of the Anakim; Josh. 11 21 (ΑΝΑΒΩΘ [B]). It is doubtless to be connected with Ḥinianabi (עֵין־עֲנָב), mentioned in *Am. Tab.* 237, 26 with Magdali (see MIGDAL-GAD) and other cities of the land of *Gar* (SW. Judah). There is still a place of the name (*'Anāb*) on the west side of the Wādy el-Khalil, about 14 miles to the SW. of Hebron, and 4 or 5 m. W. from Shuweikeh (Rob. *BR* 2 159; so *PEMem.* 3 392 *f.*). See also ANUB.

ANAEL (ΑΝΑΗΛ [BRA], *i.e.*, חֲנַנְאֵל, HANANEEL), brother of Tobit and father of ACHIACHARUS (Tob. 1 21). See also AMAN.

ANAH (עֲנָה, meaning uncertain, cp Gray, *HPN* 110; ΑΝΑ [BADEL]), a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36). As the text stands the descent of Anah is represented in three ways. Anah is

1. Daughter of Zibeon (αιναν [L]), in *vv.* 2 14, 'Hivite' in *v.* 2 being obviously an old error of the text for 'Horite.'

2. Son of Seir and brother of Zibeon, *v.* 20 (αιναν [L]), 1 Ch. 1 38 (Ανας [L]).

3. Son of Zibeon, *v.* 24 *bis* (ωναν [AD], αιναν [L], ωνα [E], ωνας [AE]), also 1 Ch. 1 40 *f.* (Σωναν [B], ωναμ [A; *v.* 41 ανα], αναν [L]), 25 *bis* 29.

The first of these may, however, safely be disregarded. 'Daughter of Zibeon' is a variant (based on *v.* 24) of 'daughter of Anah' (dependent on *vv.* 20 25), which has intruded into the text (so Di., Kau.). As to (2) and (3), the differences of statement need not surprise us, for the genealogy only symbolises tribal relations. Anah was originally a sub-clan of the clan called Zibeon, and both alike were 'sons of Seir'—*i.e.*, Horites. A twofold tradition, therefore, could easily arise. The 'mules' which, from *v.* 24 AV, Anah would appear to have 'found in the wilderness' are an invention of the Midrash, some Rabbis explaining יֵמִם (ιαμειν [ADE], εαμιν [L]) by ἡμίονος, others by ἥμισυ (*Ber. rabba*, par. lxxxii.). The 'hot springs' of Vg. and RV are purely conjectural; the word הַיֵּמִם is evidently corrupt. As Ball points out (*SBOT* Gen. crit. notes, 93), it may have come in from *v.* 22 (הֵימָם). In *vv.* 2 14 and 18 (where 𝔊AEL omits), Anah is called the father of Oholibamah, the wife of Esau. See BASHEMATH. T. K. C.

ANAHARATH (אֲנָחֲרַת; ΡΕΗΡΩΘ Κ. ΑΝΑΧΕΡΕΘ [B], ΡΕΝΑΘ Κ. ΑΡΡΑΝΕΘ [A], ΑΝΑΝΕΡΕΘ [L]), a site on the border of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19 19)†. The reading seems corrupt (note the conflate readings of 𝔊BA). Perhaps we should read אֲרָנֶת and identify with *'Arrāneh*, a village on rising ground in the plain of Esdraelon, a little northward of Jenin (= En-gannim). So Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* and Riehm's *HWB*(2) (after Knobel).

Knobel's alternative view (adopted from de Saulcy by Conder) identifies Anaharath with en-Nā'ūra, which is not far from Iksāl (Chesulloth) and Sōlām (Shunem), and is therefore not altogether unsuitable, but somewhat remote from every attested form of the ancient name.

[1] For analogies cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH.

ANAIAH (עֲנָיָה, § 33, 'Yahwè has answered'; ἀνανια(ς) [BℵAL], thus identifying the name with ANANIAH).

1. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8) at the reading of the law (Neh. 8 4 = 1 Esd. 9 43 ANANIAS, 4).

2. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10 22 [23] (Αια [B]; Αναια [Aℵ*]). See EZRA, i. § 7.

ANAK. See ANAKIM.

ANAKIM RV; AV, less correctly, ANAKIMS (עֲנָקִים; and הָעֲנָקִים; in Targg. generally rendered גִּבָּרַיָּא, 'giants'; ενακ[ε]ιμ [BAFL], but -ν [F*?]? Dt. 2 10]; *ENACIM*).

The Anakim are mentioned in Dt. 2 10 *f.* 21 Josh. 11 21 *f.* 14 12 15 Jer. 47 5 (𝔊BℵAQ; Heb. reads 'of their valley'); elsewhere called 'sons of Anak' (עֲנָק, ενακ [BAL]) Nu. 13 23 (εναχ [BF]); Dt. 9 2*b* and (MT 'sons of the Anak') Josh. 15 14*a*; Judg. 1 20; 'sons of the Anakim,' Dt. 1 28) υἱοὶ γιγάντων [BAL]) 9 2*a* (υἱοὶ Ἐνάκ); 'the children (יְלִידֵי) of Anak' (MT 'the Anak') Nu. 13 23*a* 28 (*wax* [B], αιναк [A]), Josh. 15 14*b*. The phrases are exactly parallel to 'Rephaim' and 'children of the Rapha' (see REPHAIM); indeed in Dt. 2 11 a writer of the Deuteronomic school, 'interested in history and archaeology' (Kue.), makes the Anakim a branch of the Rephaim.

These and other descriptive terms (which are not to be mistaken for race-names) are given at any rate to some portions of the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine, whom, like the Amorites, tradition endowed with colossal height (cp Nu. 13 33).[1] On the inhabitants of Palestine generally, see CANAAN.

According to Josh. 11 21 (D_2), the Anakim were to be found in the mountains about Hebron, in the fenced cities Debir and Anab, and, in general, in the mountains of Judah and Israel, whence Joshua and Israel drove them out. Verse 22 also states that a remnant of them survived in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (cp Jer. 47 5 𝔊; οἱ κατάλοιποι ενακειμ [BKAQ], where MT has 'the remnant of their valley'). The oldest narrator, however, gives the credit of their expulsion to Caleb, who drove out from Kirjath-arba the three sons of Anak: Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai—*i.e.*, the three tribes or clans which bore those names (Josh. 15 14). The editor of Judg. 1, quoting this passage, refers the deed to the tribe of Judah (*v.* 10); see HEBRON. In later times, a too literal interpretation of 'sons,' and genealogical interest, led to the transformation of Anak, and—what is still stranger—of Arba' ('four') in the place-name Kirjath-arba, into personal names. Thus Anak (virtually a personal name where it has the article) becomes father of SHESHAI, AHIMAN (1), and TALMAI (1), and son of Kirjath-arba; cp Josh. 21 11 (MT הָעֲנוֹק), 15 13 *f.* Judg. 1 10 (εναμ [A]).

The proof of this is supplied by 𝔊BAL, which in Josh. 15 13 21 11 instead of 'father of Anak' has μητρόπολιν [τῶν] ενακ. This no doubt represents the original text, which stated that Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, was an important city (a 'mother,' cp 2 S. 20 19) of the Anakim. A later scribe, prepared to find a genealogical notice and therefore surprised to find the word 'mother' in apposition to Arba, altered 'mother' (אֵם) into 'father' (אֲבִי). Thus he obtained the statement that Hebron was the city of one Arba who was the father of '(the) Anak.' In Josh. 14 15, however, he took a different course. The true reading must be that of 𝔊BAL which gives (nearly as in the parallel passages) πόλις αρβε ([L], αρβο [A], αργοβ [B]), μητρόπολις τῶν ενακ[ε]ιμ αὕτη. For this the scribe substituted 'the city of Arba, the greatest man among the Anakim.' The consequence was that Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai (the three Anakites mentioned in Josh. 15 14) became, literally 'sons of (the) Anak,' and grandsons of Arba—no contemptible acquisition for genealogists. So virtually Schleusner (Thes., *s.v.* μητρόπολις); but see especially Moore, *Judges* 24 *f.* Cp also Schwally, *ZATW*, 1893, p. 139 *ff.* T. K. C.

ANAMIM (עֲנָמִים), one of the peoples of Mizraim, Gen. 10 13 = 1 Ch. 1 11†; unidentified. See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (2).

ANAMMELECH (עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ, ανημελεχ [B], αμη. [A]; om. L; ܥܢܡܠܟ; *Anamelech*), a Babylonian deity, whose worship was carried by the Sepharvites into Samaria when, along with the inhabitants of other Babylonian cities, they were transplanted thither by Sargon. As in the case of the kindred deity Adrammelech (see, however, ADRAMMELECH, 1), the worship of Anammelech was accompanied by the rite of human sacrifice (2 K. 17 31). The name Anammelech is probably to be explained as *Anu-malik* 'Anu' is the decider or prince'[1] (Schr., Del.), although there is no evidence that Anu enjoyed any special veneration in Sippara (see SEPHARVAIM), a city that was especially devoted to the worship of Šamaš the Sun-god.

It is very possible, however, that the text is corrupt (Hommel proposes a rather elaborate restoration [*Exp. T.* 9 330 *f.*]). It is also possible (see NISROCH) that Anammelech is merely a faulty variant of Adrammelech (rather Adarmelech). 𝔊L in 2 K. 17 31 has only αδραμελεχ.

Anu was the god of Heaven, and with him were identified a number of gods representing personifications of powers or localities of the upper region, such as *Uraš*, *Anšargal*, *Anšar*, *Enšar*, *Du'ur*, *Luḫma*, *Ekur*, *Alala*, *Alala-alam*, and *Enurula*. He stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, forming one of the supreme triad of Babylonian divinities, in which he was associated with *Bēl*, the god of Earth and of created things, and *En*, the god of the Abyss and all that is beneath the earth. See BABYLONIA, § 26. According to G. Hoffmann (*ZA*, 1896, p. 258), however, the name is ע[נ]ת[מלך]—*i.e.*, Anath-malk. Cp Astar[t]-Kemosh and Melk[at]-Astart. Anath (Anta) was the consort of Anu (see ANATH). L. W. K.

ANAN (עָנָן, § 50; shortened from ANANIAH). 1. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 26 [27] (ηναμ [B], ηνα [ℵ], -αν [A], ηιναν [L]).

2. Anan (αν[ν]αν [BAL]) in 1 Esd. 5 30 = HANAN, 3 (חָנָן) Ezra 2 46.

ANANI (עֲנָנִי, § 50, abbr. from ANANIAH, cp Sab. ענני and Palm. ענני; ανανει [B], ανανι [A], -ιας [L]), descendant of ZERUBBABEL (1 Ch. 3 24).

ANANIAH (עֲנָנְיָה, Bℵ*A om., ανανια [ℵc.a mg. inf.], ανια [L]) in Benjamin, mentioned (*v.* 32†) in the list of villages, Neh. 11 20-36 (see EZRA, 2, § 56, § 15 (1) *a*), along with Nob and Ramah (Neh. 11 32), and possibly represented by the modern *Beit-Ḥanīna*, 3½ m. NNW. of Jerusalem.

ANANIAH (עֲנָנְיָה, §§ 33, 50; ανανια [BAL]), ancestor of one of Nehemiah's builders (Neh. 3 23).

ANANIAS (ανανιας [BAL]), the Gk. form of HANANIAH or ANANIAH.

1. RV ANNIS, mg. ANNIAS, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5 16 (αννεις [B], αννιας [A], om. L). The name has probably arisen from a misreading of Hodiah (הודיה read חניה); cp Neh. 10 17 *f.*, and see HODIAH, 2. Cp also Meyer, *EJ* 143, 155.

2. 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 20 HANANI, 3.

3. 1 Esd. 9 29 = Ezra 10 28 HANANIAH, 7.

4. 1 Esd. 9 43 = Neh. 8 4 ANAIAH, 1.

5. 1 Esd. 9 48 (αννιας [B]) = Neh. 8 7 HANAN, 4.

6. A kinsman of Tobit. The archangel Raphael, while in disguise, claimed to be his son (Tob. 5 12). He is designated Ananias 'the great,' son of Semeus or Semelius (see SHEMAIAH, 23), also called 'the great.'

7. b. Gideon, ancestor of Judith (Judith 8 1, om. B).

8. In Song of Three Children, *v.* 66 (𝔊 Theod. Dan. 3 88); see HANANIAH. 1.

9. Son of Nedebaios (*Ant.* xx. 5 2, Νεβεδαιός in some MSS [AE] νεδεβαιος; cp NEDABIAH), high priest, *circa* 47-59 A.D., under Herod Agrippa II., king of Chalcis. He is mentioned in Acts 23 2 *ff.* 24 1 as the high priest before whom Paul was accused during the procuratorship of Felix. He flourished in the degenerate days of the priesthood, and, though Josephus says (*Ant.* xx. 9 2) that after his retirement he 'increased in glory every day,' allusion is made to him in the Talmud (*Pesaḥim*) in terms of the greatest contempt. Cp ANNAS (end).

[1] Anak, 'long-necked' (St. and most), or 'those with necklaces' (Klo.), with which cp Heb. *'ănāḳ*, 'a chain for the neck,' Aram. *'ūnaḳ*, Ar. *'unḳ*, 'neck.'

[1] In which case cp Anu(m) šarru = Anu the king, the usual title of the god Anu (Muss-Arn. *Ass. Dict.* 65).

10. Husband of SAPPHIRA (*q.v.*), Acts 51. See COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3.

11. A 'disciple' at Damascus, who was the means of introducing Paul, after his conversion, to the Christian community there (Acts 9 10-19).

ANANIEL (ανανιηλ [BℵA]; Heb. [ed. Neubauer] חֲנַנְאֵל, Hananeel), Tobit's grandfather (Tob. 1 1).

ANATH (עֲנָת; αναθ [BAL]), a divine name, mentioned in connection with Shamgar in Judg. 3 31 (δεινάχ [B]) and 5 6† (κεναθ [A]). If SHAMGAR (*q.v.*) were an Israelite, and b. Anath ('son of Anath') his second name, it would be tempting to take 'Anath' in 'ben Anath' as shortened from Ebed Anath 'servant of Anath' (so Baethgen, *Beitr.* 141; but see Noldeke, *ZDMG* 42 479 ['88]). More probably, however, Ben-anath is a Hebraised form of the name of a foreign oppressor who succeeded Shamgar[1] (certainly a foreign name), and in this case Anath must designate a foreign deity. Who then was this deity? Evidently the well-known goddess worshipped in very early times in Syria and Palestine (as appears, *e.g.*, from the names mentioned below), and adopted, as the growing evidence of early Babylonian influence on Palestine scarcely permits us to doubt, from the Babylonian pantheon. An(a)tu was in fact the daughter of the primitive god Anu, whose name is mentioned as that of a Syrian deity in 2 K. 17 31 (see ANAMMELECH, SEPHARVAIM). Of her character as a war-deity there can be no doubt. In ancient Egypt, where her cultus was introduced from Syria, she was frequently coupled with the terrible war-goddess Astart, and on an Egyptian stele in the British Museum she appears with a helmet on the head, with a shield and a javelin in the right hand, and brandishing a battle-axe in the left. She was, therefore, a fit patron-deity for Shamgar or for Sisera. That the fragmentary Israelitish traditions make no direct reference to her cultus, need not be matter for surprise. The names ANATHOTH, BETH-ANATH, BETH-ANOTH, compensate us for this omission. Wellhausen thinks that we have also one mention of Anath in Hos. 14 8 [9], where he renders an emended text 'I am his Anath and his Asherah' (in clause 2)—surely an improbable view. For a less difficult correction see Che. *Exp. Times*, April 1898.

For Archæology see Jensen, *Kosm.* 193 272 *f.*; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31 717 ['77]; Tiele, *Gesch. van den Godsdienst in die oudheid*, etc. ('93), 224; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 313. T. K. C.

ANATHEMA. See BAN, § 3.

ANATHOTH (עֲנָתוֹת, αναθωθ [BAL]), a town of Benjamin (cp below, 2), theoretically included by later writers among the so-called Levitical cities (see LEVITES), Josh. 21 18 P; 1 Ch. 6 60 [45] (αγχωχ [B], -ωc and αναθωθ [A], εναθωθ [L], Neh. 7 27 ναθωθ [A; om. B]).

The form of the ethnic varies in edd. and versions[2] (cp also ANTOTHIJAH). ABIEZER, 2, is called הָעַנְּתֹתִי, 2 S. 23 27, AV the ANETHOTHITE (ανωθειτης [B], αναθωθ. [Al, -ωθι [L]), הָעֲנְּתוֹתִי, 1 Ch. 27 12 (AV, ANETOTHITE, ὁ ἐξ αναθωθ [BAL]), and finally הָעֲנְּתֹתִי, 1 Ch. 11 28 (AV ANTOTHITE, αναθωθ[ε]ι [BA], -ωθιτης [L]). The last-mentioned form is used to designate JEHU, 5, in 1 Ch. 12 3 (ὁ αναθωθ[ε]ι [BAL], -βωθει [ℵ]; 4, αναθωθει [ℵ] not in Heb. or 𝔊BA). RV in each case ANATHOTHITE.

The name appears to be the plural of ANATH, and may refer to some images of that goddess which once stood there. Under the form Anath the place seems to be once referred to in the Talmud (*Yoma* 10*a*), where its building is assigned to Ahiman the Anakite. Tradition said that Abiathar, the priest in David's time, had 'fields' at Anathoth (1 K. 2 26); and Jeremiah was born of a priestly family which had property there (Jer. 1 1, 29 27 32 7-9, ανανα‌θωθ [A*v. 7] 37 12). It is once referred to by Isaiah (Isa. 10 30), and is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 23 = Neh. 7 27 = 1 Esd. 5 18 (ενατου [B]):

The connection of Anathoth with Jeremiah gives a special interest to its identification. A tradition, not older than the 15th century, fixes it at Ḳariet el-'Enab (Robinson's Kirjath-jearim); but, as Robinson has shown, it can only be the village now called *'Anāta*, which is situated NE. of Jerusalem, just at the distance required by the *Onomasticon*, and by the reference in Isa. 10 30. 'Anāta is well-placed, but only from a strategical point of view. Eastward and south-eastward its inhabitants look down on the Dead Sea and the Lower Jordan—striking elements in a landscape, no doubt, but depressing. Jerusalem is quickly accessible by the Wādy Sulēm and Scopus, but is not within sight. Here the saddest of the prophets presumably spent his earlier years.

2. b. BECHER (*q.v.*) in genealogy of BENJAMIN [§ 9, ii. *a*], 1 Ch. 7 8 (αναθων [BAL]).

3. Signatory to the covenant (Neh. 10 19 [20]). See EZRA, i. § 7. T. K. C.

ANCHOR (αγκυρα), Acts 27 29. See SHIP.

ANDREW (ανδρεας [Ti. WH] 'manly'), one of Christ's twelve disciples. Like Philip, he bore a Greek name; but so did many Jews of his time, and in Dio Cassius (68 32) we meet with another instance of a Jew called Andrew.

Besides the account of his call (see PETER), and his inclusion in the lists of the apostles (see APOSTLE, § 1), nothing is said of Andrew in the Synoptics, except that, in Mk. 13 3, he appears as one of the inner circle within the twelve, for he is one of the four who question Christ 'privately' about the impending ruin of the temple.

In the Fourth Gospel the picture is more fully drawn, and in one respect completes and explains the account of Andrew's call given in the Synoptics. We read that he belonged originally to Bethsaida (Jn. 1 44), that he was a disciple of the Baptist and heard his witness to Christ, that he and a companion (no doubt John) asked the wandering teacher where he dwelt, and went with him to his temporary home. Then, having 'found the Messiah,' Andrew made his brother, Simon Peter, a sharer in his joy. We next meet with Andrew, on the E. of the lake of Galilee, at the miraculous feeding of the multitude, on which occasion it is he that tells our Lord (6 8 *f.*) of the lad in the crowd who has 'five barley loaves and two fishes.' Once more, when the end is near, he shows in a memorable scene his special intimacy with the Master. When Greeks approach Philip with the 'desire to see Jesus,' it is to Andrew first that Philip communicates the request which they together lay before Christ (Jn. 12 22).

The rest of the NT, apart from the list of the disciples in Acts 1 13, is absolutely silent about Andrew. Such other tradition as we have is worthless.

Eusebius (*HE* iii.) speaks of him as preaching in Scythia, and we have in Andrew's 'Acts' the story of his martyrdom, at Patræ in Achaia, on a cross shaped like the letter X. Acts of Andrew the Apostle were in circulation among the Gnostics of the second century, but survived only in various Catholic recensions of much later date. Harnack enumerates (1) *Acta Andreæ et Matthiæ* (and their mission to the Anthropophagi) in Greek (edited by Tisch. *Act. Apost. Apocryph.*), Syriac (edited by Wright, *Apoc. Acts of the Apostles*), Ethiopic, and Coptic (fragmentary). The Latin version survives only in its influence on the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas and Elene* by Cynewulf, and in the *Miracula B. Andreæ* by Gregory of Tours; see Lips. *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 1 543 *ff.*, cpp. 27. (2) *Acta Petri et Andreæ* in Greek (fragments edited by Tisch.) as well as in an Ethiopic recension and a Slavonic translation (cp Lips. 1 553 *f.*). (3) *Martyrium Andreæ* in various Greek recensions (one edited by Tisch.), and in Latin (Harnack, *Altchrist. Lit.* 1 127 *f.*, cp Lips. 1 564 *ff.*). A 'gospel of Andrew' is mentioned in the *Decretum Gelasii*.

ANDRONICUS (ανδρονικος [VA; ανδρογιον] 2 Macc. 4 38 A*). 1. The Deputy of Antiochus Epiphanes

[1] Reading in Judg. 5 6, 'In the days of Shamgar and Ben Anath.' The notice in 3 31, which is much later than the song (see Moore) is, of course, valueless.

[2] Ba. and Ginsb., however, read everywhere עֲנְּתוֹתִי (cp the former's note on 1 Ch. 11 28). Exceptionally in Sam. *l.c.* Ginsh. עֲנְּתֹתִי.

in Antioch, who (according to 2 Macc. 4 31 *ff.*), at the instigation of Menelaus, put to death the deposed high priest Onias—a deed for which he was himself slain with ignominy on the return of the king. See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

2. Deputy of Antiochus at Gerizim (2 Macc. 5 23). See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

3. Andronicus and Junias are named in Rom. 16 7 as kinsmen and fellow-prisoners of Paul, as of note among the apostles, and as having been 'in Christ' before him. The expression 'kinsmen,' if taken literally, seems to imply that they were Jews by birth; 'fellow-prisoners,' on the hypothesis that Rom. 16 3-20 belongs really to an Ephesian Epistle, has been conjectured by Weizsacker to allude to an imprisonment which they shared with Paul in Ephesus, most likely in connection with the great 'affliction' (2 Cor. 1 8-11), which ultimately led to his leaving that city (Acts 19 23-20 1); on the application of the term 'apostle' to them see APOSTLE, § 3. The name Andronicus was not uncommon among Greek slaves; and it has been conjectured that this Andronicus may have been the Jewish freedman of a Greek master.

In the lists of 'the seventy disciples' which we owe to the Pseudo-Dorothens and the Pseudo-Hippolytus Andronicus is spoken of as bishop of 'Pannonia,' or of 'Spain.' In the fragments of the (Gnostic) περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, he and his wife Drusiana figure prominently as hosts of the apostle John at Ephesus, and he is represented as having been made by that apostle πρόεδρος, or president, of the church of Smyrna. In the Greek church Andronicus is commemorated, along with Crescens, Silas, and Epænetus, on 30th July. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* (Index, p. 184).

ANEM (עָנֵם), 1 Ch. 6 73 [58] = Josh. 19 21 EN-GANNIM (*q.v.*).

ANER (עָנֵר), 1. (Sam. ענרם; αυναν [ADEL]; Jos. ΕΝΝΗΡΟϹ, a Hebronite) Gen. 14 13 24†. Perhaps a local name; cp *Ne'îr*, a hill near Hebron (*ZDMG* 12 479 ['58]). The correctness of the name Aner, however, is doubtful. The *αυναν* of @ points to עינן, Enan (*i.e.*, place of a spring), a name which may refer to one of the six springs near Hebron—*e.g.*, the deep spring of Sarah called *'Ain Jedîdeh* (Baed.(2) 137), at the E. foot of the hill on which ancient Hebrou lay.

2. (αμαρ [B], ενηρ [A], αν. [L]) a city in Western Manasseh (1 Ch. 6 70 [55])—perhaps a corruption of TAANACH (תענך); cp Josh. 21 25. T. K. C.

ANETHOTHITE, ANETOTHITE. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANGEL. The English word 'angel' is a transcription of ἄγγελος, 𝔊's translation of Heb. *mal'ākh* (מלאך).

1. Names. The English word denotes primarily superhuman beings; but both the Hebrew and the Greek terms are quite general, and, signifying simply ***messenger***, are used indifferently of human or superhuman beings.[1] Other terms, less ambiguous in this particular respect, also occur.

These are: 'gods' (אלהים, cp Ps. 8 5 [6], and see **AV**, RV mg. *ib.* **82** 1 6 97 7 138 1), 'sons of [the] god[s]' (בני [ה]אלהים, **cp** Gen. 6 2 4 Job 1 6 2 1 **38** 7, or בני אלים, Ps. 29 1 89 6 [7], EV text), '[sons of] the mighty,' 'mighty ones' (אבירים, Ps. 78 25, cp *ib.* **103** 20, גבּרי כח), 'holy ones' (קדשים, Jb. 5 1 Ps. 89 5 [6] Zech. 14 5 Dan. 4 14 [17] 8 13), 'watchers' (עירין, Dan. 4 14 [17]), 'host of heaven (צבא השמים, 1 K. 22 19 Dt. 17 3), 'host of the height' (צבא מרום, Is. **24** 21), or 'host of Yahwk' (צבא יהוה, Josh. 5 14, **cp** use of צבא in Ps. 103 21 148 2 Neh. 9 6, and 'God's camp,' מחנה אלהים, Gen. 32 2 [3]). In the case of Ps. 68 17 [18] (אלפי שנאן) we owe the **AV** rendering 'thousands of angels' to old Heb. tradition (Targ. Saad. and Abulw.), which treated the difficult שנאן as a synonym of מלאך (cp Del., ***ad*** *loc.*). RV 'thousands upon thousands' is equally hazardous; cp Dan. 7 10.

In the NT also we find other terms in use: 'spirits' (πνεύματα, Heh. 1 14), 'principalities' (ἀρχαί, Rom. 8 38), 'powers' (δυνάμεις, *ib.*, ἐξουσίαι, Eph. 6 12), 'thrones' (θρόνοι, Col. 1 16), and dominions' (κυριότητες, *ib.*); cp further Cremer, ***Lex. NT***(3) 0 *ff.* 237, and the Heb. and NT Lexicons, *s.vv.*

[1] Karppe (*Journ. As.* ser. ix., 9 128) reads מלך, a derivative of הלך, as if 'the walker' = 'the messenger,' or Yahwk marching (Is. 63 1, *SBOT*) as opposed to Yahwk mounted on the cherub (Ps. 18 10 [11]).

The earliest OT writings contain no definite or ystematic angelology, but indicate a prevalent belief in other superhuman beings besides YahwA.

2. Pre-exilic. These were (1) the 'other ;ods' or 'gods of the nations,' who were credited with eal existence and activity; cp, *e.g.*, Nu. 21 29 Judg. 11 24 ınd v. Baudissin, *Stud.* 1 55-79. (2) Closely connected vith these were the 'sons of God'—*i.e.*, members of he divine guild. There is but one pre-exilic reference o these (Gen. 6 2 4), whence it appears that they were ıot subject to Yahwè, but might break through the ıatural order of his world with impunity. (3) Attendants on Yahwè—in Is. 6 some of these attendants ire termed Seraphim (see SERAPHIM), but others iistinct from these seem to be implied; cp *v.* 8. In a iimilar scene (1 K. 22 19-22), those who attend YahwA and form his council are termed collectively 'the host of heaven.' Such divine councils are also implied in Gen. 3 22 11 7 (both J); cp the plurals in these passages with that in Is. 6 8, and the question in 1 K. 22 20. In another passage (Jos. 5 14 *ff.*)—the pre-exilic origin of which, however, has been questioned (Kue. ***Hex.*** 248 ET)—the host of YahwA appears as disciplined and under a captain. According to some, the 'hosts' in the phrase 'Yahwè (God of) hosts'—a phrase current in early times—were angels (Che. *Proph. Is.*(5) 1 11 *ff.*; see further NAMES, § 123). The original text of Deut. 33 2 *f.* contained no reference to angels (see Dillm. *Comm.*; cp also Driver). Another element in early Hebrew folklore worthy of notice in the present connection is the belief in the horsemen of the air (2 K. 2 12 6 17). For a parallel in modern Bedouin folklore cp Doughty, ***Ar. De.*** 1 449. 'The melaika are seen in the air like horsemen, tilting to and fro.' Angelic horsemen play a considerable part in later literature—*e.g.*, in Zech., Apoc.

The most noteworthy features, then, of the pre-exilic angelology are the following:—(1) except in Gen. 28 32, these beings are never termed 'angels.' 'Angel' occurs frequently in the singular, but only in the phrase 'angel of YahwA' (more rarely, 'of God'), which denotes, not a messenger of, and distinct from, YahwA, but a manifestation of YahwA himself in human form (see THEOPHANIES, § 4). Kosters treats even Gen. 28 10-12 17 32 1 [2] 18 1 *f.* 19 1 *f.* as statements of the manifestation of the one God in many forms (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 426 *f.*, 2nd ed. 445 *f.*), and concludes that, before the Exile, מלאך was used exclusively of appearences of YahwA. Against this, Schultz's reference (*OT Theol.* 2 219) to 1 S. 29 9 2 S. 14 17 19 27 [28] is not quite conclusive. (2) These attendants on Yahwè are not also messengers to men. Even if the angels of Gen. 28 32 be distinct from God, they bring no message. For such a function there was no need so long as Yahwè himself appeared to men. (3) Beside these subordinate divine beings that attend Yahwè, but have no relations with men, there are other beings ('other gods,' 'sons of the gods') which are not subject to Yahwè, and do enter into relations with men.

Comparatively few as are the early references to angels or kindred beliefs (cp DEMONS, § 1), they are yet such as to justify us in attributing a comparatively rich folk-lore on these matters to the early Hebrews;

3. Later. but it is not until the exilic and post-exilic periods that angels come into prominence theologically. They do so then in consequence of the maturing belief, on the one hand, in the transcendence of Yahwè, on the other, in his supremacy. The development of angelology at this time must also have been favoured by the contact of the Jews with the Persians; and some details of the later doctrine may be due to the same influence—*e.g.*, the naming of angels, although the great majority of the names themselves (as in

Enoch 6 69) are quite clearly Hebraic, though of **a** late type (cp *HPN*, p. 210).

With the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence, belief in his self-manifestation in human form ceased; and thus the phrase 'angel of YahwP,' set free from its old meaning, now came to denote one of the beings intermediate between YahwP and men. At first it was apparently the title of a particular angel (Zech. 1_{11} *f.*), but subsequently it became a quite general term (note the pl. Ps. 103_{20}, cp 34_7[8] and NT *passim).* It is now by angels, and no longer directly, that Yahwè communicates with men—even prophets. The experience of Ezekiel marks the transition—Yahwè speaks to him, sometimes directly (44_2), sometimes through another (40_3). With Zechariah the change is complete. He never sees Yahwè; he receives all divine instructions through angels (contrast Am. 7*f.*). Daniel receives the explanation of his visions in the same way; and in NT, warnings or other communications of the divine will are given by angels (Mt. 1_{20} 213, Lk. 1_{19}, Acts $10_{3\,30}$). The angels thus become the intermediaries of YahwB's revelation; but they are also the instruments of his aid (Ps. 91_{11} Dan. 328, and frequently; cp later, 2 Macc. 11 6 3 Macc. 6_{18}, Susan. 42 *ff.* [in LXX, but not in Theod.], Bel and Drag. 34-39; cp Acts $8_{26\,39}$*f.* Tobit, *passim*, Acts 12_7*ff.*, and especially Heb. 1_{14}), or punishment (Ps. 78_{49} 35_5*f.* Enoch 53_3 611 62_{11} 631 Apoc. Rar. 2123 Rev. 6 *f.*, also in 𝔊 Job 20_{15} 33_{23} 40_{11} *[v.* 6 in Heb. and EV] and see further below, § 5). Especially prominent in the apocalyptic literature is the cognate belief in the intercession of angels with God, in behalf of the righteous, or against the unrighteous: see, *e.g.*, Enoch 9_{10} 15_2 406 (where the function is specially referred to Gabriel, 40_{69}; yet cp also Tob. $12_{12\,15}$ where Raphael intercedes) $99_{3\,16}$ 104_1 Rev. 8_3*f.* Cp also in OT, Zech. 1_{12} Job 51 33_{23} Eccles. 56[5], and perhaps in NT, Mt. 18_{10}, unless this be a case of angelic guardianship.

In other respects also, the later angelology shows the influence of the growing sense of Yahwè's transcendence;

4. Supremacy of Yahwè.

the angels, exalted far above men by the functions just mentioned, are themselves abased before God (Iob 4_{18}). The awful exaltation of even angels above-men, is prominent in Daniel (Dan. $8_{16\text{-}18}$ 10_{16}*f.*). The countless number of the angels is emphasised (Job 33_{23}, Dan. 7 10, and later, Enoch 40_1 718 Mt. 2653 Heb. 12_{22} Apoc. Bar. 48_{10} 5111 59_{11}), and they are divided into ranks. Even in Zech. the angel of YahwP is a 'kind of grand vizier receiving the report of (less exalted) angels' (Smend). This conception of ranks becomes, later, more detailed[1] (see Dan. 10_{13} **121** Tob. 12_{15}, and Enoch—*e.g.*, chap. 40), and creates in **Gk.** the term ἀρχάγγελος (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 67; 1 Thes. 416 Jude 9); it may be traced farther, in NT, in the references to the 'seven spirits of God' (Rev. 45 cp 8_2), and to Michael (Jude 9 Rev. 12_7) and Gabriel (Lk. 1_{19}); probably also in the use of several terms together, in certain passages (*e.g.*, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, Col. 1_{16}), and perhaps in the term 'elect angels' (1 Tim. 5_{21}).

The doctrine of YahwB's supremacy involved either an absolute denial of the existence of other superhuman beings or their subordination to him. To the latter method of accommodation post-exilic angelology owes some striking features. Thus, the patron angels of nations (clearly referred to in Dan. $10_{13\,20}$ 12_1, probably also in Is. 24_{21} *ff.* Joel 3[4]$_{11}$ Pss. 82 58_{10}; see Che. *Book of Psalms*[(1)] 229 *ff.* and *comm.*) are merely the ancient 'gods of the nations'—for which, in this connection, cp especially Dt. 4_{19} 29_{25} *f.* 338 𝔊—transformed to suit the new doctrine. Again, the 'sons of the Elohim'—formerly independent of YahwP, whose laws they broke with impunity—now become identified with the angels (cp Ps. 29_1 with 103_{20}, and 𝔊's translation of Gen. 62 [not L] Job 16 etc., cp also Lk. 2036); as such they constitute his council and do his bidding (Job 1 6 21; cp Zech. 1_{11}*f.*). Similarly, the host of heaven, which in the later years of the monarchy had been favourite objects of worship (cp, *e.g.*, Zeph. 1 5 Jer. 82 Dt. 4_{19}), and therefore rivals of YahwP, now again become subject to him and do him homage (Neh. 9 6); he is as supreme over them as over men (Is. 45_{12}, cp 40_{26}); he is equally supreme over all gods (*e.g.*, cp Ps. 964).

On the other hand, the difficulty with which Yahwè's claim to universal worship against all others was

5. Supremacy incomplete.

established-is also reflected in the new angelology. YahwB's supremacy over the 'gods,' or the 'host of heaven,' was won and maintained only by force (Job 25_2 cp **2122** Is. 24_{21} 3445; cp 271—for the passages in Job see Davidson's, for those in Isaiah, Cheyne's *Comm.*). This incomplete assimilation of the 'other gods' etc. to beings wholly subservient to YahwP, combined with a growing dislike to attribute evil or disorder directly to him, led to the differentiation of angels as beneficent or maleficent (see DEMONS, § 5, **SATAN, § 3**); but the OT nowhere lays stress on the moral character of angels, or knows anything of their 'fall.' Consequently, angels were divided not into good and bad, but into those who worked wholly, and those who worked only partly, in obedience to God. This latter division still seems to hold its own in NT alongside of the former; and, for this reason, in passages such as Rom. 838 1 Cor. 15_{24}*f.*, the question 'Are the angels referred to good or bad?' is probably ont of place (cp Everling).

For several centuries after the Exile the belief in angels did not gain equal prevalence in all circles: thus

6. Schools of belief.

P never mentions them (on Gen. 126 2_1 see Dillm.); the Priestly Chronicler does so but rarely—save when quoting directly from his sources—and Esther, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Maccabees, are marked more by the absence than by the presence of such references; 'Angel' does not occur in the Hebrew of Ecclus. 48_{21}. Still later the differences become conspicuous; the Sadducees were credited with complete scepticism (Acts 23 8); the ESSENES (*q.v.*, § 3) attached an exaggerated importance to the doctrine; the popular Pharisaic party and all the NT writers share, in general, the popular beliefs. Yet in John angels are alluded to only in 20_{12} 1_{51} (a passage based on an OT narrative), 12_{29} (a saying of the populace), and the intrusive verse 5_4; the epistles contain no mention of them (cp the comparative infrequency of references in John to demons (*q.v.*, § 6).

Several features of NT angelology have been already incidentally discussed; they are common to both Jewish

7. Apocalypses and NT.

and Christian writings. Scarcely less influential over the writers of the NT than the OT were the apocalypses then already extant—especially Enoch. It is in Enoch we

1 [The influence of non-Jewish upon Jewish beliefs can here scarcely he denied. These are the facts of the case: In Daniel (10 13) we hear of **a** class of 'chief princes,' two of whom (GABRIEL and MICHAEL, 11) are named (chaps. 10-12; cp also RAPHAEL and URIEL). In Tob. (12 15) the numher of the 'holy angels who present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One,' is given as seven (if the text is correct). In Enoch the number of the chief angels varies between, three, four, six, and seven (see chaps. **20** 40 2 78 1 89 1 90 21 **31**, and other passages). Manifestly this highest class of angels was suggested by the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands ('immortal holy ones'), who (like the counsellors of the king of Persia, Ezra 7 14) are seven, and this seems to he confirmed by the reference to the archangels in the **Book** of Tobit, which also mentions the Zend name of the chief demon (see ASMODEUS). In referring *to* this Iranian belief, however, we must not forget the possibility that it is to some extent historically connected with Babylonian spirit-lore. The **cultus** of the seven planets is no doubt primeval in Babylonia, and may have spread thence to the Iranian peoples. To explain the belief in the archangels solely from Babylonian sources would he plausible only if the Zoroastrian Gāthas, which are pervaded by the belief in the Amshaspands, were not earlier than the time of Philo. For this hold theory see Darmesteter, *Le Zendavesta* **3** 56 ('93), etc.; hut contrast the same writer's earlier theory in *SBE* (*Zendavesta*, i. Introd.).—T.K.C.]

first see elaborated a doctrine of the 'fall' of angels. The fall is regarded as the punishment for the intercourse mentioned in Gen. 6 2-4, and for an improper revelation of 'the secret things of the world' (cp in NT Jude 6 2 Pet. 2 4). Through their fall they become inferior to men, who therefore judge them (En. 14 4-7 15 2; cp 1 Cor. 6 3 Heb. 2). Enoch should be especially compared with Revelation.

The influence of the OT may be clearly seen in the NT angelophanies, which seem modelled on those of the early OT narratives,—only that now, under the influence of the later development, the angel is quite distinct from God (Acts 10 3 *f.* is not an exception). These angelophanies abound in the nativity and resurrection narratives and in Acts (5 19 8 26-40 10 3-7 30-32 12 7-11 27 23), but are conspicuous by their absence from the narratives of the life of Christ—the badly attested passage Lk. 22 43 being unique, except so far as Mt. 4 11 = Mk. 1 13 (contrast Lk. 4 4 *ff.*) may be considered parallel.

8. Jesus. Jesus accepts the popular belief in the existence of angels, but never (even in Mt. 18 10 or 26 53) countenances the belief that they influence life in the present—perhaps in the parable of the wheat and the tares (Mt. 13 24-30 37-40) he directly discountenances it. All he says of them has reference to themselves alone, or to their relations to men after life. Thus, at the second coming they will accompany the Son of Man (Mt. 16 27 and parallels; Jn. 1 51), and will then separate the good from the evil (*e.g.*, Mt. 13 41; cp Lk. 16 22). They do not marry (Mt. 22 30, and parallels); their knowledge is limited (Mt. 24 36 = Mk. 13 32); and they rejoice over repentant sinners (Lk. 15 10; cp Lk. 12 8 *f.*, with which contrast Mt. 10 32 *f.*, and cp earlier, Job 33 23). In particular, Jesus breaks away from the prevailing tendency to make angels the intermediaries of revelation: he himself becomes the sole revealer (Mt. 11 27 Jn. 1 7 6; cp 14 6 *ff.*), he will himself always be with his disciples (Mt. 28 20), and will instruct them directly (Lk. 21 15), or through the Spirit whom he sends (Jn. 15 26 14 17 26). Thus this part of the doctrine of angels was doomed to give way to the Christian doctrines of the abiding presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It still survives, however, in Revelation (1 1 17 1 21 9; cp also in the contemporary Jewish *Apoc. Bar.* 55 3, 'The angel Ramid who presides over true visions'); also in Acts (10 3 *ff.* 27 23?)—yet here alongside of the new belief (10 13-16).

9. Paul. Paul already shows the influence of the teaching of Jesus—he claims to receive his gospel direct from him (Gal. 1 12 15 *f.*; cp Acts 9 3-6)—but still shares (Gal. 3 19) the common belief (Acts 7 53 Heb. 2 2 Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5 3; cp Dt. 33 2 𝔊) in the past instrumentality of angels in revelation, perhaps also in the present possibility of the same (Gal. 1 8; cp? 4 14). With him, too, angels still play a large part in human-life; his own practice and practical exhortations are governed by this belief (1 Cor. 4 9 6 3 11 10). An emphatic warning, however, is uttered against a practice (which was springing up in some quarters) of worshipping angels (Col. 2 18 cp Rev. 19 10). In the same epistle the creation of angels is asserted (1 16)—a point to which, as might be expected, no reference had been made in OT, where they are once mentioned as being present at the creation of the world, Job 38 7 (in Jewish literature, cp Jub. 2 2 Apoc. Bar. 21 6). The question whether Paul associated angels with cosmical forces turns on the interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Gal. 4 3 Col. 2 8 20 (see, on the one hand, Lightfoot, *in loc.*, on the other, Everling, as cited below, and cp ELEMENTS). Such an association would, at least, have accorded with the tendency of the time: note the angels of binds, sun, fire, and water, etc. (Rev. 7 1 19 17 14 18 16 cp Heb. 1 7 and Jn. 5 4, and, somewhat earlier, Enoch 60 11 *ff.* 61 10). The tendency began much earlier; in the OT angels and stars are closely associated (cp Job 38 7 Is. 34 4, and, in general, the double meaning attaching to the phrase 'host of heaven'); and the transition from Ps. 104 4 to a fixed belief in elemental angels is easy. . See PERSIA.

10. Literature. The literature of the subject is large; all the Old and New Testament Theologies contain discussions. on the OT, Piepenbring's *Théol. de l'ancien Test.* 1888 (ET, New York, '93) and Smend's *AT Rel.-gesch.* ('93) are specially helpful. The chief monographs for the OT are by Kosters ('De Mal'ach Yahwk' and 'Het ontstaan en de ontwikkeling der Angelologie onder Israël' *Th.T* 9 367-415 ['75], 10 34-69 113-141 ['76]; for the Pauline Doctrine, by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie* ['88]). On the vocabulary of the subject see M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après manuscrits hébreux* (Paris, '97). The question of foreign influence is discussed by Kohut (*Ueber d. jüd. Angelologie u. Demonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*); for further literature on this point see Che. *OPs* 282. See further the valuable discussions of Montefiore (*Hibb. Lect.* viii., esp. p. 429 *ff.*), and Cheyne (*OPs* 322-327, 334-337), and cp Lueken, *Michael* ('98).

G. B. G.

ANGLE (Is. 19 8 Hab. 1 15). See HOOK, 3, FISH, § 3.

ANIAM (אֲנִיעָם, surely not 'mourning of the people' [Ges.], but miswritten [see 𝔊^B] for אֱלִיעָם, see ELIAM; differently Gray, *HPN* 44 n. 1, who would omit ׳, and derive from נעם; αλιαλειμ [B], ανιαμ [A], EN. [L]), in genealogy of MANASSEH (1 Ch. 7 19†). T. K. C.

ANIM (עָנִים, αιcαμ [B], ανειμ [A], -ιβ [L]), Josh. 15 50†, a hill town of Judah, mentioned after Eshtenioa (a name equally distorted in 𝔊^B). Perhaps the modern el-Ghuwein, which lies to the south of el-Khalil (Hebron) between es-Semū' and Tell 'Arād.

ANISE (ανηθον [Ti. WH], Mt. 23 23†) or DILL (RV mg.) is the plant *Anethum graveolens*.[1] The correct rendering is 'dill,'[2] and the plant is distinct from *Pimpinella Anisum*, which is the modern 'anise.' The biblical plant is described (Fluckiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia* (2) 327 *f.*), as 'an erect, glaucous annual plant, with finely striated stems, usually one foot to one foot and a half in height, pinnate leaves with setaceous linear segments, and yellow flowers. It is indigenous to the Mediterranean region, Southern Russia, and the Caucasian provinces, but is found as a cornfield weed in many other countries, and is frequently cultivated in gardens.'[3]

It is mentioned in Mt. 23 23, along with mint and cummin,[4] as being subjected by the scribes and Pharisees to tithe. This practice accords with the general principle stated. at the commencement of the Mishnic tract on 'tithes' ('Whatsoever is food, and is private possession, and has its increase out of the earth, is subject to tithe'—a rule based on the precept of Deut. 14 22, 'Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year'), and the liability of dill in particular to tithe is, in the Talmud, specially mentioned (see the references in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1 497). N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ANKLETS and **ANKLE-CHAINS.** These have ever been favourite ornaments among Orientals.[5] Probably the oldest specimens are some in gold and silver which have been found in Egypt, where they appear to have been worn by men as well as women. The chains obliged the wearers to take short and tripping steps. To enhance the effect, bells were (at

[1] The Syriac and the Arabic versions correctly render by the word *shĕbhettā*, *shibitt*—a name for this plant which is probably derived from Persian (see Low, 373).

[2] This though supplanted by 'anise' in all the English versions 'from Wyclif onwards, is the word used in the A.S. version, 'myntan and *dile* and cymmyn.'

[3] Virgil gives it a place in the flower-garden (*Ecl.* 2 48), and Pliny in the vegetable-garden (*HN* xix. 8 52). Cp the Greek reff. in Liddell and Scott.

[4] In the parallel passage in Lk. (11 42) dill is not mentioned—'mint and rue and every herb (πᾶν λάχανον).'

[5] Cp Ar. *ḥalḥāl*, and Gk. περισφύριον and περισκελίς, the latter of which is 𝔊's rendering of the Heb. מִכְנָסַיִם (in the plur. or dual) 'breeches.'

any rate, in later times) attached to the chain—a practice which is alluded to in terms of disapproval in the Koran (*Sur*. 24 31). Ornaments of this nature are referred to in Is. 3 18.

They are here called עֲכָסִים,[1] RV 'anklets,' AV 'tinkling ornaments' (𝔊 ἐμπλόκια), a word from which comes the denominative verb in *v.* 16 (ברגליהם תעכסנה 'they make a tinkling with their feet,' 𝔊 παίζουσαι). Similar is צְעָדָה Is. 3 20†, RV 'ankle chains,' AV 'ornaments of the legs,' 𝔊 uncertain (cp Targ. שירי רגליא); cp אֶצְעָדָה, Nu. 31 50, RV as above, AV 'chains,' 𝔊 χλίδων. In spite of its apparently obvious connection with צעד 'to walk,' צעדה is applied also to ornaments worn on the arms: see BRACELET, 5.

ANNA (ΑΝΝΑ [BℵA]), the Greek form of the name HANNAH.

1. Wife of Tobit (Tob. 1 9 *ff.*).

2. Daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2 36-38). Like Simeon, she represents the class of those who 'waited for the consolation of Israel,' and, like him, she is said to have had the gift of prophecy. Being constantly in the temple, and prepared for the honour by fastings and prayers, she was enabled to meet the child Jesus and his parents, when, like Simeon, she burst into a prophetic song of praise. She is also, it would seem, a prototype of the 'widows indeed' (see WIDOW) of the early Christian community (1 Tim. 5 9): hence the particularity with which the circumstances of her widowhood are described.

The name Anna or Anne became common among Christians from the tradition that the niother of the Virgin Mary was so called.

ANNAAS (CΑΝΑΑC [A]), 1 Esd. 5 23 AV = Ezra 2 35 SENAAH.

ANNAS (ΑΝΝΑC [A]), 1 Esd. 9 32 RV [Heb. חָרִם, § 50] = Ez. 10 31 HARIM.

ANNAS and CAIAPRAS (ΑΝΝΑC [Ti. WH]; ΚΑΙΑΦΑC [Ti. WH]). In 6 A.D. Quirinius, who on the deposition of Archelaus became governor of Syria, followed the custom of the Herodian family and appointed a new high priest. His choice fell on a certain Ananos (so in Josephus) or Annas (so in NT), son of Sethi (Jos. Σεθί) who continued to hold the office until the change of government in 15 A.D. Valerius Gratus, who succeeded Quirinius, gave the post in succession to three men, none of whom, however, held it for more than a year. The second of the three was a son of Annas, called Eleazar by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2). At last, in 18 A.D., Valerius found in Joseph, called Caiaphas, one who was strong enough to hold the office till 36 A.D. Then Vitellius (35-39 A.D.) once more, in 36 and 37, appointed, one after the other, two sons of Annas named Jonathan and Theophilus (*Ant.* xviii. 4 3 5 3). Jonathan still held a prominent position in 50-52 (*BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.*), a point of which we have good proof in the fact that Felix caused him to be assassinated (*BJ* ii. 13 3 *Ant.* xx. 8 5). As in Acts 4 6, Annas, Caiaphas, Jonathan (so D; the other MSS have Joannes, EV JOHN), and ALEXANDER are assigned high-priestly rank, and the first three can be identified from Josephus, JONATHAN being a son, and CAIAPHAS, according to Jn. 18 13, a son-in-law of Annas, we seem to have good reason for conjecturing Alexander to be the Græcised name of Eleazar the son of Annas.

CAIAPHAS, then, was the acting high priest at the time of the trial of Jesus. His long term of office shows that in his relations with the Romans he must have been obsequious and adroit. Mk. and Lk. do not mention him in their account of the passion; but in Jn. 11 49 18 13 *f.* 24 28 and Mt. 26 3 57, we read that he presided over the proceedings of the Synedrium; he therefore it was who rent his clothes. According to Jn. 11 49-52, he became also an involuntary prophet as to what the death of Jesus meant.[1] With regard to his character in general, the accounts accessible to us give no details.

The most important personality in the group would appear to have been old ANNAS. This seems to be sufficiently implied in the fact that four of his sons[2] and a son-in-law successively held the high-priestly office—whether we assume that Annas expressly wrought for this end, or whether it was simply because those in power sought by this means to win him over to themselves. Only on the assumption that he was, in truth, the real manager of affairs, can we account for it that, according to Jn. 18 13-24, he gave a private hearing in the case of Jesus, as also that Lk. (Lk. 3 2) names him as colleague with Caiaphas, and (Acts 4 6) enumerates him in the first place, along with Caiaphas and two of his high-priestly sons, as holding high-priestly rank. Other instances, however, of a similar co-ordination of past high priests are not unknown; for example, in the case of Jonathan, son of Annas (*BJ* ii. 12 5 *f.*), of Ananias son of Nedebaios (*Ant.* xx. 9 2-9; see ANANIAS, 9), and of the younger Ananos and Jesus son of Gamaliel, both of whom were high priests for some time during the years 62-65, and had the conduct of affairs in their hands during the first period of the Jewish wars.

The Annas (Ananos) just mentioned, son of Annas, appointed in 62 A.D. by Agrippa II., availed himself of the confusion following on the death of Festus to procure the death of his enemies by tumultuary sentence. Among the victims of his tyranny was, it would seem, James, the brother of the Lord. The passage relating to it in Josephus (20 9 1), however, may perhaps be a Christian interpolation (see JAMES, § 3, end). In any case, the acting himself, even before the arrival of the new procurator, put an end to Annas's reign of terror by deposing him from the high-priesthood after a tenure of three months. H. v. S.

[1] Cp עֶכֶס a fetter (?) in Pr. 7 22, the pr. name עַכְסָה (see ACHSAH) and the Ar. *'ikās*, a chain connecting the head and forefoot of a camel—the usual method of hobbling the animal.

[1] It has been suggested that the reference to his prophesying may have arisen out of a popular etymology of Caiaphas, cp Ar. *ḳā'if* = soothsayer ('qui movit vestigia et indicia rerum, physiognomus,' Freyt.). cp Nestle, *ZWTh.* 40 149, and see Dalm. *Gram.* 127, n. 4. Blass thinks that Nestle has upset the etymology from כיפא 'stone' and כַּיְפָא 'oppression,' by showing that the name in Aramaic is written with ק, not כ.

[2] The fourth, Matthias, was appointed to the office for a short time, between 41 and 44, by Agrippa; perhaps Annas did not live to see this, and certainly he did not survive to see the priesthood held by his fifth son, Ananos II. (in 62 A.D.).

ANNIS, (ΑΝΝΕΙC [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16 RV, RVmg. **Annias**, AV ANANIAS (*q.v.*, 1).

ANNUUS (ΑΝΝΟΥΝΟΝ [A], om. BL), 1 Esd. 8 48, a name not in Ezra 8 19—in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) d)—supposed by some to be a corruption of 'with him' (אתו) in Ezra, which may itself be a misread sign of the accusative (so 𝔊BAL).

ANOINTING. In the OT two distinct Hebrew terms, frequently occurring, are translated in EV by 'anoint,'
1. Terms. while a third (נסך) is incorrectly so understood in Ps. 2 6 by Targ. and Sym. and also by Ewald (cp We. *Heid.*(1) 118). (*a*) סוּךְ (*sūk*) is *always* (Dt. 28 40 Ruth 3 3 2 S. 12 20 14 2 2 Ch. 28 15 Ezek. 16 9 Dan. 10 3 Mic. 6 15) used of the application of unguents to the human body as a matter of toilet, and hence Ex. 30 32 means that the holy anointing oil shall not be used for ordinary toilet purposes. (*b*) משח (*māshaḥ*) and its derivatives.[3] In this case we have to distinguish between the primary physical, and a secondary and metaphorical use. In its physical sense משח is used (1) rarely, probably with the retention of the original meaning of the root, of rubbing an unguent or other substance on an object,—*e.g.*, oil on shields (Is. 21 5

[3] On these, as well as on several matters referred to in the course of this article, Weinel's study 'משח und seine Derivate' (*ZATW* 18 1-82 ['98]) should he consulted. Unfortunately, it appeared too late to be used in the preparation of the present article.

2 S. 1 21), paint on a ceiling, Jer. 22 14 (here translated in EV by 'painted'),—and probably we should interpret the word similarly in the recurring phrase (*e.g.*, in Ex. 29 2) 'wafers unleavened anointed with oil'; (2) of the application of unguents to persons or things *as a religious rite;* for details see below (§ 3 *ff.*), but observe that, with the possible[1] exception of Am. 6 6, משׁח is *never* used in the sense of סוּך. In its metaphorical sense מָשַׁח is used of the divine appointment or selection of a man for a particular purpose—viz., for the kingship (1 S. 10 1 15 17 2 S. 12 7 2 K. 9 3 6 12 Ps. 45 7 [8] 89 20 [21] 2 Ch. 22 7; cp below, § 5). For the relation of the term מָשִׁיחַ to the usages under discussion see MESSIAH, § 1. 'Anoint' in Ps. 92 10 [11] corresponds to Heb. בלל,[2] in Ps. 23 5 it corresponds to דִּשֵּׁן; 'anointing' in the probably corrupt passage Is. 10 27 corresponds to שֶׁמֶן (𝔊^BNAQ om.) and 'anointed ones' in Zech. 4 14 (AV; but RV 'sons of oil'; 𝔊^BNAQ υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος) to בני היצהר.

In NT the EV also confuses two sharply distinguished terms. χρίω, which in the LXX, as in classical Greek, may be used in a physical sense, is in the NT used *exclusively* (Lk. 4 18 [cp Is. 61 1] Acts 4 27 10 38 2 Cor. 1 21) of God in a metaphorical sense; for we can hardly regard the quotation from Ps. 45 7 [8] in Heb. 1 9 as an exception. The derivatives χρίσμα (1 Jn. 2 20 27) and χριστός are used similarly; but the compounds ἐγχρίω (Rev. 3 18 also Tob. 6 8 [9] 11 8) and ἐπιχρίω (Jn. 9 6 11) retain the original physical sense.

Thus the NT use of χρίω resembles the metaphorical use of משׁח. The other NT term, ἀλείφω, is *always* used of the application of unguents to the body, whether (like the Heb. סוּךְ which it frequently represents, *e.g.*, Ruth 3 3 Micah 6 15, cp also 2 K. 4 2 𝔊^BAL) for toilet purposes (Mt. 6 17 Lk. 7 38 46 Jn. 11 2), or medicinally (Mk. 6 13 Ja. 5 14), or as a tribute of respect to the dead (Mk. 16 1 cp Jn. 12 3 7).[3]

From the foregoing analysis of the terms, it will be clear that 'anointing' was practised by the Hebrews both for secular and for sacred purposes. The unguent used was olive oil, with or without the addition of aromatic spices; for details see OIL. Anointing formed among the Hebrews, as among many other peoples (cp, *e.g.*, Pl. *HN* xiii. 1-6), a regular part of a full toilet, being in particular associated with washing (Ruth 3 3 Ezek. 16 9 Sus. 17); the omission of it was a sign of mourning, the resumption of the practice a sign that mourning was over (2 S. 14 2 Dan. 10 3 [cp Mt. 6 17] 2 S. 12 20 Judith 10 3 cp Is. 61 3 Eccl. 9 8); and hence 'to anoint' is a suitable figure for 'to make glad' (Ps. 23 5 cp 45 7 [8]). The head and face appear to have been most usually anointed (Ps. 104 15 Judith 16 10 Mt. 6 17 Lk. 7 38 cp Ps. 23 5 141 5 Eccles. 9 8), and the anointing of the feet to have been a special luxury (Lk. 7 46 Jn. 12 3). The medicinal use of unguents is referred to not only in Ja. 5 14 Mk. 6 13, but also in Is. 1 6 Lk. 10 34. On anointing the dead see EMBALMING.

2. Toilet.

Leaving the significance of anointing as a religious rite to a final section, we will here simply classify the persons or objects which were so anointed; and first the persons. (*a*) *The king.* In the OT, especially in the earlier writings, there are numerous references to the anointing of kings (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 16 3 12 9 16 2 K. 23 30 Ecclus. 46 13), and so frequently of the Hebrew kings to whom the term 'Messiah of Yahwè' belonged pre-eminently, if not exclusively, in the days of the monarchy and even later (Lam. 4 20); for the anointing of a *Syrian* king (by a Hebrew prophet) see 1 K. 19 15, and cp the general reference in Judg. 9 8 15, and *Am. Tab.* 376 'Manaḫbi(r)ia, king of Egypt, . . . established my father . . . over the kingdom, and poured oil on his head.' (*b*) *The prophet.* How far it was usual to anoint a prophet we cannot say; but we have one allusion (in a narrative of the 9th or 8th cent.) to such an anointing which cannot be reasonably explained away; if 'anoint' in 1 K. 19 15*b* 16*a* be literal, it would be unnatural to consider it in *v.* 16*b* (as in Is. 61 1) metaphorical; cp Ecclus. 48 8. (*c*) *The priest.* References to the anointing of priests, as part of the rite of consecration, are numerous in P. We have to distinguish, however, between those passages which refer to the anointing of the high priest (Aaron) alone, and those which refer to the anointing of the priests in general (for the former cp Ex. 29 7 Lev. 8 12 6 20 [13], and, outside P, Ps. 133 2 Ecclus. 45 15; for the latter, Ex. 30 30 40 13-15). It seems probable that passages of the latter class are secondary (cp We. *CH* 141 *f.*; Di. on Lev. 8 10-12; Nowack, *Arch.* 2 124). In this case the anointing of the high priest may be inferred to have been an earlier custom than that of anointing all priests. This would account for the origin of the term הכהן המשיח, 'the anointed priest' applied to the high priest (Lev. 4 3 5 16 6 22 [15]; cp Nu. 35 25 Lev. 21 10 12 2 Macc. 1 10, and perhaps Dan. 9 25 *f.*), and for its subsequent disappearance when all priests were anointed (cp הכהנים המשׁחים Nu. 3 3). We may infer from Zech. 4 14 that the custom of anointing the high priest was at least as ancient as the close of the sixth century; but we have no earlier evidence. On the other hand, the contrast between a priest and 'Yahwè's anointed' (1 S. 2 35—a Deuteronomic passage), and the different terms in which the Chronicler (1 Ch. 29 22) and the earlier historian (1 K. 2 35) refer to Zadok's appointment, are worthy of attention. Cp further (for some differences of view) Baudissin, *Die Gesch. des AT Priesterthums* 25 *f.* 48 *f.* 140 253.

3. Religious rite: anointing of persons.

Lifeless objects also were anointed. (*a*) Gen. 28 18 31 13 35 14 are, as far as OT is concerned, isolated references to the anointing of *sacred pillars* (see MASSEBAH); but the custom was well-known in antiquity (cp Di. on Gen. 28 18; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 232). (*b*) The *tabernacle* and its appurtenances. P contains directions or statements about anointing 'the tent of meeting' and all its furniture (which is mentioned in detail, Ex. 30 26), or 'the tabernacle and all that is therein' (Ex. 40 9 Lev. 8 10 Nu. 7 1), as part of the rite of consecration. Special reference is made to the anointing of the altar (Nu. 7 10 84 88). In Dan. 9 24 we find an allusion to the anointing of 'the most holy' (probably = the altar) in the reconsecration after the pollution of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes.

4. Lifeless objects.

NT contains no reference to anointing as a religious rite, unless, indeed, we ought to infer from Mk. 6 13 Ja. 5 14 that magical—and so far religious—properties were attributed to the oil used in anointing the sick (as distinct from the wounded, Lk. 10 34); but before the close of the second century A.D. it had come to form part of the ceremony of baptism. See Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, *s.vv.* 'Chrism,' 'Unction'; Mayor's *Comm.* on James (on 5 14).

Anointing occurs repeatedly as a metaphorical term to express a religious idea. As we have seen (1) the Heb. term (משׁח) is sometimes and the NT term (χρίω) always used metaphorically with God as subject. The metaphor may have originated in, as it was certainly subsequently used to express, the idea of God pouring out his spirit

5. Metaphors.

1 Possible, but hardly probable (cp Ges.-Bu., *s.v.* מָשַׁח). The feast described in the context is sacrificial: see *v.* 4 and cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 241, 258, 430 n. 4, and note that the word used in *v.* 6 for bowl (מזרק) is elsewhere exclusively used in connection with sacrifice, cp Driver (*ad loc.*), who, however, takes the passage as a description of effeminate luxury.

2 The text, however, is very questionable. Many (*e.g.* Cheyne, *Psalms* (1), Baethgen), following 𝔊^BNART Sym. Jer., point בַּלֹּתִי instead of בַּלֹּתִי, and translate 'my old age' or 'my wasting strength' instead of 'I am anointed.' In *Psalms* (2) Che. reads מָלְאַת=מַלֹּתִי.

3 In Mk. 14 8† 'anoint' is μυρίζω (see MYRRH, 2).

on a man (or people) for a particular purpose—*e.g.*, on Saul to smite the Amalekites (1 S. 15 17), on Jehu to smite the house of Ahab (2 K. 9 6 *f.*), on 'the Servant' 'to preach good tidings' (Is. 61 1). Thus, after Yahwè has anointed Saul (1 S. 10 1), the spirit of Yahwè comes mightily upon him (*v.* 6), cp 1 S. 16 13; and the connection between the outpouring of the spirit and anointing is clear in Is. 61 1 (Lk. 4 18) 2 Cor. 1 21, and especially in Acts 10 38. Similarly, 'the anointing from the holy one' (1 Jn. 2 20 27) is the illumination of the Holy Spirit, which teaches those that receive it concerning all things. Hence, the term 'anointed' could suitably be applied to Israel as a people—*e.g.*, Hab. 3 13; *see* further MESSIAH, § 3. In Ps. 45 7 89 20, the whole phrase 'to anoint with oil' is used with God as subject; in these cases either the whole phrase is a metaphor, or *māšaḥ* has acquired a quasi-causative sense.

On the relation of the various terms and customs to one another there have been different views, some of which must be briefly referred to.

6. Primitive significance.

Some (*e.g.*, Kamphausen in the article 'Salbe' in *HWB*[(2)]) derive the religious from the toilet use, seeing in the rite of anointing both the means of setting apart to God some person or thing as clean and sweet-smelling, and also the symbol of such a condition. But (1) it may be questioned whether the sharp distinction of terms relative to the two uses (cp § 1) he not against this view; (2) there is no positive evidence that the Hebrews interpreted the rite in this way, unless we *so* regard the custom of mixing sweet-smelling substances in the anointing oil—a custom which cannot be traced before P; and *(3)* the metaphorical use cannot be satisfactorily explained in this way. Reasons have been given in the preceding section for thinking that the religions rite of anointing men was at any rate understood at an early period to symbolise the outpouring of the divine spirit; hut it is possible that this symbolism is not original, even in the case of persons. It certainly does not explain the anointing of things—particularly the pillar at Bethel. This custom Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 233 379 8, especially 313 *ff.*, cp SACRIFICE) seeks to explain as a sacrifice, the oil being a substitute for the animal fat which was smeared (smearing, it is to be remembered, being the original sense of משׁח) by the Arabs on similar pillars, and played a considerable part in many other forms of sacrifice. Fat being, according to ancient thought, one of the great seats of life, was peculiarly fitted for the food of the gods (hence the anointing of the pillar), and also for imparting living virtue to the persons to whom it might be applied (hence the anointing of thing's or other persons). In this case the view that anointing symbolised the imparting of the divine spirit, is a refinement of the idea in which the custom may he presumed to have originated (cp COVENANT, § 5 end,). The anointing of the temple and sacred furniture will then be a survival similar to that of sprinkling them with blood. G. B. G.

ANOS (ανως [BA; om. L]), 1 Esd. 9 34, apparently VANIAH of Ezra 10 36.

ANT (נְמָלָה,[1] μυρμηξ [BNA]; *formica*, Pr. 6 6 30 25†).

1. Name and allusions.

Classical writers often refer to the industry, forethought, and ingenuity of the ant, and especially to its habit of storing grain-seeds beneath the ground in time of harvest.[1]

Thus Ælian tells us that so great is the industry of ants that, when there is moonlight they work by night as well as by day. It was noticed how carefully their work was organised; they were described as marching like an army, the oldest acting as generals; when they reached the cornfield the older ants ascended the stalks and threw down the graids to the others, who stood around the foot. Each took its part in carrying away the food to their subterranean homes, which were carefully constructed with several chambers, and protected above hy walls of earth to keep out the rain. The seeds were divided into two, sometimes into four, segments, and in other cases peeled, to prevent their sprouting; if wetted by rain, they were brought out and carefully dried in the sun. The ant showed a weather-knowledge far surpassing man's. It was in all respects a πολιτικὸν ζῷον, and is so classed by Aristotle along with the crane and the bee.

The same observations are repeated in later times by Arabic and Jewish writers.

The Mohammedans seem to have associated the ant with Solomon: the 27th chapter of the Koran is styled 'the ant, because it mentions that Solomon, on his march, once entered 'the valley of ants,' whereupon an ant said, 'O ants, enter into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you underfoot and perceive it not.' It was a custom with the Arabs, says Bochart, to place an ant in the hand of a new-born child, with a prayer that he might grow up wise and sagacious.

The only two passages in the OT which mention the ant obviously refer to some species of Harvesting Ant

2. Species.

—probably either to *Aphænogaster* (formerly called *Atta*) *barbara*, or to *A. structor*, or to *Pheidole megacephala*, which are to this day found in Syria, and, indeed, all round the Mediterranean basin.

Numerous other species of ant have been described in Palestine; hut, as far as is known, they resemble in their habits the ants of temperate and colder climates, and do not lay up any store of provisions against the winter: it is possible that, like the latter, they pass the cold season in a torpor or winter sleep.

The harvesting ants all belong to the genus Aphænogaster, or are closely allied to it. Their habits

3. Harvesting ant.

were well known to the ancients and to mediæval writers. These observers, generalising on insufficient data, assumed that all ants stored up food for winter consumption. When, however, the centre of learning shifting farther N. from the shores of the Mediterranean, the leaders of science were found in central and northern Europe, the position of things was reversed.

Naturalists, noticing that the ants whose habits they observed did not store grain and seeds, arrived at the conclusion that no ants did, and attempted to explain the accounts of the earlier writers by pointing out that they had probably mistaken for seeds the pupa3 which, when anything disturbs the ants' nest, are at once seized and borne to a place of safety. The consensus of opinion, accordingly, until about a quarter of a century ago, was that ants never lay up stores of food.

The investigations of Moggridge and Lespès, however, showed that, although this opinion is probably correct as far as ants in more northern climates are concerned, many of the ants in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean store up seeds collected from different plants. Not only do they collect seeds that have fallen, but they also frequently tear the fruit or seed-pod off the plant's and bear them to the *formicarium* or nest. They will, moreover, travel considerable distances to obtain their food, marching in two nearly continuous parallel lines, the length of the column sometimes measuring 24 yards or more. The two lines are moving in contrary directions—the one toiling laden with spoils towards the nest, the other hurrying back with empty mouths to the harvest ground.

The nests both of *A. barbara* and of *A. structor* are simply excavations in the ground—long cylindrical pas-

4. Nests: storing.

sages or rounded hollows, the floors of which are to some extent smoothed and cemented. In these hollows, about the size of a billiard

[1] The etymology of this word is very doubtful. It has been proposed to derive it (1) from a doubtful Heb. verb נמל (cp מול) 'to cut,' referring either to the shape of the ant's body (='insect'), or to its habit of cutting seeds from the corn-ears, or to the incision it is supposed to make in the seeds themselves to prevent their sprouting (though this last was hardly known to the ancient Hebrews); (2) from Ar. *namala* 'to creep' or 'to ascend by creeping'; (3) from a supposed root akin to Heb. נאם, 'to make a slight sound'. The connection with Ar. *namala* is certain; hut possibly the meaning of the verb may he derived from the noun. A kindred word is Ar. *anmul*, 'finger-tip' (Lag. *Uebers.* 21). The Syr. equivalent is *šušmānā* ('keen-scented'?); Ar. has the same word as Heb.—*namla*.

[1] See the list of passages quoted in Bochart, *Hier.*—among them Hor. *Sat.* i. 1 33; Virg. *Æn.* 4 402; Plin. *NH* 11 30; Ælian, 2 25 4 43 6 43. A brief account of the Jewish notices by Rev. A. Löwy in *PSBA* 368 [1880-81].

ball, the seeds are stored. In one nest Moggridge counted seeds from twelve different species of plant, and he enumerates eighteen distinct botanical families containing plants which furnish ants with seeds. *A. structor* is frequently found in the neighbourhood of towns or villages, and even in the streets; *A. barbara*, usually in the country.

The ants' nests are entered by one or two holes, whose presence is usually indicated by small heaps of refuse, partly composed of the earth excavated from the nest, and partly built up of the husks and other useless matter, which is carefully removed from the seeds before the latter are stored up. All this refuse is scrupulously removed from the nest, which is kept very clean. The ants do not allow the seeds to sprout; possibly by making an incision in them.

The amount of seed collected and stored in the granaries is very considerable and may cause serious loss to the agriculturist; from one nest an amount of seed estimated at 1 lb. in weight was taken, and there must be many hundreds of nests to the acre. The seed stores of the ants of Palestine are sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Mishna, which records the rules adopted as to their ownership.

The industry of the harvesting ants, and the amount of work they accomplish, justify their being held up as examples of untiring energy. They begin work early in the morning and keep at it far into the night, working as hard in the dark as in the sunlight. Meer Hasan Ali in his *History of the Mussulmans* describes how eight or twelve very small harvesting ants will find it difficult to move a grain of wheat, and yet they manage to transport such grains over a distance of 1000 yards to their nest. Their great sagacity is shown in numerous ways—the complexity of the organisation of their colonies (involving the differentiation of individuals to perform different duties), their powers of communicating one with another, and their slave-making propensities. Their habit of laying-up food for the future, and even (in some South-American species) of actually cultivating certain fungi for food, places them with the bees and wasps, as regards intelligence, second only to man in the animal kingdom.

The ants belong to the order Hymenoptera (which includes bees, wasps, and saw-flies), and to the family Formicidæ. N. M.—A. E. S.

ANTELOPE (תְּאוֹ *tᵉō*, Dt. 14 5; תּוֹא *tō'*, Is. 51 20; ΟΡΥΞ [𝔊BAL in Dt.; and Aq. Sym. Theod. in Is.]; ϹΕΥΤΛΙΟΝ [𝔊BNAQΓ in Is.]), an unclean animal mentioned along with the pygarg and chamois. The above is the rendering of RV and is much preferable to AV WILD OX, WILD BULL (which is based upon Targ. Gr. Ven., and is accepted by Kim.), although wild oxen and wild bulls were common enough throughout Palestine and Mesopotamia (see CATTLE, § 4). The allusion in Is. (*l.c.*) to the capture of the animal by means of a net wholly agrees with what is known of the manner in which antelopes, gazelles, etc. were usually captured.

The species here intended may be the *Antilope leucoryx* (or oryx, cp 𝔊), or the *A. bubalis*. Against the former proposal the objection has been raised that the oryx is called in the modern vernacular of N. Africa *yaḥmur*, which = Heb. יחמור 'fallow-deer' (see ROE); but it is not uncommon for the same name to be given to members of different species by different peoples.[1] On OX-ANTELOPE see UNICORN (beg.). S. A. C.

ANTHOTHIJAH (עַנְתֹתִיָּה) 1 Ch. 8 24† RV, AV ANTOTHIJAH (*q.v.*).

ANTICHRIST (ἀντίχριστος [Ti. WH]). *History of the Question.*[2] Researches into the meaning of 'Antichrist' have always started from the exegesis of

1. History: Early Period.

2 Thess. 2 1-12 and certain passages in the Apocalypse chap. 13).

The first period of the history of the discussion embraces the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical writers down to the beginning of the Middle Ages. Within this period the tradition is unusually stable. The Antichrist is taken to be a manifestation which is to be made at the end of time—a definite personality, as to whose origin, career, and end, perfectly definite and traditionally fixed views are set forth, which rest but partially on the NT. This exegetical tradition, the importance of which is greatly undervalued by recent commentators such as Bornemann, is, for reasons which will afterwards appear, of the utmost value. To say that the naïve dogmatic belief of the church-fathers in 'the truth of this eschatological phantasy down to its least detail' was absolute does not in any way disprove the correctness of their exegesis.

Of the two methods that came into vogue during the Middle Ages—the ecclesiastico-political method with polemical purpose (since Joachim of Floris, afterwards in chief favour with Protestant scholars, especially in the form hostile to papal claims) and the universal-historical (perhaps, since Nicolas de Lyra)—neither advanced the question in the least.

The beginnings of a truly scientific manner of looking at these as well as at other eschatological traditions were made by certain Spanish and French Jesuits, who threw themselves into the polemic against Protestant attacks with great learning and acumen. Their first step was to revert to the tradition of the church fathers, which they embodied in extensive works.[1] Thus the futurist method was restored to its ascendency.

2. Modern.

This method maintained its ground, until quite recently, among all scientific interpreters of the apologetic school. There is one point, however, in which the exegesis of the moderns—as, for example, Hofman (*Schriftbeweis*) and Luthardt (*Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen*) and almost the whole body of English writers on the subject—falls far below that of the church fathers: the concrete eschatological figures are more or less spiritualised. Thus, Antichrist becomes an impersonal general tendency; the 'temple' (2 Thess. 2 4) is interpreted as meaning Christendom; and the κατέχων, as law and order.

It is in the work of Ludovicus Alcasar (*Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocal.*, Antwerp, 1614) that we find the earliest indications of a thoroughly scientific, historical, and critical handling of this question. The labours and the method of the Jesuit scholars, however, were afterwards made available for the Protestant Church by Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes*, Paris, 1644), who in the treatment of Antichrist may be regarded as the founder of the 'historical' or 'preterist' method. He interpreted, 2 Thess. 2 1-12, point by point, as referring to the occurrences of the reign of Caligula. In this method he was followed by Wetstein, Hammond, Clericus, and Harduin; and, since Kern (*Tüb. Z. f. Theol.*, 1833, i.), the preterist interpretation of the Antichrist has become almost universal, but as referring to Nero redivivus (so F. C. Baur, *Theol. Jahrbb.*, 1855; Holtzmann, in *BL*; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1862, 1866; Hausrath; and many others, including Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, 1876). Following an example partly given by Klöpper, however, Spitta (*Zum Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristenthums* 109 *ff.*) has again sought the explanation of the predictions regarding Antichrist in the circumstances of the reign of Caligula.

Abandoning this (on the whole, mistaken) line, a few scholars have sought an interpretation of Antichrist in a Jewish tradition dating farther back than the Christian era and not resting on any historical events.

3. Recent.

Among these scholars may be named Reiche, De Wette, Lünemann, and Bornemann (in their respective commentaries) and Kähler (in *PRE*(2)). Ewald's observations in *Jahrb. f. bibl. Wiss.*, 1851, p. 250, and 1860, p. 241, are of special interest:

[1] For other examples see UNICORN, note.

[2] Cp. Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh.* 350 *ff.*; Bornemann, 'Die Thessalonicherbriefe' in Meyer's *Handbuch* 400 *ff.*

[1] Malvenda's *De Antichristo* (Lyons, 1647) being perhaps the fullest. The commentaries of Ribeira (Salamanca, 1591) and Blasius Viegas (Ebora, 1601) were specially influential.

for the first time he combined 2 Thess. 2 with Mt. 24 15 *ff.* and Rev. 11 3 *ff.*, and thus the problem ceased to he one of exegesis merely. The best work in this direction has been that of Schneckenhurger (see Biihmen's survey of his writings in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1859), who endeavoured systematically (as the only true method) to ascertain the kindred Jewish tradition that lay at the basis of the NT passages. (Preliminary researches in the same sense had been contributed by Corrodi, *Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus* 1781 *ff.*; Bertholdt, *Christol. Jud.*, 1811, § 16; and Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils* 2 256 *ff.* 405 *ff.* 436.) Schneckenburger also brought Mt. 24 Rev. 11 and Jn. 5 43 into the field of his survey, and his view may be said on the whole to have stood the test of time.[1]

Still more recently Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des NT. u. der Alten Kirche*, 1895), following up the suggestions of Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (1895), and the method then for the first time securely laid down, has sought to supplement these investigations in two directions: (1) by a comprehensive induction based on all the eschatological portions of the NT that belong to the same circle of ideas, and the careful exclusion of all that do not so belong; and (2) by an attempt at a comprehensive and complete presentation of the tradition (which comes before us in the NT only in a fragmentary way) as it is to be met with in the Jewish sources, and, still more, in the later Christian exegetical and apocalyptic tradition. This tradition is in great measure quite independent of the NT, and in all probability dates, as far as its sources are concerned, from pre-Christian times.[2]

4. NT.

The NT Tradition. The name ἀντίχριστος occurs in the NT only in the Johannine Epistles (1 Jn. 2 18 22: 4 3: 2 Jn. 7), and thus in all probability its formation belongs to the late NT period. For an answer to the question who or what is meant by the name, it is best to start from the well-known (probably Pauline) passage in 2 Thess. 2 1-12, where we read that before the end of all things the man of sin, or, rather, of lawlessness (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας), the lawless one (ὁ ἄνομος), the son of perdition (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας), must be revealed. This 'man of sin,' it is clear, is to make his appearance as a false Messiah—an observation which, from the outset, precludes us from referring the expression to any foreign potentate such as Caligula[3] or Nero. He is sent to 'them that are perishing' (namely the Jews), because they received not the love of the truth (the true Messiah).[4] He does not employ any outward force, but accomplishes his work by means of false signs and lying wonders (cp the tradition of the Church fathers, as continued by De Wette, Ewald, Schneckenburger, B. Weiss, Lünemann, Bornemann). He will make his appearance in Jerusalem. In this account of the Antichrist the specially perplexing assertions are that he is to seat himself in the temple of God and that he is to declare himself to be God. This last act, at any rate, does not belong to the *rôle* of a false Messiah. It is also doubtful who or what ought to be understood by ὁ κατέχων, τὸ κατέχον, the power that stands in the way of the manifestation of Antichrist. If once a reference in the passage to a Jewish false Messiah be accepted, the mystery of iniquity (lawlessness: τὸ μυστ. τῆς ἀνομίας) will most probably mean the cruelty which the Jews as a whole had begun to show towards the Christians (same authorities as above). At this point we obtain a clear light upon Rev. 11. The perplexing fact that there the beast rises out of the deep and makes its appearance in Jerusalem (a view of the passage that appears certain—not only from 11 8, but also from the connection of 11 12 with 11 3—as against the other interpretations referring it to Rome) is explained by 2 Thess. 2. The beast that rises out of the deep and appears in Jerusalem is the Antichrist. If this be so, we are supplied with the following additional elements in the tradition: (1) a great drought that comes over the world in the last times (in Rev. through the two witnesses); (2) the two witnesses, their slaughter by the Antichrist, and their resurrection; (3) a previous assemblage of many nations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The dim and fragmentary character of the whole narrative, however, is striking. In another place in the Apocalypse we find another parallel to the figure of the Antichrist—in Rev. 13 11 *ff.* The beast that 'had two horns like unto a lamb' (RV) is designated by the author of Revelation himself as a False Prophet. When it is spoken of as 'coming up from the land' (not 'earth' as in EV), we may reasonably understand Palestine to be meant. This false prophet also does his work by means of signs and wonders. Here we meet with a new and rather perplexing consideration: the sealing on their foreheads and hands of those whom he has led astray, and the buying and selling of them that is thus made possible. To the same great group of traditions a part of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels (especially in Mt.) also appears to belong. Older theories of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως of Mt. 24 15 having broken down, and Spitta's explanation of it as referring to Caligula being beset with difficulties (indeed, an apocalypse which arose only in 40-41 A.D. could surely not have found its way among utterances of the Lord which were already becoming fixed), we seem compelled to fall back on an older tradition, and to explain the strange phrase of the Antichrist of 2 Thess. 2 4 sitting in the Temple (on these points cp ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION). In this case we arrive at new elements in the tradition: the subsequent flight of those who have believed, the shortening of the days (Mt. 24 22), and the picture of the end of the world and of the final judgment (Mt. 24 29 *ff.*). Here again the fragmentary brevity of the tradition is surprising.

[1] This applies also to the first part of the *Apocalyptische Studien* of B. Weiss, 1869.

[2] Attempts in this direction had already been made by Bertboldt and Schneckenburger.

[3] 2 Thess. 2 4 does not at all fit in with Spitta's interpretation of the passage as referring to Caligula's proposal to set up a statue of himself in Jerusalem.

[4] Cp Jn. 5 43.

5. Results.

If we now survey these eschatological fragments as a whole, two conjectures immediately force themselves on us: (1) that all these eschatological phantasies were not independently conceived by the various authors from whom we derive them;[1] that, on the contrary, the authors are mostly reproducing a tradition which already lay before them; and (2) that it is a single consistent tradition that underlies all these (partly coincident, partly complementary) fragments. If the second conjecture be true, we may venture to think that the tradition in question has not been lost beyond all possibility of recovery. In point of fact, our very first glance at later Christian apocalyptic literature satisfies us that this literature rests upon a tradition which is but partially dependent on the NT.

6. Early Church tradition.

The Tradition of the Early Church regarding Antichrist. Sources.[2] The tradition becomes tangihle as soon as we have a Christian literature copious enough. The influence of this tradition is already visible in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (chap. 16). Irenæus (*Adv. haer.* 5 25-30) also presents himself in this connection. Special importance, however, among the earlier witnesses attaches to Hippolytus's ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, the) *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian, Lactantius's *Inst. Div.* 7 15 *ff.* (Commodian and Lactantius have a place of their own in the tradition), and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Victorinus. A further group of writings ascribed to an ecclesiastical writer of very great influence Ephraim Syrus, must be mentioned. Under his name are current three Homilies on the Antichrist: (1) One in Syriac (De Lamy, 3 187 *ff.*,—all of it genuine with the exception of a few chapters); (2) one in Greek (Assemani, 2 222-30 3 134-143), perhaps genuine; and (3) one in Latin (Caspari, *ut sup.* 208 *ff.*). The historical event from which all these prophecies start is the

[1] See the detailed argument for the impossibility of this in Gunkel *Schöpf. u. Chaos.*

[2] See Malvenda, *De Antichristo* (1647): Ehert, 'On Commodian's "Carmen Apologeticum"' in *Abh. d. kön. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 5 38 78; Caspari, *Briefe und Abhandlungen* ('90) 208 *ff.* 429 *ff.* and, for the later period, Zezschwitz, *Vom römischen Kaiserthum deutscher Nation*, 1877; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* 5 505 *ff.*: W. Meyer, *Ludus de Antichristo*, 1880.

beginning of the great barbarian migrations, the invasion of the eastward regions of the Roman Empire by the Huns (Gog and Magog). Allied in character to the foregoing are Cyril's *Catechesis* (xv), the pseudo. Johannine Apocalypse (Tisch. *Apoc. apocr.*), and the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Cæsarea. Dependent on Ephraim's Greek homily are the περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου (ed. Lagarde) of the pseudo-Hippolytus, and the *Dioptra* of Philip Solitarius (3 10 *ff.*; Migne, *P. Gr.* 127). This whole mass of tradition is exceedingly valuable on account of its archaic oriental character. Of the older church fathers, Jerome also (*Ad Algasiam*, Quæst. xi.; *In Danielem* vii. and xi.) and Theodoret (*Hæret. fab.* 5 23), but not Augustine, and, of the later, John Damascenus (ἔκθεσις 427) claim special attention.

As, in the uniform view of these apocalyptic interpreters, the advent of the Antichrist is after the downfall of Rome, one might reckon almost with certainty on finding evidence of the currency of the tradition about the time of that downfall. Such evidence we actually possess in the primary document which was the common source of both the so-called Apocalypses of Daniel, the Greek (ed. Klostermann, *Analecta*), and the Armenian (ch. Kalemkiar, *Wiener Z.* 6 127 *f.*; cp Zahn, *Forschungen* 5 119 *ff.*). Again, at the time of the Mohammedan conquests a new rallying-point was given for this eschatological tradition, as we see in the apocalypse of the pseudo-Methodius (7th century, *Orthodoxographa*(2), Basel, 1569), closely connected with which is the later Apocalypse of Peter now extant in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic redactions (Bratke,' *ZWT*, 1892), and also a series of late Byzantine (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina* 1, Moscow, 1893), and late Jewish apocalypses (Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrash;* cp Bousset, 64 *ff.* 173 *ff.*). This body of tradition reached the west through a compilation (*De Antichristo*) by the monk Adso (Migne, *P. Lat.* 101 1291 *ff.*), based on the book of Methodius and on a Sibylline book, which last is to be found also (in a redacted form) in the works of Beda (Migne, 90 1183) and dates perhaps from the fourth century. Lastly, an isolated and very archaistic source is to be found also in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Stern, *ZA*, 1885).

7. He 'who letteth.' Subjoined is a brief summary of this tradition as it occurs, almost uniformly, in the sources that have been named.[1]

In the first place, the universally prevalent conviction is that the κατέχων (2 Thess. 2 7) is the Roman empire. This, we may be sure, was the view of Paul also: if he expected a Jewish false Messiah, then the one power left which could 'hinder' was the Roman empire (cp on this point 4 Esd. 4 1 *ff.*). The political *rôle* played by this idea in the history of Christianity may be seen in Tertullian (*Apol.* 32, *ad Scap.* 2) and Lactantius (*Inst. div.* 7 25).

8. Antichrist. Of equally universal prevalence is the conception of Antichrist, not as a Roman or foreign ruler, but as a false Messiah, who is to arise among the Jews themselves in Jerusalem. Almost universally (with the exceptions to be afterwards mentioned) it is predicted that he is to establish himself in the temple and lay claim to Messianic (and, so far, divine) honours. (Sometimes, as in *Ascens. Jes.* 46, Vict. in Apoc. 13 13, and in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, we read that he will set up his statue in the temple—doubtless a reminiscence of the Caligula episode.) After the destruction of Jerusalem, accordingly, the expectation that the Antichrist will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem becomes universal. He will show special favour to the Jews, will receive circumcision himself, and will compel others to do so. He will arise from the tribe of Dan (*q.v.*, § 9; Jewish haggada is at the root of this [cp *Testam. Dan* 5 *f.*: also the omission of Dan in Rev. 7 5 *ff.*, as to which see Iren. v. 30 2, perhaps also even 1 Ch. 6 61 [46] (see *SBOT*) 69 [54] 7 12]; see Schneckenburger-Böhmer, 412). If, hearing all this in mind, we once more turn to 2 Thess. 2 9 *ff.* Jn. 5 43 Rev. 11 3 *ff.*, it immediately becomes plain that any 'historical' or preterist interpretation of the Antichrist is out of the question. On the basis of a haggadic view of Dan. 11 43 78, there came into the tradition this further element that the Antichrist, at his first appearing, is to conquer the' kings of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. Another invariable element of the tradition under consideration is the enumeration of the miracles to be wrought by the Antichrist, particularly celestial signs (Rev. 13 11 *f.*), and miracles of healing (although that of raising the dead is beyond his reach). Hereupon the Antichrist will achieve the dominion of the whole world, and gather round himself to his capital all peoples and vast armies (4 Esd. 13 1 *ff.* Apoc. Bar. 40 Rev. 11 9 *ff.*).

9. Conflict. Next, a great drought and famine will come upon the whole earth (differently and less clearly put in Rev. 11 6), and in these straits the Antichrist will order his servants (spoken of also as demons) to mark men with his mark (according to the Latin Homily of the pseudo-Ephraim, a serpent mark), so that only those who bear it shall be permitted to buy bread (Rev. 13 16 *f.*). Against the Antichrist come forward the two witnesses (almost unanimously taken to be Elijah and Enoch), who disclose his real character, so that many turn away from him (otherwise, and very obscure, what we read in Rev. 11 3 *ff.*). It is noteworthy that in many sources there is no mention of the resurrection of the two witnesses—doubtless an incident introduced for the first time by the author of Rev. 11. At the preaching of the witnesses a considerable company of Israel are converted and begin the opposition to the Antichrist (perhaps Rom. 9 20 is to be interpreted in this connection). The 144,000 who are sealed in Rev. 7 5 *ff.* certainly have their explanation here. The faithful now betake themselves to the wilderness or to the mountains (Mt. 24 16 *ff.*); but the days of Antichrist's reign of terror shall be shortened. The years shall become months, the months days, the days hours (Mt. 24 22). Then the Antichrist will send his armies in pursuit of the faithful who have fled into the wilderness; but there they shall be delivered by the angels of God or by the Messiah (Rev. 12 13 *ff.*), and the army of the Antichrist destroyed (cp the mysterious angelic battle outside the city, in Rev. 14 14 *ff.*, and, in connection with this, the appearance of the lamb with the 144,000 in Rev. 15 1 *ff.*).

10. Defeat of Antichrist. The Antichrist is finally slain, according to authorities, by the Messiah, with the breath of his mouth (Is. 11 4 2 Thess. 2 8—the same statement is found in late Jewish sources, such as Targ. Jon. on Is. 11 4 and others). Perhaps an older tradition may be traced in the view that the archangel Michael is to be the conqueror of the Antichrist (Dan. 12 1 Rev. 12 6, *Ass. Mos.* 10). Now is seen a mighty sign in heaven (Mt. 24 30)—the sign of the Son of Man—interpreted by later writers (cp already *Did.* 16 6, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ) as referring to the Cross, but originally, we may be sure, betokening the Divine Judge of the world (Bousset, 154). Then follows the coming of the Divine Messiah to judgment, amid mighty convulsions of nature (Mt. 24 29 *f.* Rev. 6 12 *ff.*). From the four corners of heaven desolating storms burst upon earth and cleanse it (Rev. 7 1 *ff.*), and before the divine advent descends a tempest of fire, which burns the earth down to its depths, and dries up the sea and the rivers (Rev. 21 1).

11. Coherence of tradition. At the very first glance it is plain that, in this tradition, we are dealing not with an artificial exegetical mosaic of the various passages of the New Testament (and the Old) which here come into account, but with an original body of tradition organically and inherently consistent; and 'that the separate eschatological fragments of this tradition in the NT become intelligible only when they are brought into their organic place in the scheme of the tradition as a whole, so that their essential consistency becomes manifest.

Origin *of the Tradition.*—Naturally' we turn, in the first instance, to the eschatological ideas of the OT.

12. OT eschatology. Schneckenburger will have it that the idea of the Antichrist comes from the prophecies concerning Gog and Magog in Ezek. (38 *f.*). That in every form of the tradition the prophecy concerning Gog and Magog occurs in close connection with the story of the Antichrist is indeed true to the extent that they are made to appear, sometimes after (Rev. 20 7 *f.*), and sometimes before, the time of his rule. Positive identification of Gog with Antichrist, however, does not occur till the seventh century, and even then only in Jewish sources. Many of the details of the traditions can be traced, as has been already said, to Jewish haggada. In this particular point Dan. 7 11 *f.* is approximated to most nearly; but even here there is a marked difference, and the originality of the view outlined above is conspicuous. In Daniel the disturber is a foreign power; but here the seducer, who personates God or simulates the Messiah, rises up from amid the people of God. 'Thus there has been an important development since Daniel. Perhaps, as was suggested in conversation to the present writer by Prof. Smend, the historical occasion for this advance was supplied by the experiences of Israel under the Maccabees and the Herods. In any case, we must note a parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic.

13. Belial. That ideas allied to those in our tradition were active among the Jews about the time of Christ is shown by 4 Esd. 5 1 *ff.* (56; regnabit quem non sperant), *Apoc.* Bar. 36-40, *Sibyll.* 3 63 *ff.* (2 167 *ff.*), *Test. Dan* 5, *Ass. Mos.* 8 *ff.*, and the (probably Jewish) nucleus of *Asc. Jes.* (3 23-4 13). Now, in this tradition, the constantly recurring name of the great enemy of the last times—a name already known to the apostle Paul (2 Cor. 6 15)—is Belial (Beliar). But, according to many passages of the Testaments, Belial is a spirit of the air, ruler of the evil spirits. According to Test. *Dan* 5, the Messiah will fight against him in the last days. The supporters of Belial are the children of Dan. In Sib. 3 63 *ff.* (probably dating from the time of Cleopatra), Belial is already presented in an aspect closely resembling that

[1] For the references in detail see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Gott. 1895.

of Antichrist (still more so in the *Ascensio*, which, however, has unquestionably undergone Christian revision). In the *Ascensio* the angel Sammael interchanges parts with Belial, and Sammael figures also in later Jewish tradition as the enemy of the last times[1] (on the origin of Belial, and on the various developments of meaning, see BELIAL). Suggestions of the same idea occur in Lk. 10 18 Jn. 12 31 (Col. 2 15). Here we would seem to have an aspect of the tradition that, in point of time and contents, comes a great deal nearer that of Antichrist (2 Cor. 6 15: 'and what concord hath Christ with Beliar?'), which is not of historical but of purely eschatological origin: the idea of a rebellion of an angelic power against God at the end of time. Perhaps

14. Dragon. it is out of this figure—behind which in turn stands the wilder figure of the dragon rising in rebellion against God in the last times, which Gunkel conjectures to have its origin in the Babylonian creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 *f.*)—that, under the experiences of the Maccabean period, the humanised figure of a pseudo-Messiah came into existence. In this way we can explain also the superhuman traits in the picture, such as his declaring himself to be God (2 Thess. 2 4), and his sitting in the temple of God (cp the myth of the storming of heaven by the dragon in Rev. 12 1 *ff.*). These conjectures find further confirmation in the fact that, in later tradition, the ghostly-demonic element in the portrayal of Antichrist comes again more conspicuously to the front, and the Antichrist is even represented as a dragon who rebels against God (cp the writings of Ephraim Syrus, and Apoc. Zeph.).

Points of Contact with other Traditions.—One legend that comes into relation with that of Antichrist in many ways is that of Nero redivivus.

15. Nero redivivus. Not that the figure of Antichrist had its beginning in the story of Nero. Originally both legends had currency side by side. It was only after Nero's return at the head of the Parthians (at first conceived of in a purely human way—cp the nucleus of Rev. 17) had become indefinitely delayed, and after men had begun to expect the returning Nero only as a spirit from the under-world, that they gradually transferred to him some traits belonging to the Antichrist[2] (cp *Sib.* 3 61 *ff.*, where, in like manner, Belial is interpreted to mean one of the Cæsars; see APOCALYPTIC, § 95). Such an amalgamation of the two figures is already met with in Rev. 13 and 17 (in their present form). The old form of Antichrist, however, retains such vitality that in the end (Rev. 13 11 *ff.*) it appears as a second beast, servant of the first and on the same scene. A similar and (as far as its occasion is concerned) still more manifest doubling of Antichrist is seen in Commodian's *Carmen Apologeticum*, in Lactantius (as above), in Martin (see Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 214). and in the βιβλίον Κλήμεντος (Lagarde, *Reliq. juris eccl.* 80 *ff.*). There is a complete fusion in the *Ascensio Jesaiæ*, and in the commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus. This complicated figure of Nero redivivus took special hold on the Sibylline literature of the second century,[3] and here again, in the delineation of this, we meet once more with the old features of the dragon myth. A fusion between the Antichrist tradition and the Simon Magus legend has already been observed by Schneckenburger, and traced in a variety of points by the present writer. The same tradition comes into fusion with the later Alexander legend and the old German saga of the end of the world (Muspilli, *Edda*).

On this and other connected subjects see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, in the English translation of which (1896) special attention has been bestowed on the index (see, *e.g.*, 'Simon Magus,' 'Alexander'). See also E. Wadstein, 'Die eschatologische Ideengruppe; Antichrist, Weltsabbath, Weltende und Weltgericht in ihrer christlichmittelalterlichen Gesammtentwickelung,' ZWT, 1895 and 1895. On the Armenian form of the Antichrist-legend see Conybeare, *Acad.*, 26th October 1895; and on a singular Mohammedan tradition see LYDDA at end.

W. B.

1 Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum* 2 709; cp *Asc. Jes.* 7 9.
2 This has been already remarked by Schneckenburger.
3 Cp Zahn, 'Apocal. Studien' in *Z. f. kirchl. Leben u. Wiss.*

ANTILIBANUS (ΑΝΤΙΛΙΒΑΝΟϹ [BA], om. א), Judith 1 7. See LEBANON.

ANTIMONY (פּוּךְ), Is. 54 11 RV mg., EV 'fair colours.' See PRINT.

ANTIOCH (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ [Ti. WH]). 1. in Pisidia; more correctly, 'Antioch towards Pisidia' (Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ), to distinguish it from the Antioch on the Meander (the form 'Pisidian Antioch,' Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία [Ti. WH], Acts 13 14, arose to distinguish it from the more famous Antioch of Syria). It was really a Phrygian city; but in NT times it was of course included within the Roman province Galatia. Strabo (p. 577) accurately describes it as lying 'on a hill,' on the south side of the range now called Sultan Dagh, in Phrygia Parorea; but it was not until 1833 that Arundell found its ruins at *Yalobatch*. The town was founded about 300 B.C. by the Seleucid kings, and the transportation of 2000 Jewish families to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia, as recorded by Josephus *(Ant.* xii. 3), must in part refer to Antioch. By Augustus it was made a Roman colony (6 B.C.); hence its coins bear the legend Cæsarea. Antioch was adopted as the centre of military and civil administration in Southern Galatia, and from it radiated the roads to the colonies designed to check the unruly highlanders of Pisidia and Isauria. As an element in the pacification of this district, the privileges of the Jews were confirmed by the Emperors, and Paul found a large Jewish colony in the city. The Romanisation of this part of Galatia was in especially active progress during the reign of Claudius, 41–54 A.D. At the time of Paul's visit, therefore, Antioch was at the height of its importance. Besides its relations with Apamea (on the W.) and with Iconium, Lystra, and eastern Asia Minor, it must have had a commercial connection with the Pamphylian seaports, among them Attalia and Perga; and Paul must have reached Antioch by following this southern trade-route, which probably ran through Adada (*Kara Bavlo*, *Bavlo* being the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name). There was a large body of Jewish proselytes in Antioch, many of them women of position through whom the Jews were able to influence the magistrates against the apostles (Acts 13 50). The magistrates had summary jurisdiction over disturbers of the public peace, such as the apostles were alleged to be (cp *v.* 44, πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη, and *v.* 45, ἰδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους); but the 'casting of them out of the borders' of the colony could not imply permanent banishment—at any rate in the case of Paul, who was a Roman citizen. Accordingly we find the latter returning to Antioch from Derbe (Acts 14 21) and perhaps revisiting the city at least twice (Acts 16 6 18 23, see GALATIA). If the trade of Antioch was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, we can the more easily understand Paul's first success here in Asia Minor: the new teaching did not conflict with any commercial interests of the gentile inhabitants, as it did at Ephesus and Philippi, while at the same time the Jewish proselytising had prepared the people for its reception. It is also not without significance that on the death of king Amyntas, some seventy years before Paul's visit, the ancient worship of 'Mēn' (Μὴν Ἀσκαῖος, Ἀρκαῖος Strabo, Ἀσκηνός coins) had been abolished, so that there was probably no gentile hierarchy in existence to oppose the apostles. Hence the effect of their preaching was more marked here than in any other case, except Corinth (Acts 13 44 48 *f.*). All the more strange is the subsequent unimportance of the South Galatian churches.

2. In Syria (1 and 2 Macc. AV ANTIOCHIA). This great city, the third metropolis of the Roman world,

1. City. the Queen of the East (ἡ καλή Athen. 175; orientis apex pulcher), and the residence of the imperial Legate of Syria, survives in *Anṭākīeh*,

a town of only 6000 inhabitants. It is situated at the point of junction of the ranges of Libănus and Taurus, on a fine site hard by the left bank of the Orontes, just where the river turns westwards to run between Mt. Pieria on the N. and Mt. Casium on the S., to the sea 16 m. distant. A little higher up the river Antigonia had been built in 307 B.C. by Antigonus; but seven years later Seleucus Nicator transferred its inhabitants to his new city of Antioch.

Strabo's meagre account (p. 750) is the foundation of our topographical knowledge of the city. Like the district in which it lay, Antioch was a τετράπολις, an agglomeration of four parts.

The first contained the population of Antigonia; the second the hulk of the citizens. The third part was the creation of Seleucus Callinīcus (246-226 B.C.), and the fourth, on Mt. Silpius, of Antiochus Epiphanes. Each part had its own wall, but in addition, the whole vast area, larger than that of Rome, was surrounded by huge walls running over the mountains and across the ravines. From Nīcātor's time dates the well-known statue 'the Fortune' (Τύχη) of Antioch, a work of the Sicyonian Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus (Paus. vi. 2 7). The memory of it is preserved on the coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican. The goddess, a graceful gentle figure, rests negligently on a rock; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

Seleucus Nicator also embellished DAPHNE (Δάφνη [VA]), 5 m. distant from Antioch, but reckoned a suburb. It was a spot musical with fountains; its groves, crowded with temples, halls, and baths, were the seat of a cult of Apollo and Artemis.

Among its artistic treasures was a statue of **Apollo** Musagĕtes by the Athenian Bryaxis. The precincts of Daphnè were endowed with the right of asylum and naturally became the haunt of villany—of runaway slaves, debtors, and cut-throats (Tac. *Ann.* 3 60; Tiberius in 22 A.D. attempted to regulate this abuse in several cities): if we may trust the story of Onias in 2 Macc. 4 33, Daphne 'flung away the one rare chance of sheltering virtue.' The site is now called *Bēt el Mā*, the 'house of Water.' It retains no traces of its former magnificence.

From this suburb, which Roman wealth, Greek art, and Oriental licentiousness conspired to make unique even in the East, Antioch took its distinguishing name —ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. In itself the title bore no reference to the pleasure pursuits of the suburb—as though insinuating that there the true life of the city was to be found: it was a genuine official title.

Accordingly we find it on coins (cp Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Καλλιρόῃ; τῶν ἐν Μυγδονίᾳ; τῶν πρὸς τῷ Σάρῳ). Hence Pliny (*HN* 5 21 [18]) writes 'Antiochia Epidaphnes.' Tacitus (*Ann.* 2 83) transliterates the Greek, and calls the suburb itself 'Epidaphna.'

Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings.

2. Character. Although close to the sea (ἀνάπλους αὐθημερόν Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 1).[1] For this connection with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. 11 42 *f.* Herod completed the marble-paved street which we can trace from the 'Gate of St. Paul' to the modern town (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 53). Thus all the forms of the civilised life of the Empire found in Antioch some representative. In its agora, said Libanius, the customs of the world might be studied. In no city was pleasure more earnestly pursued. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial; the Orontes was synonymous with superstition and depravity (Juv. *Sat.* 3 62). Yet it would be of value to discover to what extent the lower and middle orders of the population were really affected by the luxury and *abandon* of which we hear so much; that is after all but one side of the city's life, and there is a temptation to exaggerate it. There was little real intellectual life; epigram and light prose were the most flourishing forms of literature. Cicero *(Pro Arch.* 3, § *4)* is exaggerating with his 'eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluenti.' Antioch is far less celebrated than Alexandria in the literature of the first and second centuries A.D. This intellectual attitude is a fact of some importance, in its relation to the first Christian teaching.

The mixture of Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements admirably adapted Antioch for the great part she played

3. Christianity. in the early history of Christianity. The city was the cradle of the church. There, as elsewhere, Judaism prepared the ground for the seed of the word (cp Chrys. *Hom.* xxv.). 'Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch,' one of the first deacons (Acts 6 5), was only one of a 'vast multitude of Greeks' who in that city were attracted to the Jewish doctrine and ritual (Jos. *BJ* vii. 3 3; cp Acts 11 19-21). The ancient and honourable status of the Jews in Antioch gave to the infant church a firm and confident organisation. Very early the city became a centre on a level with Jerusalem in importance (Acts 11 22 26-30 13 1). The cosmopolitanism of its inhabitants inevitably reacted upon the Christians in the way of familiarising them with universalist ideas, and Antioch consequently became the centre of missionary labour. It was Paul's starting-point on his first journey with Barnabas (Acts 13 1-3), and thither he always returned with his report of work done (Acts 14 26 *f.* 15 30 18 22). It was at the instance of the church at Antioch that the council of Jerusalem sent the circular letter to the gentile Christians (Acts 15 23 Gal. 2 4-14), and, according to Acts 11 26 (on which see CHRISTIAN, beginning, and § 2 [end]), it was in Antioch that 'the disciples were called Christians first'—undoubtedly as a nickname. We know that the people of Antioch were noted for their scurrilous wit (Philost. *Vit.* 3 16 Zos. 3 11 4 41 Procop. *BP* 2 8). W. J. W.

ANTIOCHIA (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭ[ⲉ]ⲓⲁ [AℵV]), 1 and 2 Macc. AV, RV ANTIOCH, 2.

ANTIOCHIANS (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲉⲓⲥ [VA]), 2 Macc. 4 19 (-ⲭⲓⲁⲥ [A]), and in AV also *v.* 9 (-ⲭⲟⲛ [V]), where RV has '*citizens* of Antioch.' See ANTIOCH 2, § 2 n.

ANTIOCHIS (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭ[ⲉ]ⲓⲥ [VA]), concubine of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4 30).

ANTIOCHUS (ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲟⲭⲟⲥ [AℵV]; ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲱⲭⲟⲥ [ℵ* once, V* once, A once]). 1. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, was the son of Seleucus Callinicus, and ascended the Syrian throne at the age of fifteen, on the death of his brother Seleucus Ceraunus. He is the earliest of the great SELEUCIDÆ (*q.v.*) mentioned in the Apocrypha, but Antiochus II. Theos and Antiochus I. Soter (his grandfather and great-grandfather respectively) are alluded to in Dan. 11 (see DANIEL, § 6). His reign (223-178 B.C.) embraced a series of wars against revolted provinces and neighbouring kingdoms, wars in the prosecution of which his disasters and successes were equally great. The events of his life are briefly alluded to in Dan. 11 10 *ff.*—notably his expedition in Asia Minor in 197 B.C. (cp *v.* 18) which, after varying fortune, ended in a crushing defeat at the hands of Scipio Africanus near Magnesia in 190 B.C. (cp *v.* 18). This was one of the exploits of the Romans which

[1] According to 2 Macc. 4 9 (cp also *v.* 19) Jason conferred on the people of Jerusalem the status of citizens of Antioch (ANTIOCHIANS) on which see *Th. T* 12 544 ('78).

Judas the Maccabee is said to have heard of (1 Macc. 8 1-8).

The account in its present form is not free from inaccuracies. Thus, the writer states that Antiochus, the 'great king of Asia,' had with him 120 elephants (*v.* 6, incep. αντιουτ [א*]); but according to Livy (37 39) there were only fifty-four. 'It is not unlikely that in the popular tradition the original number was exaggerated' (Camhr. Bible, *ad loc.*). Cp MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10.

One of the conditions of the humiliating peace imposed in **188** B.C. was that twenty hostages, including a son of the king (cp 1 Macc. 1 10 and below, 2), should be sent to reside in Rome. Antiochus the Great was killed in an attempt to plunder the temple at Elymais (**187** B.C.), and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Philopator. See SELEUCIDÆ.

2. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (Ἐπιφανής 'the illustrious' [cp 1 Macc. 1 10 where A -ειs], called in mockery Ἐπιμανής 'the madcap'), youngest son of no. 1. On his place as hostage (see above, 1) being taken by his nephew DEMETRIUS, he returned to the East, and—his elder brother, Seleucus IV., having meanwhile been murdered—seized the Syrian throne (175 B.C.), and soon became famous for his conquests in Cœle-Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (cp 1 Macc. 1 16 *ff.* 2 Macc. 5 1 *ff.*, and see Dan. 11 21 *ff.*). During his Egyptian campaign he twice took Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1 20 *ff.* 2 Macc. 5 11 *ff.*). In spite of the presence of a strong favourable Hellenistic party (see JASON, MENELAUS), Antiochus appears to have seen that he could never hope to subdue Judaea until he had rooted out the peculiar Jewish religion (see ISRAEL, § 69 *f.*). He accordingly promulgated a decree enjoining uniformity of worship throughout his dominions (1 Macc. 1 41 *ff.*), and even went so far as to endeavour to force upon the Jews the worship of heathen deities (see ABOMINATION, ii.). His persecuting policy was responsible for the rise of the ASSIDEANS, and stirred up the successful resistance of the Maccabees. His end (**164** B.C.) is variously described. According to 1 Macc. 6 1-16 he was visiting a rich and celebrated temple in Persia (see ELYMAIS), when tidings of the ill-success of his troops in Judaea, and remorse for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, caused his death—according to Polybius (31 2) at Tabæ in Persia.[1] The usually accepted reference to his end in 2 Macc. 1 10-17 is not very probable, see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7. He is doubtless alluded to in Ps. 75 4 *f.*, and there are numerous references to his life and character in DANIEL (*q.v.*, §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 18).

The post-Talmudic tract *Megillath Antiochus* is a legendary account, in Aramaic, of the persecutions in his reign, cp Schü. *GJV* 1 123 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 11). See SELEUCIDÆ.

3. Antiochus V. Eupator (Εὐπάτωρ), the young son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (see 2, above), was left under the care of LYSIAS, whilst the father conducted his wars in Persia (1 Macc. 3 32 *f.*). On the death of Epiphanes (**164** B.C.) Lysias obtained the regency, ousting his rival PHILIP, 5, and set up Epiphanes' son as king, giving him at the same time the surname Eupător (1 Macc. 6 14 *ff.*)—'on account of the virtues of his father' (Appian). Together they entered Judæa (see ISRAEL, § 75 beg.) and, encamping at Beth-Zacharias, besieged Bethsura (see BETH-ZUR). The Maccabæans were defeated and the famous ELEAZAR (*q.v.*, 7) was killed (1 Macc. 6 28 *ff.*).[2] The war was brought to an abrupt close, however, by the news that Philip had occupied Antioch, and a hasty peace was concluded restoring to the Jews the privileges they had enjoyed previous to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp ISRAEL, *l.c.*). In the following year (**162** B.C.) the king and his guardian were put away by DEMETRIUS [*q.v.*, 1] (1 Macc. 7 1 *ff.* 2 Macc. 14 1 *ff.*). See SELEUCIDÆ.

4. Antiochus VI.; surnamed THEOS (Θεός), son of Alexander Balas, spent his early youth as a ward of an Arabian (see IMALCUE). He was brought forward by Tryphon, a former follower of Balas, and set up as king in opposition to Demetrius Nicator (see DEMETRIUS, 2) who was rapidly becoming unpopular (1 Macc. 11 39 54; 145 B.C.). On his coronation he received the surnames 'Epiphanes' and 'Dionysus.' Henceforth he became a mere tool in the hands of Tryphon, who ultimately found an opportunity of slaying him (1 Macc. 13 31). See further TRYPHON, SELEUCIDÆ.

5. Antiochus VII. Sidētes (Σιδήτης),—*i.e.*, man of Sidè in Pamphylia,—called also Εὐσεβής (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 2), was the son of Demetrius I. and younger brother of Demetrius II. Nicator. The capture of his brother by the Parthians gave Sidētes the opportunity of asserting his claim to the Syrian throne in opposition to the unpopular TRYPHON. To win over the Jews he wrote, from Rhodes, to Simon 'the chief priest and governor,' and by advantageous concessions, remission of royal debts, and the formal permission to coin money, attained his end (1 Macc. 15 1 *ff.*; αντιωχος [א* *v.* 1]). Tryphon was besieged at Dor (*v.* 25), and ultimately forced to flee to Orthosia (*v.* 37). The situation immediately changed. Antiochus felt his position secure, and sent Athenobius to Simon demanding Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and the arrears of tribute (28 *ff.*). The refusal of these demands brought about war, and CENDEBEUS was dispatched against the Jews (15 38 *ff.*). Sidetes appears no more in 1 Macc.; but in the time of John Hyrcanus (see MACCABEES, i. § 7) he came and besieged Jerusalem (133 B.C.), and five years later met his death whilst fighting the Parthians under Phraortes II. (Arsaces VII., **128** B.C.). See SELEUCIDÆ.

6. Father of NUMENIUS (1 Macc. 12 16 14 22).

ANTIPAS (ΑΝΤ[Ε]ΙΠΑϹ [Ti. WH], abbrev. from ἀντίπατρος, see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 3; cp Cleopas from Κλεόπατρος). 1. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 2.

2. The 'faithful witness' of Pergamum named in Rev. 2 13. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* (Apr. 11) he was bishop of Pergamum, and suffered death (by the 'brazen bull') under Domitian.

ANTIPATER (ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟϹ [AKV]), son of Jason [3], an ambassador sent by the Jews to the Lacedæmonians (1 Macc. 12 16 14 22). See SPARTA. For the Antipater from whom Antipatris (see below) was named see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1.

ANTIPATRIS (ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΙϹ [Ti. WH]) was founded by Herod the Great on 'the finest plain' of his kingdom—*i.e.*, Sharon—in memory of his father Antipater (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 9), but also, as the history of the town abundantly proves, for strategical reasons. The other details given by Josephus are, that it lay 'close to the mountains' (*BJ* i. 4 7) on the plain of Kaphar Saba (Καφαρσαβâ), fertile and well-watered, that a river encompassed the city, and a grove of very fine trees (*Ant.* xvi. 5 2). In another passage, probably from a different source, Josephus identifies it with Kaphar Saba (Χαβαρζαβâ ἣ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται), and tells how, to resist Antiochus on his march against the Arabians (*circa* **85** B.C.), Alexander Jannæus made a deep ditch and a wall, which however Antiochus destroyed, extending thence, a distance of **150** (?) stadia, to the sea at Joppa (*ib.* xiii. 15 1). During Roman times Antipatris was a station at or near the junction of the military roads from Lydda and from Jerusalem respectively to Caesarea, where the latter road issued from the hills. Thus Paul was brought by night from Jerusalem to Antipatris and thence, part of his escort returning, to Caesarea (Acts 23 31). The return of so much of Paul's escort is explained by the fact that, Antipatris being according to the Talmud (*Talm. Bab.*, *Gittin*, 76*a*) on the limits of Jewish soil, all danger of an attack by the threatened Jewish ambush (Acts 23 16 20 *ff.*) was now past. There, in **66** A.D., Cestius Gallus halted on his way to Lydda (*BJ* ii. 19 1), and to this point, on his subsequent retreat from Jerusalem, he was pursued by the Jews (*ib.* 9). There,

1. Allusions.

[1] His father, Antiochus III. the Great died whilst engaged in this same district upon a similar errand: Tradition may have confused the son with the father.

[2] 2 Macc. 13 21 ascribes their ill-success to treachery (see RHODOCUS).

too, in the same year, Vespasian halted on his march from Cæsarea to Lydda (*ib.* iv. 8 1).

2. Site. Antipatris is not marked in the *Tab. Peut.* The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) gives it as 10 R.m. from Lydda and 26 from Czesarea; the *Itin. Ant.* as 28 from Czesarea; and Eus. and Jer. in the *Onom.* as 6 S. from Galgulis (in all probability the present Jiljūliyeh). Schürer (*Hist.* 3 130) and others, following Rob. (*BR* 4 139 *f.*), identify it with the present Kefr Sābā, 23 R.m. (as the crow flies) from Cæsarea. But, as Kefr Sābā is no less than 17 R.m. from Lydda and 2 R.m. N. from Jiljūliyeh; as, besides, it has no ancient remains, nor any such wealth of water or encompassing river as Josephus describes, it is more probable that Antipatris lay farther S. on the upper waters of the 'Aujeh, which are about 29 R.m. from Czesarea, 4 S. of Jiljūliyeh, and about 11 N. of Lydda, in a district which better suits the data of Josephus. Here Dr. Sandreczky and Sir C. W. Wilson (*PEF Qu.St.*, 1874, p. 192 *f.*) have suggested the site of *Kal'at Rās el-'Ain*, at the very copious sources of the 'Aujeh, which they identify with the crusading castle of Mirabel (el-Mirr being a neighbouring place-name). They point out, too, that the valley of the 'Aujeh would be a more natural line for the great ditch of Alexander Jannæus than a line from Kefr Sābā to the sea. Although Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 80 *ff.*) thinks that the Talmud distinguishes between Kefr Sābā and Antipatris, this is doubtful, for, while their names are given separately, both are defined as border towns —between Samaria, a heathen country, and Judaea. These are all the data for the question of position. Without excavation on the sites named, and the discovery of the rest of the Roman road—probably the road by which Paul was brought—traced by Eli Smith in 1843 from Gophna to the plain, but lost at the edge of the hills (*Biblioth. Sac.* 1 478 *ff.*), it is impossible for us to be certain where exactly Antipatris stood. We cannot expect to find many ruins on the site. Unlike other Herodian sites, it is not stated to have been embellished by great buildings; and the town did not afterwards develop. Buhl (*Pal.* 199) favours Rās el-'Ain.

In 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls it a *mutatio*, or change-house, not a *civitas* like Lydda (the next 'change' he mentions —Betthar, 10 R.m. towards Cæsarea—is perhaps the present eṭ-Ṭireh, *PEF Mem.* 2 166). In 404 the *Peregr. S. Paulæ* calls it 'semirutum oppidulum.' In 451 it had a bishop (*Acts of the Coun. of Chalcedon*: cp *Descr. Parochiæ Jerusalem*, *circa* 460), and in 744 it still contained Christians. With their disappearance before the Arabs, the Greek ecclesiastical name would vanish, and has not been recovered (hut see the curious statement of a native in *PEF Mem.* 2 134 that the name of Kefr Sābā is Antifatrūs). The Crusaders wrdngly identified Antipatris with 'Arsūf, the ancient Apollonia. G. A. S.

ANTQNIA, see JERUSALEM.

ANTOTHIJAH, or rather RV ANTHOTHIJAH (עַנְתֹתִיָּה, עַנְתֹתִיָּה [Gi.], עַנְתֹתִיָּה [Bä.]; probably a feminine adjective formed from ANATHOTH [*q.v.*]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 24† (ανωθαιθ [αναθωθια, A] και αθειν [𝔊^BA], αναθωθα [L]).

ANTQTHITE (עַנְּתוֹתִי), 1 Ch. 11 28 AV. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANUB (עָנוּב; εννωνϯ [B], εγνωβ [A], ανωβ [L]; *ANOB*), a Judahite, descendant of Coz (RV Hakkoz) (1 Ch. 48). Probably to be identified with ANAB (We.).

ANUS (αννας [B]), 1 Esd. 9 48 AV = Neh. 87 HANAN, 4.

ANVIL (פַּעַם), Is. 41 7†. See METAL WORK.

APAME (απαμη [BA], -πη. [L]; ܦܐܡܐ; *APEME*), daughter of Bartacus and concubine of Darius (1 Esd. 4 29).

APAMEA (Jer. Talm. *Kil.* 9 32c אפמיא, but oftener אספמיא), mentioned in the Vg. text of Judith 3 14, apparently as a district ('pertransiens . . . omnem Apameam') in the line of march of Holofernes.

'Απαμήνη, one of the ten districts of N. Syria under Rome (Ptol. *Geogr.* v. 15 19), took its name from 'Απάμεια, a fortified town (named after Seleucus Nicator's Persian wife), built on a hill some six or more miles east of the Orontes, half-way between Emesa and Antioch, and now represented by important ruins under the village that occupies the site of the old citadel, now called *Kal'at el Mudīk*. See Strabo, p. 752; Ritter, *Erdkunde* 17, Abth. ii. 1075-86; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.* 71-82 (photographs and map); also reff. in Boettg. *Lex. Jos.*

APE (קוֹפִים, קֹפִים; πιθηκοι [BAL]; *simiæ*, 1 K. 10 22, λίθων τορευτῶν [BL], cp *v.* 11; 2 Ch. 9 21†). An animal mentioned among the rarities brought from Ophir by Solomon's fleet. The Heb. *ḳōph*, 'ape,' is evidently a loan-word,[1] and is usually connected with *kapi*,[2] the Sanscr. name of the ape; thus the home of the animal, though not necessarily the situation of Ophir, will be indicated. It is mentioned in each case, in MT (the phenomena of 𝔊 are here very peculiar), in connection with the peacocks (if the common theory is correct) imported by Solomon from OPHIR. Perhaps 'monkey' would be a more correct modern English rendering than 'ape,' which suggests the tailless *quadrumana*, while the animals of this order represented on the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions have tails. Just so, κῆβοι would have been a better Greek rendering than πίθηκοι (the LXX word), if Aristotle is correct in making the πίθηκοι tailless. Four Binds of monkeys are represented on the Assyrian monuments. Those on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. seem to belong to an Indian species; they appear in company with the Indian elephant and the Bactrian camel (Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' TSBA 5 319 *f.* ['77]). Monkeys (*gad*) and baboons were much in request in Egypt. Queen Ḥa'tšepsut ('Hatasu,' 18th dynasty) received them among other rarities from the (African) land of Punt; see the picture of the native ambassadors leading specimens of the *Cynocephalus Hamadryas* and the *Cynocephalus Baduinus*.[3] Halévy, however (*REJ* 21 63 *f.*), would identify Solomon's קוֹפִים and תֻּכִּיִּים (see PEACOCKS) with the *tuku* and *kukupi* mentioned in the Amarna tablets in the requests of the Asiatic princes—*i.e.*, different sorts of vessels full of aromatic oil, etc.[4] Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 81) gives an account of the sixteen ingredients of the Egyptian κῦφι.[5] N. M.—A. E. S.

APELLES (απελλης [Ti. WH], contracted from 'Απολλόδωρος) is saluted in Rom. 16 10, where he is called 'the approved (δόκιμος) in Christ,' an expression which seems to suggest that he had shown constancy as a confessor in time of trial. Nothing further is known of him. Weizsiicker suggests that his Christian activity may have been chiefly within the household of Aristobūlus also mentioned in *v.* 10 (*Apost.* Age 1 399).

In the list of the 'seventy apostles' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorothens, Apelles is represented as bishop of Heraclea; that of Pseudo-Hippolytus mentions Smyrna. According to the ὑπόμνημα of Peter and Paul by the Pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes, he was consecrated bishop of Smyrna by Peter.

APHAEREMA (αφαιρεμα [ℵV[1]]), 1 Macc. 11 34 RV, AV APHEREMA.

APHARSACHITES (אֲפַרְסְכָיֵא [Bä.]; אֲפַר' [Gi.]; αφαρσαχαιοι [BA], but -σακκαιοι [B] in Ezra 5 6; -ρασθαχαιοι [L]; see also next article), a word used (Ezra 5 6 6 6†) apparently as the title of certain officers under Darius. Another form is APHARSATHCHITES; see Ezra 4 9, where the word is misunderstood (see EZRA, ii.

1 If it belongs to the original text: see EBONY, § 2 *b*.
2 Whence also κῆβος or κῆπος, and Eng. *ape*.
3 Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers* 292. See also the apes and baboons on a wall-painting in a tomb, *El Bersheh* (Egypt. Explor. Fund), Pt. II., plate xi.; cp p. 29.
4 See Am. Tab. B 28 = Wi. 294, col. 2, 40; 1 kukupu ša . . . [ḳa]-du naktamišu, 'a *kukupu* . . . with its lid'; col. 3, 43 . . . kukubu šamni ṭābi, '. . . a kukubu of good oil'; B 5, 1, 25 (recto) šamni ša tabu aḫiya uširanni II *duk* kukupu, 'send me, my hrother, good oil, two vessels *kukupu*' (so Hal., not in Wi.). *Duk* or *tuk* (pl. *tukē*) is the ordinary ideogram for 'vessel, receptacle.'
5 The Assyriological notices are mostly due to Prof. Cheyne.

§ 10) and treated as the name of a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Its etymology is still very uncertain. See G. Hoffmann, *ZA* 2 54 *f.*; Marquart, *Fund.* 64; and Andreas in Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gram.*, Glossary, p. 53".

APHARSATHCHITES, The (אֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא [Sa.]; אֲפַרְסַתְכָיֵא [Gi.]; φαρεσθαχαιοι [B], αφαρσαθ· [A], αφαραστα̣χ· [L]), Ezra 4 9†. See APHARSACHITES.

APHARSITES (אֲפָרְסָיֵא [Bä. Gi.]; αφρασαιοι [B], αφαρσ· [A]; φαρασθαιοι [L]), mentioned in Ezra 4 9† as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER. Various attempts at identification have been made (*Persians*, by Rawlinson, *Pulp. Corn.* ad loc., but see *KAT*(2) 376; *Parsua*, a Median tribe, by Del. *Par.* 327); but the word is best regarded as a scribe's error, related (some think) to אפרסכיא (EV APHARSACHITES, Ezra 5 6 6 6), or, more probably, miswritten for סָפְרַיָּא, 'scribes.' The last letter of טפסריא (MT טרפליא, see TARPELITES) was attached by dittography to the next word (Marquart, *Fund.* 64).

APHEK (אֲפֵק αφεκ [BAL]). It is not easy to determine how many places of this name are mentioned in the OT. Only one of them has been satisfactorily identified.

1. In Josh. 13 4 (ταφεκ [B], αφεκα [A], -κκ. [L]) Aphek appears as the limit of the Sidonian country, apparently as its northern limit towards the Giblites or Byblians. This Aphek, therefore, is commonly identified with Aphaca (now *Afḳa*), famous for its sanctuary of Astarte, which lies at the source of the river of Byblus, the Adonis or (as it is now called) Nahr Ibrāhīm; cp Lucian, *Dea Syria* 6-8.

2. The Aphek assigned in Josh. 19 30 to the tribe of Asher is mentioned in Judg. 1 31 (where the name is written אֲפִיק, APHIK, αφεκ [AL], ναει [B]) as one of the towns which the Canaanites were able to maintain against the invaders. Here also some suppose that Aphaca is meant; but it is difficult to believe that Asher ever attempted to extend so far north, and, as it appears from Josh. 17 11[1] that Asher had a theoretical claim to part of the plain of Sharon S. of Mt. Carmel as far at least as Dor, it is probable that Aphek in Sharon (no. 3) is meant.

3. In Josh. 12 18 (οφεκ [B]) we read, in the list of the kings smitten by Joshua, 'the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one'; but it is better to emend the verse with the aid of 𝔊B (Ὀφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ) and read 'the king of Aphek in the (plain of) Sharon, one' (see Di. on the passage). This Aphek in Sharon, as Wellhausen has pointed out, is the city (*a*) from which the Syrians of Damascus made repeated attacks on Samaria, 1 K. 20 26 30 (αφεκα [BA], -κκ. [L]), 2 K. 13 17,[2] and (*b* and c) from which the Philistines assembled their forces for war with Israel before the battles of Gilboa (1 S. 29 1) and of Eben-ezer (1 S. 4 1; Jos. αμφεκα or αφεκα).

(*a*) As regards the Aphek of Kings: that it lay in a lowland plain is clear from 1 K. 20 23, and that the plain is that of Sharon follows from 2 K. 13 22 𝔊L, where we find the addition (undoubtedly genuine) 'and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand from the Western sea to Aphek.' Aphek therefore lay on the verge of Philistia—*i.e.*, in Sharon—and we must understand that, both in Benhadad's time and in the time of Hazael, the Syrians avoided the difficulties of a direct attack on the central mountain-land of Canaan by striking into the maritime plain south of Carmel and so securing the mastery of the fertile coast-land without having to besiege Samaria. Their route would, in fact, be the present great road from Damascus to Ramleh through Megiddo.[3] At Aphek, somewhere in the north of the Sharon Plain, they had a great military post from which they could direct their armies either against Samaria or against the Philistines (2 K. 12 17 [18]).

(*b*) As regards the Aphek of Samuel: it is clear that a point in the northern part of the Sharon Plain, on the road to Megiddo and the plain of Esdraelon, is appropriate to 1 S. 29 1. The mustering-place of the Philistines cannot have been in the heart of the Hebrew territory, least of all at such a place as el-Faḳūʿ on Mt. Gilboa (in the rear of Saul's army!) where it is absurdly placed by Conder and Armstrong. It is argued that the Philistines were at Shunem (1 S. 28 4) before they reached Aphek; but to argue thus is to forget that 1 S. 28 3-25, the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, is a distinct narrative, by a different hand, and that 29 1 originally followed directly on 28 1 *f.*

(c) Finally, the attack on central Israel which issued in the battle of Eben-ezer and the destruction of Shiloh (1 S. 4) would naturally be taken to have been made from the same Aphek, were it not that commentators have assumed that the position of Eben-ezer, and therefore of Aphek, is fixed somewhere near Mizpah by 1 S. 7 12. It is certainly safer, however, to distinguish the battle-field of Eben-ezer in 1 S. 4 1 from the stone Eben-ezer set up by Samuel many years later, than to assume the existence of two Apheks fitted to be the starting-point of a Philistine campaign (cp EBEN-EZER). And here also it is to be observed that chaps. 4 and 7 are derived from distinct documents, and that the historical value of the second is very insecure.

From what has been said it will appear without further argument that it is illegitimate to seek an Aphek in the region between Mt. Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, to which Eus. and Jer. give the name of Saron, or to place the Aphek of Kings at the caravan-station of Fīḳ in the mountains to the E. of the Sea of Galilee. This may be the Apheca near Hippus or Hippe of OS 91 24 and 219 72; but is not a biblical site. W. R. S.

The existence of an Aphek in Sharon is put beyond doubt by the following additional evidence. *First*, in the lists of Thotmes III. (*c.* 1600 B.C.) nos. 60-76 form a group by themselves; 62 is Joppa, 64 Lydda, 65 Ono. Then come 66 Apuḳn, 67 Suḳa, 68 Yḥm. At this last place, Thotmes had to decide which of three roads he should take over Carmel. Yhm must therefore have lain near the most southerly road—that is, somewhat south of the mouth of the Wādy 'Abu Nār—and may be the present Yemma by the high road along the edge of the Samarian Hills. Suḳa is doubtless the present Shuweikeh, 2 m. farther S. Apukn therefore lay between it and Ono. Maspero, it is true, identified Suḳa and Apuḳn with the Judæan Shocoh and Apheka of Josh. 15 48 53; but W. Max Muller (*As. u. Eur.* 161) has shown that the list contains nothing S. of Ajalon. The *n* of Apuḳn may be the common termination of place-names ־וֹן. Max Muller says it may also be read as *i*. *Secondly*, in the autumn of 66 A.D. Cestius Gallus, advancing on Jerusalem from Cæsarea, reached Antipatris, and 'sent before' a party to drive the Jews out of 'the tower of Aphek' (Πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ). After taking the tower he marched on Lydda (Jos. *BJ* ii. 19 1). This agrees with the data of Thotmes III. and places Aphek between the River 'Aujeh and Lydda. Here there is now no place-name which affords any help in the case, unless it be that of the village Fejjeh—*i.e.*, originally, Feggeh—about 9 m. NE. of Joppa (which, however, does not lie quite near enough to the E. limit of the plain to suit Lucian's text of 2 K. 13 22), and it ought not to be overlooked that in a list of mediæval Arab place-names quoted by Rohricht (*ZDPV*, 1896) there occur both Sair Fuka and Faḳin. *Again*, in a fragment of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) a city Apku is described as 30 'kasbu-ḳaḳḳar' from Raphia on the Egyptian frontier. Schrader (*KAT*(2) 204), who translates kasbu-ḳaḳḳar by 'double leagues,' takes Apku to lie on

[1] On this passage see ASHER, § 3.
[2] See We. *CH* 254; cp *Hist.*, ET, 39 [but cp GASm. *HG* 350 401 *f.*].
[3] Cp the route of Al-Nābulusī, ed. Tuch.

the E.,of the lake of Gennesaret (*i.e.*, the present **Fik)** and the Aphek of 1 K. 20 26, etc. This, however, seems less likely to give the distance from Raphia of a place so situated than of an Aphek on the plain of Sharon. The 'Aujeh, it may be remarked, is 70 m. from Raphia. It ought not to be overlooked that the particularising of one Aphek as 'in Sharon' (Josh. 12 18, see above, 3) implies the existence of other Apheks in the land. G. A. S.

APHEKA (אֲפֵקָה, ⲁⲫⲁⲕⲁ [AL], ⲫⲁⲕⲟⲩⲁ [B]), an unidentified city in the mountain-land of Judah (Josh. 15 53†).

APHEREMA, RV APHÆREMA (ⲁⲫⲁⲓⲣⲉⲙⲁ *[K]*, ⲁⲫⲉⲣ. [VA] ܦܪܝܡ), 1 Macc. 11 34, probably a Græcised form of the city-name EPHRAIM (*q.v.*, ii.).

APHERRA (ⲁⲫⲉⲣⲣⲁ [BA]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (om. L) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of || Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

APHIAH (אֲפִיחַ ; ⲁⲫⲉⲕ [BL], -ⲫⲁⲭ [A*], -ⲫⲓⲭ [A?]), 1 S. 9 1†, according to MT, one of Saul's ancestors; but 'son of Aphiah, a Benjamite,' should probably be 'of Gibeah of Benjamin' (מגבע[ת] בן ימן). *So* virtually Wellhausen; but he did not notice that Aphiah (cp 𝔊 and note that $\kappa = y$, *e.g.*, in Reba Nu. 31 8) is a corruption of Gibeah. This was reserved for Marquart *(Fund.* 15). *T. K. C.*

APHIH (אֲפִיק), Judg. 1 31†. See APHEK, 2.

APHRAH, **HOUSE** OF, RV Beth-le-Aphrah (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה, ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲉⲗⲱⲧⲁ [BAQ]), Mic. 1 10†, the name of a town not identified with any certainty. The determination of the site of Beth-le-Aphrah cannot be separated from the larger qiiestion of the text of the whole passage, Mic. 1 10-15, which cannot be discussed here (see Taylor, *MT of Mic.*; Ryssel, *Untersuch.* on the Book of Mic. 26 *ff.*; We. *Kl. Proph.*; Wi. *AT Unters.* 185 *f.*, *AOF* 1 103). *So* much, however, is plain—the vocalisation cannot be trusted, especially in view of the paronomasia ('house of dust' RV mg.), and even the consonants were differently read by 𝔊. The older writers (*e.g.*, Winer, so now also Nowack) identified Aphrah with OPHRAH (*q.v.*); cp Pesh. 'the houses of Ophrah.' But the context seems to demand some place farther W. and S. Winckler, with his rather too ingenious emendation 'Bethel' (reading אֶל־עפר for לעפרה עפר *AOF*, *l.c.*), seeks to avoid this objection by reading 'Gilgal' for the historically impossible 'Gath,' and (with We.) 'Bekaim' (see BOCHIM) for the very questionable *bākō* (בָּכוֹ) in 1 10. Hitz. (*KGH*, *ad loc.*), followed by Mühlau in *HWB*[(2)], suggests a *'Afrā* that Yākūt (*Mo'jam el buldān*, *sub voc.*) mentions as 'a castle in Palestine near Jerusalem.' Ges.-Bu. suggests doubtfully *Betogabra* (Eleutheropolis, *Beit Jibrīn*), which, however, represents an Aram. בית גברא (Nestle in *ZDPV* 1 224 *f.*). Perhaps the name of the Wādy el-Ghafr running E. not far S. of Mirāsh may be an echo of Micah's Aphrah. So GASm. (*Twelve Proph.* 1 384), Che. (*JQR*, July **1898**). The ל in לעפרה seems to be a scribe's error (as if 'in the dust').

APHSES (הַפִּצֵּץ), 1 Ch. 24 15† **AV**, RV HAPPIZZEZ.

APIS (חַף ; ⲟ ⲁⲡⲓⲥ [BℵAQ], *ὁ π.* [Q* (superscr. a Q[1 fort])]; Egyptian *Ḥapi*), the black bull-god of Memphis (see **EGYPT**, § **14**). Though the name of this famous deity does not occur in EV, he is mentioned once in OT (Jer. 46 15 *a*). 𝔊 alone has preserved the true division of the words: for נִסְחַף, AV 'are swept away' (similarly RV Pesh. Vg.), we must read נָס חַף, 'hath fled Apis' (*ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἆπις*). Cp König, *Syntax* **210**, n. 1. For an analogous correction see Giesebrecht and Cornill *ad loc.* and cp CALF, GOLDEN, § 2.

APOCALYPSE, THE (**Book** OF REVELATION). According to the best Buthorities (ℵCA [in subscription] 28, 82, 93, 95; Ti. WH), the title runs *αποκαλυψις Ιωα[ν]νου*. Later MSS add *του θεολογου* (*Q* and many cursives), or *του αποστολου*, or *του αr. και ευαγγελιστου* (*P* vg. cod., Syr.).

1. Name, and place in NT.

In almost all MSS the Apocalypse now holds the last place in the NT. The stichonietry of Cod. Claromontanus (D, Paul) arranges as follows: Evang. Paul.. Cath. Apoc. Act. (see Greg. *Prol.* 3 136; cp also what is said about the Evangeliaria, 175 and 368). In the Syriac version of the Apocalypse which has been edited by Gwynn, the book was preceded by the Fourth Gospel. The hiatus in Cod. D was perhaps originally occupied by the Apocalypse and Johannine Epistles (Bonsset, *TLZ*, **1892**), thus giving the order Evang., Apoc., Epp. Joh., Acts. All this perhaps indicates that the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings were originally handed down together. In point of fact, Tertullian actually speaks of an 'instrumentum Johannis,' which consisted of Apoc. and 1 Jn. (*Resurr.* 38, **39**; *Pud.* 19; *Fuga* 9; *Præscr.* 33). Cp Ronsch, *Das neue Test. Tertull.* **528**.

2. External evidence: canonicity.

The Boob seems to be presupposed in two places in the Ignatian epistles. (a) Ad *Eph.* 15 3 : *ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί* (KA read *λαοί* in Rev. 21 3) *καὶ αὐτὸς ᾖ ἐν ἡμῖν θεός*. (6) Ad *Philad.* 6 1 : *οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων* (cp Rev. 3 12 *f.*, in the epistle to the church of Philadelphia]. Andrew of Caesarea, moreover, mentions Papias, amongst others, as bearing witness to the Apocalypse (*ταύτῃ προμαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον*), and on Rev. 12 7 adduces (**32** 40 *ff.*, ed. Sylb.) two observations taken verbatim from Papias. That Eusebius does not mention the testimony of Papias is doubtless to be accounted for by the historian's unfriendly attitude towards the book. Irenæus appeals in support of the traditional number 666 to 'elders' who had actually seen John. (In all probability we could reduce this testimony of the elders to that of Papias alone: Harnack, *Chron.* der *altchristl. Lit.* 1 333 *ff.*). We find a writer so early as Justin asserting the book to be apostolical (*Dial.* 81 : *rap' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ ἐν ἀποκ.*) and canonical (*Apol.* 1 28 : *ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε*). This early recognition of the Apocalypse as a canonical writing need not surprise us: the book itself puts forward a claim to this character (1 18 *ff.* 22 18).

3. 2nd Cent.

In the second half of the second century we find the Apocalypse widely recognised.

It is generally current *(a)* in Asia Minor, alike among Montanists, anti-Montanists (Apollonius; Euseb. HE **v.** 18 14), and mediating writers (Melito of Sardis; *ib.* iv. 26 2); and (*b*) in Gaul, both with Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* ii. 22 3 *ff.* iii. 1 1 3 4 **xi.** 1 v. 30 1 3) and in the writing of the church of Lugdūnum and Vienna (in Eus. HE v.1 58). *(c)* In Africa, as already mentioned Tertullian knows of **an** *instrumentum Johannis* to which botd the Apocalypse and 1 Jn. belong; the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* shows acquaintance with it (cp *cc. 4* and 12). (*d*) In Egypt the *Judicium Petri* seems to know the book (Hilgenf. *Nov. Test. extr. Can. Receptum* 101); *(e)* for Antioch, Bishop Theophilus (Eus. *HE* iv. 24 1) is our witness **Lo** the same effect; and (*f*) **for** Rome, the Muratorian Canon. (*g*) Clement of Alexandria cites the Apocalypse (*Pæd.* 2 108 119; *Strom.* 6 106), Origen is unaware of any reason for doubting its apostolic origin (*in Jos. Hom.* 6; cp Eus. *HE* vi. 25 9).

4. 3rd Cent.

The situation changes, however, in the third century. As early as in the second century Marcion had refused to recognise the book (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 4 5), and the so-called sect of the Alogi attributed both the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel to Cerinthus (Epiph. *Hær.* 51, Philastr. *Hær.* 60 = Hippolytus; cp Iren. iii. 11 9)—probably on account of their own hostility to Montanism (after Irenaeus; Th. Zahn, *Kanons-gesch.* 1 239 *ff.*, Bousset, *Komm.* 16 *f.*).

This **opposition** by the Alogi was continued by the Roman presbyter Caius, who, in his dispute with the Montanist Proclus,

also attributed the work to Cerinthus (Eus. *HE* iii. 28 2). From the refutation of Caius by Hippolytus (κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαίου, Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. 1 15; fragments in Gwynn, *Hermath.* 6 397-418; cp also the writing catalogued in the inscription on the throne —ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως) we learn that Caius directly took up and continued the criticism of the Alogi.

The criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* vii. 25) was more moderate and more effective. He does not hold Cerinthus to have been the author of the Apocalypse, but conjectures that it must have been the work of some other John than the son of Zebedee, arguing from a comparison between the Apocalypse on the one hand and the Gospel and Epistles on the other as to style, language, and contents. The criticism of Dionysius was afterwards taken up by Eusebius, who was the first to provide a firm basis for the conjecture of Dionysius as to a second John by a reference to what Papias says of 'both' Johns (*HE* iii. 39) and inclines to class the Apocalypse with the spurious books, νοθοι (*HE* iii. 25 4).

Henceforward the view of Dionysius and Eusehius became the prevailing one in the Eastern Church.

6. Eastern Church. The book was recognised, indeed, by Methodius of Tyre (*Sympos.* 1 5 G 5 8 4 *ff.*) and Pamphilus (*Apol.*, ed. de la Rue 4 25 33), but on the other band unrecognised by Cyril (*Catech.* 4 33-36), Greg. of Nae. (*Carm.* 33), the Synod of Laodicea (Can. 64, see Zahn, *op. cit.* 2 197 *ff.*), the *Apostolical Constitutions* (Can. 85 [84]; Zahn, 2 191 *ff.*), the *Iambics* of Seleucus (Zahn, 2 217). The Apocalypse is not mentioned by Theodore of Mopsuestia, or by Chrysostom (cp the προθεωρία of the Synopsis of Chrysostom, Zahn, 2 230), or by Theodoret. In the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus manipulated in Jerusalem (*circa* 850; Zahn, 2 288 296 *f.*) it figures among the Antilegomena; in the list of the sixty canonical books it is not found, though it is again introduced into the *Synopsis* of Athanasius.

The unfavourable judgment of the Syrian church regarding it is very noteworthy.

6. Syrian Church. The *Doctrine of Addai* which, in the form in which we now have it, dates from about 400 A.D., recognises, as authoritative scriptore, nothing beyond the four gospels (Diatessaron), the Pauline Epistles, and Acts. From the Peshitta it is wholly absent. Whether Ephraim recognises the Apocalypse as canonical is, to say the least, doubtful. The Greek works that pass under his name, being of uncertain authenticity, cannot here be taken into account, and thus the evidence that he did appears to rest mainly on a single passage (*Opera*, Assem. 2 232, cp Rev. 5 1-3).[1] In any case, the noteworthy fact remains that Ephraim cites the Apocalypse but little, and develops his apocalyptical ideas on lines supplied by other writings. Besides, the Syrian Church did not look upon the book with favour? Jacob of Edessa (*ob.* 708) cites it (Ephraemi opera, ed. Assem. 1 192), and Bar Salib (*ob.* 1171), bishop of Mabug (Mabbōgh), comments on it (Gwynn, lxxxvii ci); but Bar-Hebræus (*ob.* 1286) holds it to be the work of Cerinthus or of the 'other' John (Assem. *Bibl. Or.* 3 15), and 'Ebed Ješu' (*ob.* 1318) omits it from his list of canonical scriptures. In an Armenian Canon also, by Mechitar of Aivirank (1290), the Apocalypse is reckoned among the Antilegomena.

7. Rest of East. Though the opposition to the Apocalypse was thus persistent in the Syrian Church, it gradually died away in the other Eastern provinces.

The book is acknowledged by Athanasius Didymus Cyr. Alex., Nilus Isidore of Pelusium (Egypt),[3] 'Gregory 'of Nyssa, Epipdanius of Salamis, and Johannes Damascenus. Andrew, archbishop of Czsarea in Cappadocia, wrote his commentary on it in the first half of the fifth century. He was not, however, followed in this until the ninth century, when Arethas, his successor in office, also undertook the task.

In the Western Church, on the other hand, the Apocalypse was accepted unanimously from the first.

8. West. Hippolytus (see above) defended and commented on it in a no longer extant work, and makes copious quotations from it in his Commentary on Daniel and in his *De Antichristo.*

Similarly, it is recognised by Lactantius (*Instit.* 2 2 7 10, epit. 42; cp 7 15 *ff.*), Hilary (*De Trin.* G 20 43), Ambrose (*De Virg.* 14, *De Spiritu* 3 20), Rufinus (*Exp. in Symb.* 37); on Novatus, Commodian, Arnobius, and others see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History.*

Augustine (in *Evang.-Joh.* 1336, *Epist.* 118, *Civ. Dei* 20 7) insists on the identity of the author of the Gospel with the writer of the Apocalypse.

The book was acknowledged at the synods of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). As early as the end of the third century it was commented on by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (ob. 303 A.D.). He was followed by the Donatist Ticonius (before 380).

An exceptional position was taken up by Jerome, who, under eastern influence, relegated the Apocalypse to the second class of *scripturæ ecclesiasticæ* (*in Ps.* 149), as also afterwards by Philastrius, if it be indeed the case that the book was not mentioned in the Canon of his *De hæresibus* 87 *f.*

At a later date the capitulum Aquisgranense (*Corp. Jur. Germ.*, ed. Walter, ii. 177 *f.*, cap. 20), adopting the decision of the Synod of Laodicea, removed it from the Canon.

At the Reformation the view of Jerome was revived by Erasmus in his *Annotationes.* Luther's well-known

9. Since Reformation. adverse judgment, pronounced in his preface of 1522, rests more on a religious than on a scientific foundation. Subsequently he gradually modified his view in a sense more favourable to the book. In his translation, however, he indicated his unfavourable opinion so far at all events that he relegated James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse to the end of the NT without pagination. The last edition of the NT in this form appeared in 1689. Carlstadt (*Libellus de canonicis scripturis*, 1520), falling baclc on the criticism of Eusehius, classed the Apocalypse among the seven Antilegomena. The opposition to its reception lasted down to the following century, and disappeared only after the introduction of John Gerhards cunningly devised distinction between canonical and deutero-canonical writings (*Loc. theol.* i. cap. 9, § 241). In the reformed churches the opposition disappeared much earlier—from the time of Calvin, indeed.

In the eighteenth century the question was again revived by Abauzit (*Discours hist. sur l'apoc.* (in *Œuvres diverses*, tom. i., 1770); Hermann Oeder (*Christlich freie Untersuch. üb. d. sogenannte Offenb. Joh.*, published by Semler, Halle, 1769), reverting to the view of Caius of Rome, attributed the book to Cerinthus. He was followed by Semler (*Freie Untersuch. des Canons* 7772, and in many controversial writings), and by Corrodi (*Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 1781). The best defence was that of Hartwig (*Apologie der Apok.*, 1780-83). Cp also the successive editions of J. D. Michaelis, *Einl. in die göttlichen Schriften* from 1750 onwards.

Our sources for the text are the following:—

10. Text:[1] the material. A. *Greek MSS.*—(1) Uncials. It exists in NAC (3 9-5 14 7 14-17 8 5-9 16 10 10-11 3 16 13-18 2 19 5-22 21 being absent), also in P Porfirianus Chiovensis sæc. 9 Act. Cath. Paul. Apoc. (16 12-17 1 19 12-20 2 22 6-21 being absent), and Q (in Tischendorf, B), Vaticanus 2066 sæc. 8 (Apoc. only). (2) Cursives. Of these some seventy are more or less collated. Their readings can be learned from the editions and collations of Mill-Kuster (1710), Bengel (1734 *ff.*), Wetstein (1751-2), Matthæi (1782-88, tom. x.), Alter (1786-87), Birch (*Variæ Lectt. in Apok.*, 1800), Scholz ('30-36), Scrivener (*Codex Augiensis*, 1859; *Adversaria Critica*, '93), Tregelles ('57-72), Tischendorf (ed. octava major), Alford (*New Test.* vol. iv. ed. 2, 1885), Simcox (*J. Phil.* 22 285 *ff.*).

B. *Versions.*—(1) Latin.—A good deal is now known about these. The oldest stage is represented by h (Floriacensis), the Latin translation used by Primasius (Haussleiter, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Kanons* iv.); the intermediate, by the Gigas Holmensis (ed. Belsheim '79). The best material for the Vulgate is brought together in Lachmann (*Nov. Test.*) and Tischendorf. (2) Syriac.—A valuable Syriac rendering (probably the Philoxeniana) has recently been edited by Gwynn (*op. cit.*).[2] The Syriac MSS hitherto known (see Gwynn, xiv. *ff.*) represent the text of Thomas of Harkel. (3) Importance also attaches to the still comparatively unexplored Coptic (see Goussen, *Stud. Theol.* i.) and Armenian versions.

C. *Church Fathers.*—There are copious citations in Origen, Hippolytus (especially in the *De Antichristo* and in the com-

[1] Gwynn (*The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version*, Dublin-London, 1897, p. ciii) cites also De Lamy, *Hymn.* 1 66—a passage which the present writer finds himself unable to accept as proof.

[2] Thomas of Harkel, it is true, included it in his translation, as probably also (according to the latest researches of Gwynn) did Philoxenus of Mabug (Mabbōgh).

[3] See Liicke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis* (2), Bonn, 1852.

[1] See F. Delitzsch *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1861; B. Weiss, 'Die Joh.-Apok.' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 7 1 ('91); W. Bousset, 'Text-kritische Studien' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 11 4 ('94); Gwynn, *The Apocalypse in a Syriac version*, 1897; on which see T. K. Abbot, 'Syriac version of Apocalypse,' *Hermathena*, 1897, pp. 27-35.

[2] See last note.

mentary on Daniel; see the new edition by Bonwetsch and Achelis), and Cyprian. The text used by Andrew of Cæsarea and Arethas in their commentaries has not as yet been fully established. The text of the lost commentary of Ticonius can best he made out from the excerpt from the commentary on the Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies.

In the attempt to classify this material, it is best to begin with the class which shows the latest text—namely,

11. Classification. (1) the Arethas class, so named because a text of this order was used by Arethas for his Commentary (hence also many cursives of this class are, strictly speaking, MSS of Arethas-Commentaries). To this class belong Q and about forty of the more or less known cursives. The material being so defective, separate groups within the class can hardly be distinguished.

Tentatively and under great reservation a few may here be suggested. (i.) 9, 13, 27, 93 are somewhat closely connected (cp *TLZ*, 1894, p. 658); (ii.) 2 8, (14), 140, 151, 29, 50, 97 (the last three very intimately related), 94; (iii.) 6, 11, 31, (47); (iv.) lastly, Q, 14, 92 show near affinities. The group formed by (v.) 7, 16, 39, 45, 69 represents the transition-stage between this class (1) and the next class (2).

The second class, which we can detach from the rest as having arisen out of a later redaction, is (2) the so-called 'Andrew' class—the class to which the text used by Andrew (see above, § 10 C) in his conimentary belonged. It falls into several clearly distinguishable subordinate groups.

(i.) The group consisting of 35, 68, 87, 121 stands almost entirely apart, presenting as it does many points of contact with the Arethas group, but often showing a very peculiar text. The following three groups, on the other hand, are very closely akin: (ii.) 1, 12, 36, 81, 152 (often with a very archaic Latinising substratum); (iii.) 28, 73, 79, 80, 99; (iv.) 10, 17, 37, 49, [72], 91, 96, [154], 161. Cod. P admits of being ranked with this class as a whole, but cannot be associated with any of the subordinate groups in particular.

Of all the known cursives there are only (3) four—[26], 38, 51, 95—which it has hitherto been found impossible to classify; they show an ancient text.

It is as vet difficult to detect the 'Western text'

12. 'Western Text.' (see TEXT) in the Apocalypse; but this will gradually become practicable as in recent years new sources have become accessible.

Witnesses to it, though only in part, are the uncial ℵ (with a very erratic and only partially ancient text), the text of Primasius (identical, according to Haussleiter's investigations, with Cyprian's text, and thus old African), the fragments of *h*, the Gigas Holmensis *g*, Ticonius (containing a later development of the text), and the Syriac version edited by Gwynn and designated Σ (the later version known as S shows a text almost everywhere corrected in accordance with the Arethas class, though in many places also it contains a text older than 2). To the same category belong also, in part, the group 1, 12, 36, 81, 152 (cp Gwynn, cxli.) and, finally, the Armenian version, which, unfortunately, is not yet sufficiently known (note the coincidence of 1, 12, 36, etc. with arm.; cp Bousset, *Komm.* 178). A further point worthy of notice is the close affinity of ℵ, *8* (S), and Origen; one might almost venture *to* constitute ℵΣOr. a distinct group in the Western Class (Bousset, 181; Gwynn, lv *ff.*).

Distinctly the best text is that presented by ACVg. The Vulgate furnishes us with good means of con-

13. Result. trolling the text of AC, especially where the two differ or where C is wanting. AVg., therefore, where C is wanting, often constitutes a stronger testimony than that of all the other witnesses together.

'I John am he that heard and saw these things' (22 8 RV; cp 1 4 9). Are we to identify this John with the

14. Professed author. apostle, the son of Zebedee? Within the book itself 21 14 might fairly he urged against this identification. The first to submit the question to thorough discussion was Dionysius of Alexandria (see above, § 4); in the result he attributed the book to another John. This theory of a second John, adopted also by Eusebius (HE iii. 39 1 *ff.*), was revived in the present century (Bleek, Ewald, de Wette, Liicke, Neander, Dusterdieck, etc.), the John of the Apocalypse being usually in this case identified with the 'Presbyter' of Ens. HE iii. 39 1 *ff.* Criticism advanced another step, however, and declared the whole tradition regarding the presence of John the Apostle (and Evangelist) in Asia Minor to have been due to a confusion between his name and that of the presbyter.

So Vogel, ***Der Evangelist Johannes***, 1801-4; Liitzelberger, ***Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes***, 1840; Keim, ***Gesch. Jesu von Nazara***, 1867, 1 161 *f.*; Scholten, *Der Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, 1872; Weiffenbach, *Das Papias-fragment*, 1874; Thoma, ***Dar Johannisev.***, 1882; and others. Against Scholten cp Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1876-77, also Zahn, *St. Kr.* 1866, p. 649 *ff.*; *Acta Joannis* clv., Steitz, *St. Kr.*, 1868, p. 509 *ff.*, Herzog, ***RE*** 11 78 *ff.*

The question is difficult. The first remark to be made upon it is that the assumption that there were two Johns

15. Only one John in Asia Minor. in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—finds only slender support in ancient tradition. Whatever the interpretation we may put on the important testimony of Papias preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39 1 *ff.*), it is at least certain that Papias speaks not of two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—but of one John, whom we are to look for as a near neighbour of Papias in space and time. Of a second John the second century and the first half of the third know nothing; he is unknown to Irenæus and to those who disputed the claims of the Fourth Gospel, to the Alogi and to Caius, to Tertullian, to Clement, and to Origen. Not till the time of Dionysius of Alexandria is reached do we find any indication of the sort (Eus. *HE* vii. 25 16). Even Dionysius alleges no other evidence than that in his day two graves of 'John' were shown.

The inference he draws from this—that there must have been two Johns—is by no means a stringent one. It would not he less reasonable to suppose that in his day the precise burial-place of John was no longer known, or that the two μνήματα represented two distinct holy 'places' of John (so Jer. ***de vir. ill.*** 9: *duæ memoriæ*; Zahn, *Acta Jo.* clv). For this supposition, Eusebius has supplied a plausible basis by combining the statement of Papias about two Johns with the traditions 'mentioned by Dionysius about two graves of John at Ephesus.

If the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor proves to be a baseless hypothesis—and its base-

16. Viz., the Presbyter. lessness is shown by the fact, among other things, that the 'John' of Asia Minor is so often spoken of without distinguishing phrase of any kind—the question which next arises is as to whether this John was the apostle or the presbyter. At this point the important testimony of Papias turns the scale in favour of the presbyter. For his contemporary and the authority whom he quotes is—next to Aristion—the 'presbyter' John (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 4); and Aristion and John are doubtless also to be identified with the πρεσβύτεροι whom, according to Eus. *HE* iii. 39 3, Papias could still directly interrogate. The evidence of 2 Jn. and 3 Jn., claiming as they do to be written by the πρεσβύτερος, points in the same direction. Moreover, as has already been pointed out (§ 14), the Apocalypse apparently does not profess to have been written by the apostle. On the other side, it is true, we already find Justin (*Dial.* 81; see above, § 2) asserting the apostolic authorship. It is, however, noticeable that Irenæus—for whom the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse are all by one and the same author—speaks of John as an apostle only in indefinite expressions similar to those in Gal. 1 19, but elsewhere invariably designates him as 'disciple' (μαθητής); see Bousset, *op. cit.* 41 *f.* Further, Irenæus, who calls Papias a disciple of John, also speaks of Polycarp as his fellow disciple (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 1). If we refuse to suppose that Irenæus had already confounded the presbyter with the apostle, then the great teacher of Polycarp was also, according to Irenæus, the 'presbyter' John; for Papias was *a* disciple of the presbyter. In the Muratorian canon, further, John is called simply 'discipulus,' whereas Andrew is 'apostolus.' The testimony also of Polycrates in the letter to Victor (ap. Eus. *HE* v. 24 2 *ff.*) claims particular attention in this connection. Here, in a passage where everything turns upon the exact titles of the persons named, Polycrates designates

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as the *στοιχεῖα* of Asia Minor (1) the apostle Philip and his daughters; (2) John who lay on the bosom of the Lord, *μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος*, who was buried in Ephesus, *ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς*; (3) the bishops Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papirius, Melito. Polycrates thus designates, plainly with intention, the author of the Fourth Gospel also as teacher and witness, not as apostle. Indeed, the traditions relating to the Fourth Gospel become much more intelligible if we are able to assume that the witness (Jn. 19 35, *ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν*) is not the Galilæan apostle, the son of Zebedee, but another John, a Jerusalemite (Bousset, *Komm.* 43 *f.*). It may also be remarked that the statement of the Fourth Gospel—that the beloved disciple was 'known unto the high priest' (18 15)—harmonises well with the account of Polycrates, 'who became priest' (*ὃς ἱερεὺς ἐγενήθη*; cp further, H. Delff, *St. Kr.*, **1891**, and Harnack, *Chronol.* 1 456 *ff.*).

The inference from all this would seem to be that the (one) John of Asia Minor, who was the presbyter, was one who had seen Jesus indeed, hut not one of the number of the apostles. The John of the Apocalypse (cp the superscription of the Epistles) is thus the presbyter.

Whether the Apocalypse was really written by him is another question. In order to understand how the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel could both be attributed to the same disciple of the Lord, it is necessary to remove them both a little distance away from him. John is only the eye-witness, not the author of the Fourth Gospel: so, in like manner, in the Apocalypse we may have here and there a passage that can be traced to him, but the book as a whole is not from his pen. Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse all come from the same school. They show also at various points linguistic affinities (Bousset, *Komm.* 202 *ff.*). They had, moreover, at first the same history: they were, it would seem, the favourite writings of Montanism, and were all three alike rejected by the opponents of Montanism, the Alogi.

17. Real authorship.[1]

The earliest Greek fathers who in any measure attempted to interpret the Apocalypse were Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Methodius:

18. Interpretation: Greek and Latin.

Irenaeus, in *Adv. Hær.* 5; Hippolytus, in Comm. on Daniel in *ἀπόδειξις περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου*, in extant fragments of thd *κεφάλαια κατὰ Γαίου* and in a no longer extant commentary 'on the book itself; Methodius in *Symp.* 1 5 6 5 8 4 *ff.* Of continuous commentaries originating in the Greek Church we possess only those of Andrew (5th cent., ed. Sylburg) and of Arethas (yth cent., ed. Cramer).

The oldest Latin commentary, which contains mnch interesting and ancient material (for example, the interpretation of various passages ,referring to Nero), is that of Victorinus of Pettau (*oh.* 303). We possess it only in Jerome's redaction. Haussleiter is about to edit it in its original form. An exceedingly powerful influence was exercised also by the commentary of Ticonius.

This work is, unfortunately, no longer extant and has to be reconstructed, as far as the materials allow, from the pseudo-Augustinian *Homiliæ in Apoc.* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 35), the commentary of Primasius (*ob.* **586** ed. princ. Basel, 1544) and (mainly) the great compilations'of Beatus, written in 776 (*in Apocalypsim*, ed. Florez, 1770).[3]

In his commentary, written before 380 A.D., wholly from the Donatistic point of view, Ticonius consistently carries out the spiritualistic interpretation. In his explanation of the millennium passage (**20** 1 *ff.*) he was afterwards followed by Augustine (Rousset, *Komm.* 65). Down to the Middle Ages the exegesis of the book continued to follow that of Ticonius, if his Donatistic tendency be left out of account.

Apart from the works already named, mention must be made of those of Cassiodorus (*Complexiones in apocalypsin* ed. Scipio Maffey, Florence, 1721]), Beda (*06.* 735; *explanatio apocalypsis* in *Biblioth. Patr.* Cologne, vol. v.), and Ambrosius Ansbertus (*c.* 770: *in Apocalypsim libri x.*, *Bibl. Patr.*, Col., 9). Dependent, in turn, on Ansbertus are Alcuin (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 100) and Haymo of Halberstadt [843] (Migne, 117), while Walafried Strabo's *Glossa ordinaria* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* **114**) depends on Haymo. To the same class of interpretations belong the performances of Anselm of Laon (Migne, 162), Bruno of Aste (Migne, 165), Rupert of Deutz (Migne, 169), Richard of St. Victor (Migne, 196), Albertus Magnns (*Opera*, Lyons, 1651, tom. 12), a commentary, probably in reality of Waldensian origin, which is found, in two recensions, among the works of Thomas Aquinas (*Opera*, Parma, 1869; tom. 23 324 *ff.* 512 *ff.*), Hugh of St. Caro (1263; *Postilla*), Dionysius Carthusius (14th cent.). Thus the single commentary of Ticonius continued to dominate the whole interpretation of the Apocalypse until far down in the Middle Ages.

The next interpreter of the Apocalypse to attain wide influence was Joachim of Floris (soon after 1195; *Expositio . . . abbatis Joachim in Apoc.*, Venice, **1527**). With him the fantastic futurist (chiliastic) interpretation began to gain the upper hand. over the formerly prevalent spiritualising view. He was at the same time the originator of a 'recapitulation theory,' which he carried out into the minutest details. As 'the Age of the Spirit,' associated with a mendicant order that was to appear, occupied a central place in the prophecies of Joachim, he naturally became the prophet of the 'opposition' Franciscans, and his works were accepted by them as sacred. It was in these circles accordingly that his immediate followers in the interpretation of the Apocalypse arose (Peter Johannes Olivæ, Ubertino de Casale, Seraphinus de Fermo, Annius Viterbiensis, Petrus Galatinus): but his influence spread very widely in the course of succeeding centuries, and a continuous chain of many links connects the name of Joachim with that of Cocceius, who, in virtue of his *Cogitationes de apoc. S. Joannis* (Leyden, 1605), is usually taken as the typical representative of the modern 'recapitulation theory.'

19. Joachim.

Among the precursors of the Reformation the anti-Roman and anti-papal interpretation began to gain ground, although the only methodical exposition of this view that can be named is the commentary (by John Purvey?), emanating from Wycliffite[1] circles and written in 1390, which was afterwards published by Luther (*Commentarius in Apoc. ante centum annos editus*, 1530).

20. Reformation.

The founder of a consistently elaborated universal-historical interpretation was Nicolaus de Lyra (1329, in the *Postils*, which have been often printed). He is followed by certain Catholic interpreters. and, in method at least, by Luther. who in his preface of 1534 (Walch., 11) gives, in the space of a few pages, a clever but fantastic interpretation of the entire book, in which, as might be expected, the anti-papal interest holds a central place. Luther's view continued to dominate the interpretation of the Apocalypse within the Lutheran church.

21. Universal-historical method.

It prevailed from the time of Lucas Osiander (*Bibliorum sacrorum*, pars **3**) down to that of Jo. Gerhard (*Annot. in Apoc. Joh.*, Jena, 1643) and Abr. Calovius (*Biblia Nov. Test. Illustr.*, tom. **2** Frankfort, 1672—a learned work with valuable introductory material and persistent polemic against Hugo Grotius; for a list of the commentaries dependent on Luther see Bousset, *Komm.* 94). None of the works mentioned was of any value for the real interpretation of the book: the Apocalypse and its interpretatiou, so far as the Lutheran Church in Germany is concerned, became merely the arena for anti-Catholic polemics.

Within this period the number of works produced in Germany and Switzerland on this subject without dependence on the dominant Lutheran view was very small.

Among them the *Diligens atque erudita enarratio libri Apoc. Joh.*, 1547, of Theodor Bibliander is worthy of notice; in it we can discern in the treatment **of** chaps. 12 and **13** the

[1] Cp also below, §§ 28 and 34.

[2] See Lücke, *Einl. in die Offenbarung* (2), 1853; Holtzmann, *HK* 4; Bousset, *Komm.* 51 *ff.*

[3] See Haussleiter, *ZKWL* 7 233 *ff.*; Bousset, *Komm.* 60 *ff.*

[1] Cp Wycliffe's own interpretation of **Rev.** 20 in the *Dialogus* in Neander, *KG* **6228**.

beginnings of an interpretation looking to contemporary conditions. Bullinger (*Predigten*, 1557) and Junius (*Apoc. Joh. Illustrata*, 1591) have a good deal in common with Bibliander.

Wildest and most fantastic of all are the English commentaries of this period.

Among them may be named Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms (*A Plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John*, 1593), Thomas Brightman (*Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*, Frankfort, 1609), Joseph Mede (*Clavis apocalyptica*, 1627), and Sir Isaac Newton (*Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1732—dependent upon Mede).

22. Scientific.

The history of a strictly scientific interpretation of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, must be held to begin with the learned commentaries of French and Spanish Catholic theologians. They meet the Protestant polemic with conspicuous and indeed often astounding erudition, and, going back to the point of view of the earlier Church fathers, lay the foundations of a cautious and for the most part purely eschatological interpretation.

In this connection the works of Franciscus Ribeira (1578), Blasius Viegas (1601? cp also Bellarminus, *De Summo Pontifice*, lib. tert. De Antichristo), Benedictus Pereyra (1606?), and Cornelius a Lapide (1626) are well worthy of mention.

Conspicuous above them all is the *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* of Ludovicus ab Alcazar. That writer was the first to carry out consistently the idea that the Apocalypse in its earlier part is directed against Judaism, and in its second against Paganism, so that in chaps. 12 *f.* we read of the first persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire, and in ch. 19 of the final conversion of that Empire. He thus presents us with the first serious attempt to arrive at a historical and psychological understanding of the book.

The idea worked out by Alcazar had already been expressed by Hentenius in the preface to his edition of Arethas (*Œcumenii Commentar.*, ed. Moreiius et Hentenius 2), and by Salmeron (*Opera*, 12, Cologne 1614 'In sacram Jo. Apoc. præludia'). It ought to be added here that the explanation of the wounded head as referring to Nero Redivivus is found (for the first time since Victorinus) in the commentary of the Jesuit Juan Mariana. It was from the Jesuits that Protestant science first learned how to work this field.

Grotius (*Annot. ad NT*, Paris, 1664), who is so often spoken of as the founder of scientific exegesis, is, in his remarks on the Apocalypse at any rate, entirely dependent on Alcazar, whose interpretation, indeed, he has not improved by the details assuming references to universal history and contemporary events which he has introduced into it.

Grotius in turn was followed by Hammond (cp the Latin editions of Clericus tom. 1, Amsterdam 1698, and Clericus's notes to Hammond), Bossuet (1688) and Hervæus (1684). In Holland and Germany the fantastic school of interpretation continued to flourish for some time longer, prominent representatives being, in Holland, Vitringa, with his profoundly learned ἀνάκρισις ἀποκαλύψεως (1705; dependent on Mede), and his many followers, and in Germany, Bengel, with his commentary (1740-46-58) and sixty practical discourses on the Apocalypse. Much greater sobriety is shown by Joh. Marck in his *In Apoc. Comm.* 1699, with its copious exegetical material and valuable introduction; also by a group of eschatological interpreters in which are included Eleonora Peters (1696), Antonius Driessen (1717), and Joachim Lange (*Apokalyptisches Licht u. Recht*, 1730).

23. Since 18th century.

In the eighteenth century, although Aubert de Verse (*La clef de l'apocalypse*, 1703) followed the lines laid down by Grotius, Hammond, and Bossuet, the interpretation founded on allusions to contemporary events gained the ascendency, and in a very narrow form. At this period it took for the most part the very unfortunate course of endeavouring to treat the whole of the Apocalypse, after the analogy of Mt. 24, as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.

In this category must be placed the expositions of Abauzit (*Essai sur l'apoc.*, 1733), Harduin (1741), Wetstein (*Libellus ad crisin atque interpretationem NT* ed. Semler, 1766), Harenberg (1759), Hartwig (cp § 9), and, finally, Ziillig (1834).

On the other hand, we find much that is rightly said in Semler's notes to Wetstein in Corrodi's *Gesch. des Chiliasmus*. And a return was made to the sounder general principles of Alcazar by Herrenschneider (*Inaugural diss.*, Strassburg, 1786) and by Eichhorn (*Commentarius*, 1791). Even those shreds of the interpretation that looks to universal history, which had still persisted in showing themselves in Alcazar's work, were now stripped away, and thus a provisional resting-place was reached.

This stage is seen in the works of Bleek (*Theol. Ztschr.* 2, Berlin, 1820, *Vorlesungen über die Apok.* published by Hossbach in 1862), Ewald (*Comm.* 1828, *Die Johann. Schriften*, 2, 1862), De Wette (*Kurze Erklärung*, 1848-54-62), Lucke (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung*, 1832, 2nd ed. 1852), Volkmar ('62), and also, for the most part, Diisterdieck ('59-87).

In all these works the interpretation from contemporary history is consistently carried out. All set forth from the decisive observation that in chap. 11 the preservation of the temple is predicted, and all, accordingly, date the book from before 70 A.D. Further, they all rightly recognise that the main drift of the Apocalypse is directed against Rome; all, too (except Diisterdieck), recognise Nero Redivivus in the wounded head. In particular, since the discovery, independently arrived at by Fritzsche, Benary, and Reuss, that the number 666 is intended for קסר נרון, the reference to Nero has become the *rocher de bronce* of all exegesis of the Apocalypse.

In passing, mention may he made of some works which, although following obsolete exegetical methods, are not without a scientific value: Hengstenberg ('49-'51-'61), Ehrard ('53), Elliot (*Horæ Apocalypticæ*, 1851; univ.-hist.), Auherlen ('54-'74), Christian ('61), Luthardt ('61), Alford (New Testament, 4 2), Kliefoth ('74), Beck (*Erkl. von Offenb.* i.-xii.; eschatol.) and Kiibel (in Strack-Zöckler's *HK*. 1888: this takes a mediating course between the standpoint; of contemporary history and eschatology). See also Zahn, 'Apokalyptische Studien,' in *ZKWL*, 1885-86.

24. Question of unity.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse entered on a new phase[1] as soon as doubts arose regarding the unity of the work and the method of literary criticism to be applied. The conjecture, which had been hazarded more than once,[2] that the Apocalypse was really a composite work was again taken up independently (1) by Daniel Volter. at the suggestion of Weizsäcker, whose pupil he was.

25. Redaction hypothesis.

The particular hypothesis put forth by Völter[3] as to the composition of the Apocalypse may for convenience be called the redaction hypothesis (*Ueberarbeitungs-Hypothese*).

He assumed in his first sketch, which he has not substantially modified, a fundamental text (*Grundschrift*) consisting (apart from single verses) of 1 1-4 4-6 7 1-8 8 *f.* 14 1-7 18 19 1-4 14 14-20 19 5-10, dating from the sixties, and an appendix 10 1-11 13 17, dating from 68-70 A.D. This underwent three (or rather four) redactions, of which the latest was in 140 A.D.—or, at all events, later than 130.

The work of Volter is based on a few happy observations. For example, he saw that 14 14-20 really forms the close of an apocalypse, recognised the divergence between 7 1-8 and 7 9-17, the true character of 10 1-11 13,—and so forth. Nevertheless, broadly, Volter's performance gave the student an impression of excessive arbitrariness, and was rejected on almost every hand.

Against the first edition see Harnack, TLZ, 1882, Dec.; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1882; Warfield, *Presb. Rev.* 1884, p. 228; against the second edition, Jülicher, *GGA*, 1886, pp. 25-38; Zabn, *ZKWL*, 1886.

The question was next taken up from an entirely different side (2) by E. Vischer ('Die Offenb. Joh. eine judische Schrift in christlicher Bearbeitung,' in *Texte u. Unters.*, 1886. 2nd ed. 1895); the result has been a lively and fruitful discussion. Vischer believed himself to have discovered that the ruling chapters (11 *f.*) of the Apocalypse can be understood only on the as-

1 In connection with what follows see Holtzmann, *JPT*, 1891; Raldensperger, *Z. f. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1894; A. Meyer, Theol. *Rundschau*, 1897, Hefte 2-3.

2 Grotius, Hammond, Vogel (Comm. vii. *De Apoc. joh.* 1811-1816), Bleek (*Berl. theol. Ztschr.* 2 240 *f.*; he abandoned his view in *Beitr. z. Evang.-Kritik*, 1846, p. 81; *St. Kr.* 1855, p. 220 *ff.*).

3 *Die Entsteh. der Apok.*, 1882, 2nd ed. 1885; Th. T, 1891, pp. 259 *ff.* 608 *ff.*; *Prot. KZ*, 1886, p. 32 *f.*; *Das Problem der Apoc.*, 1893.

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sumption of a Jewish origin. As he nevertheless continued to be convinced of the essential unity of the book, he inferred that in the form in which we now have it it is *a* ***Christian*** *redaction of a Jewish writing.* To the Christian redactor, besides isolated expressions, he attributed the following passages : 1-3 5 9-14 7 9-17 12 11 13 9 *f.* 14 1-5 12 13 15 3 16 15 17 14 19 9-10 13*b* 20 4-6 21 5*b*-8 22 6-21.

Vischer's able treatise found wide acceptance. Among those who signified their acceptance of his main thesis were Iselin (*Theol. Z. aus der Schweitz*, 1887 ; 'Apocalyptische Studien') ; an anonymous writer in *ZATW*, 1886, pp. 167-71 ; Overbeck in ***TLZ,*** 1887, p. 28 *f.* ; Ménégoz in *Rev. de théol. et phil.* 1887, p. 161 ; Krüger in GGA, 1887, pp. 26-35 ; Simcox in *Expositor*, 1887, p. 425 *f.* On the other hand, Völter (*Die Offenb. Joh. keine ursprüngl. jüd. Apok.*, 1886), Beyschlag (*St. Kr.* 1888), and Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1890) declared themselves against it.

Athough it must be cordially acknowledged that to Vischer belongs the honour of having first raised the question in its entirety, it must be said that he was not successful in his attempt to solve it. He has neither proved the Jewish character of chap. 11 *f.* nor justified his fundamental thesis regarding the unity of the book. We shall be doing him no injustice if we classify him among those who uphold the 'redaction' hypothesis.

26. Sources hypothesis.

The earliest exponent of the 'sources' hypothesis (***Que&%-Hypothese***), which has lately come into competition with that of redaction, was Weyland, who wrote almost contemporaneously with Vischer (*Th. T*, 1886, pp. 454-470 ; and *Omwerking* ***en*** *Compilatiehypothesen toegepast op* ***de*** *Apocal. van J.*, 1888). Weyland finds in the Apocalypse *two* Jewish sources (א and ב) which have been worked over by a Christian redactor.

א corresponds, roughly, to Volter's primary document ; ב to the first and second of Völter's redactors (in Völter's Appendix א and ב are separated). Weyland's Christian redactor corresponds in a general **way** with Vischer's redactor. In 1894 Rauch (*Die Offenb. des/.*) signified his adherence to Weyland.

27. Objections.

Against both the hypotheses we have just described serious and far-reaching objections present themselves. Against the 'sources' hypothesis must be urged, in substance, the linguistic unity of the book (see below, § 34); against the redaction theory it has to be observed *(a)* that the fundamental document made out by Volter and his followers (see above, § 25) has no special character of its own, inasmuch as all the really living and concrete passages occurring within it are attributed to the redactor ; *(b)* that the disappearance of every trace of these numerous later redactions is remarkable.

28. Fragment hypothesis.

From such considerations the necessity for **a** third way became apparent. This third way was first pointed out by Weizsäcker in his *Apostolic* ***Age.*** He rightly discerned in the Apocalyptist's thrice repeated number of seven the fixed plan of an author who wrote the Apocalypse as **a** whole, and gave to his work the character of **a** literary unity. Into this literary unity certain interpolations intrude with disturbing effect (7 1-8 9-17 11 1-13 12 1-11 12-17 **13** 17). Thus Weizsacker arrived at his fragment hypothesis. According to him the Apocalypse is **a** literary unity proceeding from a single author, into which, however, apocalyptic fragments of various date have been introduced by the author himself. In the opinion of the present writer these are the lines along which the true solution of the problem is to be sought. All later investigators in this field have followed one or other of the three hypotheses just enumerated.

Oscar Holtzrnann (*GVI* 2 658-664) assumes a Jewish ground**work** into which again a still older source (**13** 14 6-13) has been worked in a Christian revision. Pfleiderer (*Urchristenthum*, 1887, pp. 318-56) steers an eclectic course ; Sabatier (*Les origines littéraires de l'apocalypse*, 1887) and Schoen (*L'origine de l'apoc.* 1887) re**present a c**ombination of Weizsacker and Vischer (regarding the Apocalypse as the work of **a** Christian author who has embodied Jewish fragments in his book).

29. Spitta.

A thoroughly elaborated 'sources' theory is that of Spitta (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1884). **In** diametrical opposition to Weizsäcker, he claims to see, in the thrice repeated series of seven, three sources.

These are *(a)* the seal source or Christian primitive Apocalypse U (U—Urapokalypse), written soon after 60 A.D. (practically, apart from the specifically Christian interpolations of the redactor, chaps. 1-6 and 7 9-17 8 1 19 9 10 22 8-21); *(b)* the trumpet source J(1), a Jewish writing (J=Jüdisch) of the reign of Caligula 7 1-8 8 9 10 1-7 11 15 12 13 14 1-11 16 13-20 19 11-20 20 1-15 21 1-8) ; *c)* the vials source J(2), from the time of Pompey (containing, approximately, the remainder of the hook).

These three have been worked together into a collected whole by a Christian redactor. (The additions assigned to him by Spitta are of about the same extent as those assigned to him by Vischer.)

The sources theory was next carried to the utmost by P. Schmidt (*Anmerkungen über* ***die*** *Comp.* ***der*** *Offenb. Joh.*, 1891).

Erbes (*Die Offenb. Joh.*, 1891) in his separation of the literary sources agrees in the main with O. Holtzmann, but also maintains with Volter (whose hypothesis he simplifies) the thoroughly Christian character of the whole book. Bruston (*Lés origines de l'apocalypse*, **1888)** pursues a path of his own. Ménégoz (*Annales de bibliogr. théol. 1* ['88] pp. 41-45) assumed two Jewish apocalypses and a Christian redactor.

The unity of the book is defended by certain scholars :

Not only by the critics of Vischer mentioned above, but also *by* B. Weiss (*Einl.*, and *Texte u. Untersuch. 8* 1891), Bovon (*Revue* de *théol. et phil.*, 1887, pp. 329-62), Hirscht (*Die Apoc. u. ihre neueste Kritik*, 1895), and Blom (Th. T, 1883-84). An expectant attitude is taken by H Holtzmann (*Einl.*, 1892 ; *Hand-komm.*, 1893).

30. Gunkel.

Finally, altogether new lines of investigation were opened up by Gunkel in his *Schöpf. u. Chaos* ('94). He controverted sharply, and sometimes perhaps not altogether fairly, both the current methods of interpreting the Apocalypse (that which looks to contemporary history for a clue, and that which adheres to literary critical methods), and proposed to substitute for them, or at least to co-ordinate with them, a history of apocalyptic tradition. He insisted with emphasis upon the thesis that the (one) Apocalyptist was not himself the creator of his own representations ; that his prophecies were only links in a long chain of tradition. In his investigation of this apocalyptic tradition he greatly enlarged the scope of the usual question 'Jewish or Christian?' by his endeavours to prove for chap. 12 a Babylonian origin, and in other places also (see below, § 40) to trace Babylonian influences in the book. Even if we grant that Gunkel has often overshot the mark,—as, for example, when he refuses to recognise Nero in the beast and its number —it is undeniable that his book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

31. Bousset.

Stimulated by Gunkel, and accepting some of his results, Bousset (***Der Antichrist in der*** *Ueberlieferung des Judenthums, des neuen Testaments,* ***und der*** *neuen Kirche*, 1895) proceeded to illustrate Gunkel's method by applying it to a definite concrete example, investigating the entire tradition regarding Antichrist, and endeavouring to show that in this instance a stream of essentially uniform tradition can be traced from New Testament times right through the Middle Ages and beyond them. In his view the Apocalypse can be shown to be dependent in **a** series of passages, particularly in chap. 11, on this already ancient tradition regarding Antichrist.

This view has been controverted by Erhes (*Theologische Arbeiten* **ars** *dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Prediger-verein gewandt*, Neue Folge, 1, Freiburg, i. B., 1897), who as against it, argues for the contemporary-history method in' its most perverse form.

Finally, in the *Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar* ('96), Bousset has sought to bring to **a** focus the result of the labours of previous workers. In his method of interpretation he follows Weizsacker (fragment hypothesis), and therefore gives a continuous commentary, describing the character of each particular fragment in its own place. In his exegesis he has given special attention to

the indications of Gunkel, and to the result of his own researches on the subject of Antichrist.

To sum up the result of the labours of the last fifteen years upon the Apocalypse. It seems to be settled that the Apocalypse can no longer be regarded as a literary unity.

32. Results.

Against such a view criticism finds irresistible considerations.

Among these is the incongruity between 7 1-8 and 7 9-17, as also that between 7 1-8 and 6 12 *ff.*, the two explanations of the 144,000 in 7 1 *ff.* and 14 1 *ff.*, the interruption of the connection caused by 10-11 13, the peculiar new beginning made in 12 1, the singular character of chap. 12, the *doublette* presented by chaps. 13 and 17, the fact that in 14 14-20 a last judgment is depicted, whilst that involved in 13 does not arrive till 19 11 *ff.*; the observation that in chap. 17 two representations of the beast and his associates are given alongside each other (see below, §45); and the isolated character of chaps. 17 and 18, 21 9-22 5.

Further, the chapters do not represent the same religious level. Chap. 7 1-8 (cp 20 7-9), with its particularistic character, is out of harmony both with chaps. 1-3 and with 7 9-17; in 11 1 *f.* the preservation of the temple is expected, whilst in 21 22 the new Jerusalem is to have none.

Moreover, different parts of the book require different dates: chap. 11 1-2 must have been written before 70 A.D., chap. 17 probably when Vespasian had already been emperor for some time; whilst the writing, as a whole, cannot, at the earliest, have been finished before the time of Domitian.

This result holds good notwithstanding Gunkel's warning against the overhasty efforts of criticism. That a variety of sources and older traditions have been worked over in the Apocalypse will not be denied even by the student who holds that it is no longer possible to reconstruct the sources.

It may seem doubtful whether a general character, date, and aim can be assigned to the Apocalypse; for, as has been seen, the work is not a literary unity. Still, if there be good ground for the critical conclusion indicated above, that the Apocalyptist is himself an independent writer who has simply introduced various fragments into his *corpus apocalypticum* (Weizsacker, Schon, Sabatier, Bousset), a relative unity has already been proved for the Apocalypse. This conclusion is confirmed, step by step, when the details of the book are examined.

33. Relative unity of structure.

The relative unity is shown (1) in the artificial structure of the whole.

Four separate times do groups of seven occur (epistles, seals, trumpets, vials); within these groups the prevailing distribution is into 4+3. The delineations of judgment and its horrors are regularly followed by pictures of joy and heavenly bliss; cp 7 11 14-19 14 1-5 15 1-4 19 1-10. Everywhere artificial connections are employed in order to bind the separate parts together into one whole: cp, for example, 1 20 and 4 1, 5 4 and 14 10 5-7 11 11 13; also 19 2 14 6 8 9-11 16 5-12 *ff.*; also 18 19 7 8 2 12.

(2) Further, the relative unity is shown clearly in the uniformity of the language throughout.

34. Of language and style.

The following are the more important facts.[1] Throughout the entire book are found **(a)** strongly marked grammatical irregularities—anacolutha and impossible constructions (*e.g.*, 1 5 *f.* 12 7), and confusions of case, especially with following participles (1 4 10 2 18 [see the reading of ℵ] 20 8 12 5 11 *f.* 6 1 7 4 9 *ff.* 8 9 9 14 10 8 11 1 14 6 12 14 16 12 17 4 8 18 12 *f.* 19 6 20 2 21 27 [reading of ℵ]). In 1 13 and 14 14 (to take only one instance) the reading ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου cannot have been due to two separate persons.

(*b*) Hebraisms, especially the repetition of the demonstrative pronoun in the relative clause (3 8 7 2 9 13 8 12 20 8, cp 12 6 14 17 9, also 2 7 17 26 3 12 21 6 4 21 6), and the Hebraistic καί (3 20 10 7 14 9 *f.*).

(*c*) The *constructio ad sensum* is specially frequent (*e.g.*, 4 1 7 *f.* 5 6 12 *f.* 7 4 9 3 *ff.* 13 11 4 15 13 14 14 3 17 3 11 16 19 4 14); sometimes involving a plural predicate after a neuter plural subject (3 2 4 4 5 8 9 5 14 9 20 11 2 13 18 15 4 16 14 18 3 23 21 24). Less clearly attested is the simple ungrammatical confusion of gender (9 7 14 19 19 20 21 14 22 2, see the MSS.).

(d) Various other systematic peculiarities of idiom. For example, **προσκυνεῖν** governs the dative when the object is **θεός** (4 10 7 11 11 16 19 4 22 9, cp 14 7) or **δράκων** (13 4), whilst, on the other hand, we have **προσκ. τὸ θηρίον, τὴν εἰκόνα**, 13 [4] 8 12 15 14 9 11 [19 20] 20 4 (in 16 2 also we should read **τὴν εἰκόνα** according to the readings of ℵ, which are wrongly given in the printed editions). The instrumental dative is extremely rare in the Apocalypse; its place is often taken by the construction with Hebraistic ἐν, or even (but rarely) with **διά** and the accusative (4 11 12 11 13 14). The vocative is rarely used (twice only: **κύριε**, 11 17; **οὐρανέ**, 18 20). After a neuter plural the predicate is usually also plural (1 19 8 11 15 4 16 20 [18 14] 20 12 21 4). The Apocalyptist, except in a very few cases, construes **ὁ καθήμενος ἐπί** with the accusative, τὸν καθήμενον ἐπί with the accusative, τοῦ **καθημένου** ἐπί with the genitive, τῷ **καθημένῳ** ἐπί with the dative; he writes ἐπὶ **τὸ** μέτωπον, but ἐπὶ **τῶν μετώπων** (exception in 14 9), and **ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν** invariably (except in 12 1). He construes either **ἐπὶ τῆς** γῆς or εἰς **τὴν** γῆν (14 16, ἐπὶ **τὴν** γῆν) ἐπὶ **τῆς** θαλάσσης or **εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν**. He invariably construes **γράφειν, ἱστάναι ἐπί** with accusative (14 1 **γεγρ. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων** and 10 5 **ἱστάναι** ἐπὶ **τῆς** γῆς are no exceptions but only confirmations of other rules). Noteworthy, also, is the constant vacillation in tense between present and future, and, in descriptions, between present and aorist. The Apocalyptist uses the infinitive almost invariably in the aorist. Exceptions occur in the case of **βλέπειν**, of which he apparently never makes an aorist, also in 11 6 13 13 (?). On the other hand, following the rule that is customary elsewhere, he construes **μέλλειν** almost always with the present infinitive. The copula is often wanting, particularly in relative sentences (14 2 13 5 13 9 11 20 10). A change in the use of subjunctive and indicative is made only after ἵνα (ὅπως does not occur at all), but here also a certain regularity prevails. A quite extraordinary use of ἵνα occurs in 12 14 and 14 13 (cp Jn. 8 56 9 2 11 15). In its use of particles the book displays an oppressive monotony: **καί** is predominant everywhere; only in the epistles to the seven churches is the style somewhat livelier.

The arrangement of the words is markedly Hebraistic. In choice of words it is remarkably *so*. The following characteristic phrases and turns of expression may be noted:—λόγος **τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ; ὁ** κύριος **ὁ** θεὸς **ὁ** παντοκράτωρ; **οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς; ζῶν** εἰς **τοὺς** αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων; λίμνη **τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου; φυλαὶ** γλῶσσαι λαοὶ **ἔθνη; βίβλος** τῆς ζωῆς; βρονταὶ φωναὶ **ἀστραπαὶ** σεισμός; πηγαὶ ὑδάτων; **ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος**; λαλεῖν and **ἀκολουθεῖν** μετά; ὄνομα **αὐτῷ; μετὰ ταῦτα**; ἀληθινός; δοῦλος (in a pregnant sense), **μαρτυρία, μαρτυρεῖν**; δεικνύειν; **νικᾶν**; σφάττειν; σκηνοῦν; **τηρεῖν τὰς** ἐντολάς. Compare, further, the enumerations in 6 15 11 18 13 16 19 5 18 20 12 (the formula **μικροὶ** καὶ μεγάλοι); the beatitudes (**μακάριος**; 1 3 14 13 16 15 19 9 20 6 22 7 14); the doxologies (1 6 4 11 5 9 12 *f.* 7 12 15 3 19 1 6); the formulæ introduced with ὧδε (13 10 18 14 12 17 9); ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα (ὀργή, ὥρα etc.; 6 17 11 18 14 7 15 18 10 19 7).

The general style of the Apocalypse is monotonously diffuse: article and preposition are almost always repeated when there are more substantives than one, as also is the governing word before the governed. Whole clauses are gone back upon and repeated in the negative: Hebrew parallelism is not uncommon.

35. Date.

We are now at last able to form a tolerably clear conception of the personality, the time, the circumstances, and the literary aims of the apocalyptist who planned the Apocalypse, as a whole, in the form in which we now have it.

(*a*) The Apocalyptist writes at a time in which violent persecutions have already broken out—indeed they are beginning to become, so to say, epidemic.

Of the seven churches, four—Ephesus, Pergamum, Smyrna, Philadelphia—are passing through such times of trial. The martyrs already form a distinct class in the general body of believers. They are destined to have part in the first resurrection—before the thousand-years reign begins (20 4 *ff.* cp 7 9 *ff.*). The seer beholds them under the altar (6 9 *ff.*). All through the book this time of struggle is kept in mind (13 1 14 9 *ff.* 15 1 *ff.* 16 6 17 6 18 20-24).

(*b*) The Apocalyptist predicts a still mightier and more strenuous struggle.

In this struggle the predestinated number of martyrs is to be fulfilled (6 9 *ff.*). Philadelphia is to be preserved in this last great tribulation (3 10; cp the μεγάλη θλίψις of 7 14). This time is not far off: the martyrs who have already suffered are hidden endure only a little longer (6 11). Therefore, 'Blessed are they that die in the Lord from henceforth' (ἀπ' ἄρτι; 14 13).

(*c*) This struggle turns, and will in the future turn, upon the worship of the beast. That this beast is in one sense or another the Roman Empire, or connected with it, is admitted on all hands. It is important, however, to consider the grounds on which the Apocalypse opposes Rome. Rome's horrible deed is not, as might perhaps be guessed, the destruction of Jerusalem, nor yet—in the first instance, at least—the Neronian persecution, but the worship of the beast—*i.e.*, Cæsar worship (cp 13 14 9 *ff.* 15 2 *ff.* 16 5 *ff.* 10 17 6 19 11 *ff.* 20 4-6; cp Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* 5 520 n.).—What the

[1] A justification of these results in detail will be found in the Author's Commentary on this book (Introd. pp. 183-208). In some cases, where the reading adopted is less strongly attested, the citations are in brackets.

book predicts is the great conflict about to break out all over the world between Christianity on the one hand and the Roman Empire (with the Roman state religion, the worship of the emperors) on the other (cp ANTICHRIST, § 7).

(d) This great battle will begin with the return of Nero Redivivus.

In common with the rest of the men of his day, the Apocalyptist shares the popular expectation of the coming again of that emperor. Nero is (13 3 12 14) the head that was wounded to death and afterwards healed. He is only 'as it were' (ὡς) slain, like the lamb (5 6). For as the latter continues to live on in heaven, so does Nero prolong a shadowy existence in hell. Out of the abyss (17 8) he will again return, and as Roman Emperor demand adoration. Then will be the days of the great future struggle. Hence the name of the beast is 666—*i.e.*, נרון קסר (cp ANTICHRIST, § 15).

(e) Thus the date of the Apocalypse admits of being approximately determined. The end of the first century is already sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Apocalyptist expects the return of Nero from hell (Th. Zahn, 'Apocal. Stud.' in *ZKWL*, 1885, pp. 561-76, 1886, pp. 337-52 393-405; see below, § 45). The following consideration points to the same inference. Behind the Apocalyptist in point of time there already lies a great persecution. He himself is again living in limes of persecution, and is expecting worse to come. Inasmuch as the former persecution must be assumed to be the Neronian, we are compelled to carry the Apocalypse down to the later period of Domitian. When we do so the fact that 11 1 *ff.* points to a time before the destruction of Jerusalem need not cause us any misgiving: doubtless the passage comes from an earlier source. On the other side we should be able to fix an inferior limit for the date, could it be shown that the epistles were already known to Ignatius (see above, § 2). The date thus indicated—the close of the first century—was in point of fact the date at which, it would seem, the general persecutions of the Christians, turning substantially on the rendering of divine honour to the emperor, first broke out (see CHRISTIAN, § 6). The Apocalypse, as we now have it, presupposes conditions very similar to those which we meet in the well-known correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. In this it is not implied that the Apocalypse could not have been written some ten years or more earlier.

In the conclusion just indicated we find ourselves in agreement with the best attested tradition as to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse.

According to Irenaeus (v. 30 2; cp *v.* 20 7), the Apocalypse was 'seen' at the close of Domitian's reign at Patmos, and therefore, of course, to say the least, not written earlier (cp Vict. Pettau. *Comm.* on Apoc. 10 11; Eus. *HE* iii. 18 1-3; Jer. De *vir. illus.* 9; Snlp. Sev. *Chron.* 2 31). A different tradition is met with, it is true—perhaps in Tertullian, who (*De præscr. Her.* 36) mentions the martyrdom of John (by boiling oil—a death from which he was miraculously delivered), and his subsequent banishment, in connection with the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (but see, on the other hand, *Scorpiace* 15). It is certain that at all events Jerome (*Adv. Jovin.* 1 26 [2 16]) understood Tertullian as assigning this martyrdom and banishment of John to the reign of Nero (cp Eus. *Dem. Evang.* 3; the superscription of the Syriac translation of the Apocalypse edited by Ludovicus de Dieu; the Gnostic *Acts of John;* Theophylact [who gives the date as thirty-two years after the Ascension; cp the notes of some of the Greek cursives of the Fourth Gospel: thirty years after the Ascension, under Domitian (!); Erbes, 481). Finally, Epiphanins (*Hær.* 51 12 33) will have it that the hook was written under Claudius. The same statement occurs in the Commentary of Apringius (upon whom see Bousset, *GGN*, 1895, p. 2), whence it found its way into that of Beatus (ed. Florez, 33).

The Apocalypse is distinguished from the apocalyptic literature of Judaism from the time of the book of Daniel onwards by the high prophetic consciousness which it displays.

36. Personality of Apocalyptist.

The Apocalyptist as he stands at one of the turning-points of the world's history looks with a clear eye into the future and feels himself to be a prophet. He is a Christian of an especial type. For the prophets are servants of God in a peculiar sense (1 1 10 7 11 18 *22 6* [cp 15 3]): they are the fellow-servants of the angels (22 9); other Christians are so only in so far as they follow the revelation of the prophets (22 9). God is master of the spirits of the prophets (22 6 cp 17 17 19 10). Hence the author directly claims for his work the rank of a sacred book. It is intended from the first to be publicly read (1 3); those who hear it and obey what is written therein are blessed (1 3 22 7), and whosoever adds to or takes away from it falls under the most grievous curse (22 18 *f.*). The frequent mention of the prophets along with the saints (*i.e.*, Christians in general)—see 11 18 16 6 18 20 24—is a proof, not, as many critics have supposed, of the Jewish, but of the Christian, origin of the related passages. The Apocalypse in this respect was the forerunner of Montanism, and it is no matter for surprise that it was specially valued in Montanistic circles. It is also noteworthy that the Apocalyptist speaks to his own age and time. Whilst Daniel is represented as receiving, at the close of his vision, the command to seal the book for long, here in sharp contrast we read (22 10) 'Seal not up the words of the prophecy.' The Apocalyptist seems to have been a Jewish Christian of universalistic sympathies. For him the name of Jew is a name of honour (2 9 3 9); he seems to uphold a certain prerogative for the Jewish people (7 1-8 11 1-13 20 7 *f.*). He shows himself intimately familiar with the language of the OT.

Into the apocalyptic unity thus defined, isolated fragments have been introduced in a manner which can still be more or less clearly detected. Of these the more important at least must now be discussed, and some detailed account of the more noteworthy results of criticism given.

37. Details of criticism.

Of recent critics the majority (Vischer, Volter, Weyland, Pfleiderer, O. Holtzmann, Schmidt) regard the epistles to the seven churches (chaps. 1-3) as having been originally separate from the rest of the book and as having been prefixed only after the Apocalypse had in other respects assumed its present form; but Spitta has shown good grounds for believing that chaps. 1-3 and 4-6 ought not to be separated, and (as against Vischer and others) has established for the whole of chaps. 4-6 that Christian character which unquestionably belongs to 5 6 *ff.* Thus Spitta takes chaps. 1-6 as a single original document (Christian primitive apocalypse= **U**).

38. Chaps. 1-6.

He seeks to prove this by pointing **out** that there is a definite close at the end of 6, and a fresh beginning of a new apocalypse in 7 1 (so also P. Schmidt). But the sixth seal (6 12 *ff.*) does not represent the final catastrophe; it only pictures a great earthquake in the typical apocalyptic manner. In **6 15 *ff.*** the end is still to come, and if, with Spitta, we pass on to 7 9-17 immediately after 6 17, any representation of the end of all things has completely disappeared from our reconstructed Apocalypse. In any case, it is impossible that one should fail to recognise an interpolated fragment in the short passage (6 9-11) relating to the fifth seal. We have an exact parallel to it in 4 Esd. **4 35** (cp also Æthiop. ***Enoch* 47**). And the tradition of 4 Esd. must be regarded as the original one. It speaks quite generally of a predestined number of the righteous which has to be fulfilled before the coming of the end, whilst in the Apocalypse the conception is applied to the predestined number of the martyrs—a modification which can be explained very easily from his general position (see above, § 35).

Spitta's view that 7 1-8 constitutes a fresh beginning, which has nothing to do with the preceding chapters, is certainly correct; but neither has the passage anything to do with that which follows it (7 9-17); as to this practically all critics are agreed. These facts, however, will not justify us in attributing 7 9-17 to the redactor (as do Volter, Vischer, Pfleiderer and Schmidt), nor yet in carrying out a system of deletions in chap. 7 (as do Erbes, Weyl., Rauch) until the two disparate sections have been brought into harmony. Our proper course is to recognise (cp also Spitta) in 7 1-8 an interpolated fragment—probably Jewish.

39. Chap. 7 1-8.

The sudden mention of the four winds, which are held by the angels and are nowhere in the succeeding narrative let loose, points to this conclusion, as also does the introduction of the 144,000 Israelites of the twelve tribes—a number which in **14 1 *ff.*** is interpreted in a sense inconsistent with the original intention.

Bousset has hazarded the conjecture that here we have a fragment of the Antichrist legend.

The next passage which presents special difficulties is 11 1-13. Here all critics are agreed in recognising a fragment interpolated between the sixth trumpet and the seventh (cp 9 11 and 11 14).

40. Chap. 11 1-13. Further, almost all critics agree in regarding chap. 10 as an introductory chapter connected with this fragment. On closer examination it is found, moreover, that 11 1-13 really consists of two smaller fragments: *(a)* 11 1 *f.*, a prediction of the preservation of the temple, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and presenting points of contact with Lk. 21 24; *(b)* the prophecy relating to the beast and the two witnesses (11 3-13). This latter piece is of an extremely fragmentary and enigmatical character.

Certain matters are introduced without any preparation: the two witnesses, the beast from the abyss, the war of the beast with the witnesses, the peoples and tribes rejoicing over the death of these last. All these are *disjecta membra* which point to some larger connection.

In this passage, too, Bousset has sought to show that we have a fragment from the Antichrist legend.

In accordance with Jewish and primitive Christian anticipation the Antichrist is destined to appear as a God-defying ruler in Jerusalem, to lead the people astray and tyrannise over them, and to gather together a great army from all nations. Against him will arise the two prophets Elijah and Enoch, and Israelites to a definite number (7 1-8?) will he converted. A great famine and drought will come. Then Antichrist will put to death the two witnesses, and the end will draw near. It is evident that here we have a coherent tradition, of which some fragments are preserved in chap. 11.

Chap. 12 is the most difficult in the book. It also falls into two sections, 12 1-12 and 12 13-17, and betrays itself as a foreign intrusion both by its unfamiliar character and by its strange and bizarre representations.

41. Chap. 12 1-10.

A. Dietrich (Abraxas) was the first who sought to trace in the chapter an adaptation of the myth of the birth of Apollo: he held the pregnant fugitive woman to he Leto, the dragon was the Python, the child (who in the original legend himself slew the Python, Michael being a later introduction) was Apollo. The water which in the Greek myth figured as a protecting power has here become auxiliary to the dragon.

Recently Gunkel, in his *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, has directed special attention to this chapter, and shown that an adequate understanding of it could be arrived at neither on the assumption of a Christian nor on that of a Jewish origin (Vischer, Weyland, Spitta)—that on either hypothesis there remains an intractable residuum, bearing a mythological character. Here, accordingly, as elsewhere in the Apocalypse (cp the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, torches [EV 'lamps'], eyes, pp. 294-302; the twenty-four elders, 302-8; Armageddon, 263-66, and p. 325 n. 2; the number $3\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 266-70; also chaps. 13 and 17, 379 *ff.*), he found elements taken from Babylonian mythology, and in particular the myth of the birth of the sun-god Marduk and of the persecution of Marduk by the dragon Tiâmat. The difficulty in this construction of Gunkel's is that down to the present date it has been impossible to find in the Babylonian mythology any trace of the myth of the birth and persecution of the youthful sun-god. Bousset (*Apok.* 410 *f.*), however, has called attention to parallels with one chapter in Egyptian mythology (the myth of the birth of Horus).

In the result, there seems much probability in the supposition that chap. 12 embodies a myth of the birth of the sun-god and the persecution of the young child by the dragon, the deity of winter and of night. The Apocalyptist has changed the sun-god, however, into the παῖς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, the persecutor into the devil, and the deliverance of the child into the resurrection (observe the inconcinnity of this adaptation). In this treatment of the material laid to his hand, he was not able to give full significance to the flight of the woman, which is so prominent a feature in the original myth. This is accordingly only briefly touched on in 12 6; but it receives copious and special treatment in the second half of the chapter (*vv.* 13-17). Hence the incongruity between 12 1 *ff.* and 12 13 *ff.* which Weizsacker pointed out.

What historical occurrence is intended by the flight of the woman in 12 13-17 is not quite clear. Usually the flight is taken as referring to circumstances connected with the destruction of Jerusalem—either to the destruction and (in a sense) the deliverance of Judaism, or, better, to the flight of the primitive Christian Church.

42. Chap. 12 13-17.

Erbes, who seeks to explain ch. 13 as referring to the Caligula period (see below), interprets the flight and deliverance of the woman in connection with the first persecution of Christians at Jerusalem, strangely taking *v.* 17, 'the remnant of her seed who hold the testimony of Jesus,' as pointing to the Jews (!) at the time of the Caligula persecution. Spitta actually takes the persecution of the woman as representing an occurrence in heaven. 'The remnant of the seed of the woman' represents, he thinks, the actual Israel as contrasted with the ideal pre-existent Jerusalem (Israel ?). Others (Vischer) interpret the remnant as meaning believers as distinguished from the Messiah.

Chap. 13 also contains two passages of a peculiar character—those describing the first beast and the second. O Holtzmann, Spitta, and Erbes were agreed in recognising here a Jewish (Holtzm., Sp.) or a Christian (Erb.) source dating from the time of Caligula.

43. Chap. 13: the first beast. Independently of each other, they all (as had already been done by Th. Zahn) accepted the number 616 which is given in some MSS (C. 11 Ticonius), instead of 666, and interpreted it as meaning Γάϊος Καῖσαρ. The beast demanding worship, whose image (εἰκών) is repeatedly spoken of, is, on this view, the half-mad tyrant Caius Caligula, who in 39 A.D. ordered his procurator, Petronius, to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. Parallels to this prophecy belonging to the same date were found in Mt. 24 ('abomination of desolation') and in 2 Thess. 2. The 'wound' (πληγή) of the beast was interpreted by Spitta as meaning the sickness which befel Caligula towards the beginning of his reign. These conjectures are by no means impossible; but if they are accepted, certain important particulars in the chapter must be deleted—in particular, references to the wounded head of the beast. This and the number 666 (נרון קסר) show distinctly that (in its present form) the chapter was intended to be understood of the return of Nero Redivivus. Whether an older source dating from Caligula's time has here been worked over remains doubtful.

As compared with this interpretation, the view which takes the wounded head to be Julius Caesar (Gunkel, Bruston) has little to he said for it—since the number 666 in that case remains unexplained; nor can we reasonably interpret the death-wound to mean the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, or refer the number to the Roman empire (Λατεῖνος, Düsterdieck; קיסר רומים, Ewald).

Still greater has been the perplexity of interpreters over the second beast. All attempts to make it out to be some definite personality have hitherto been unsuccessful. Bousset (*Comm. ad loc.*) upholds the view that it is in reality a modification of the older conception of Antichrist, who is here represented as serving the first beast, the Roman emperor, and perhaps is to be interpreted as signifying the Roman provincial priesthood, the active agency in promoting the worship of the emperor.

44. The second beast.

The objection usually urged against referring the passage to Nero—that the beast whose number is 666 cannot mean Nero the man; that it must mean the Roman empire—is not valid. To the Apocalyptist Nero Redivivus is at the same time the incarnation of all that is dreadful in the Roman empire. The number of the beast is the number of a man: cp 17 11, 'and the beast . . . is himself also an eighth' (καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν).

Chap. 17 is intimately connected with chap. 13, and this duplicate treatment of the same subjects is in itself proof sufficient that the Apocalyptist had before him older prophecies, which he has worked over more than once. In this chapter also the reference to the returning Nero is clear. Since Eichhorn, however, it has further been recognised on all hands (cp De Wette, Bleek, Liicke), and with justice, that the kings with whom the beast returns for the destruction of Rome are

45. Chap. 17.

the Parthians, whose satraps might already be regarded as independent kings (Mommsen, *Röm. Kaisergesch.* **5521**). Thus our present chapter also comes into a larger historical connection. As early as the year 69 A.D. a pseudo-Nero had raised commotions in Asia Minor and Greece (Tac. *Hist.* 2 8 *f.*; Dio Cassius, 64 9; Zonaras, 11 15); in the reign of Titus a second pseudo-Nero showed himself on the Euphrates (Zonaras, 11 18) and was acknowledged by the Parthian King Artabānus (Mommsen, 5521). About 88 A.D. a third pseudo-Nero again made his appearance, also among the Parthians, and threatened the Roman empire (Suet. *Nero*, 50; Tac. *Hist.* 1 2). In this form we find the same expectation also in the fourth Sibylline book, written shortly after 79 A.D. (*Sibyll.* 4 119 *ff.* 137 *ff.*), and in theoldest portion of the fifth book, written about 74 A.D. (5 143 *ff.* 361 *ff.*); in the last passage it is associated with a denunciation of Babylon and a prophecy of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Rev. 18 21); cp Zahn's exhaustive researches (as above, § 35). By both time and place our chapter (perhaps associated with the threatening utterance against Rome and the prophecy of a new Jerusalem) belongs to the same circle of expectations and predictions. It was doubtless written in Asia Minor; but the exact date is disputed.

According *to* 17 10 the Apocalyptist represents himself as writing under the sixth emperor, five having died and a seventh having yet to come, to be succeeded by the eighth, who is to be one of the seven (Nero). In reckoning, it is possible to begin either with Julius Caesar or with Augnstus, to count or not to count the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, and finally to ask whether the passage was really written under the sixth emperor, and not, rather, as a *vaticinium ex eventu* under the seventh or eighth. Thus interpreters have taken) the sixth emperor to be now Nero (so all who hold the Apocalypse to have been written before 70 A.D.; also Völter), now Vespasian, and, conformably, take the chapter to have been written now under the last-named emperor, now under Titus (the seventh; Weyland) or Domitian, who is then taken, on rationalising lines, as Nero Redivivus (Erbes).

The parallels cited above appear to render the reign of Vespasian the most probable date. The writer—probably a Christian—expected after Vespasian a short reign for his successor also. The tradition was that seven Roman emperors were destined to reign. Thereafter Nero was to come back with the Parthians, and, in alliance with these, to take vengeance on Rome, the bloody persecutor of the Christians (17 6; 'with the blood of the saints'; the words 'with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' appear to be a gloss). The denunciation of Rome (chap. 18)connects itself very well with this prophecy (see *Sibyll.* 5).

It is further to be noted that chap. 17 has already, in the form in which we now have it, undergone redaction.

On the one hand, Nero is simply the eighth ruler who was one of the seven; on the other, he is the beast who comes up from the abyss. On the one hand, he wages war along with the Parthians against Rome, on the other, he wages war along with the kings of the earth against the lamb. In this redacted form (17 8 12-14 or 15; cp also Volter) Nero is designated as the dread spectre of the time of the end who comes back from hell. Now, we find the same expectation in chap. 13, where Nero is plainly represented as dead (ὡς ἐσφαγμένεν, 'as though it had been smitten unto death') and as counterpart (Wiederspiel) of the lamb that bad been slain and is to come again. This mode of representing Nero probably comes from the latest redactor. Parallels to it can be found in the later portions of the fifth book of the Sibyllines (33 *f.* 215-26), and in the eighth book (1-215).

The legend of Nero Redivivus first arose towards the end of the century, a full generation after Nero's death, when he could no longer well be supposed to be still alive among the Parthians (cp Zahn, as above). Its reception into the Apocalypse supplies one of the elements for determining the date of the book.

Chap. 16 12 *ff.* (the sixth and seventh vials) also must have originally belonged to chap. 17. In this passage the angel poursout his vial upon the Euphrates, 'that the way may be made ready for the kings from the east' (cp 9 13 *ff.*, with its reference to the angels hound and loosed at the Euphrates; on which, see Iselin in *Theol. Z. aus der Schweiz*, 1887, as above, § 25).

46. Various fragments.

The representation of the gathering of the kings at Armageddon (Har-Magedon) in this passage is noteworthy; it is not very intelligible, as we read of no mountain of Megiddo, but only of a plain (but see ARMAGEDDON). It recalls the ancient accounts of battles of the gods upon the mountains (Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 263 8 389 n. 2).

Chap. 14 14-20 also appears to be an ancient fragment. It thus early sets forth a final judgment by the Son of Man. The passage, however, is so very fragmentary that it is hardly possible for us to make out what its original character may have been (cp the expression 'without the city' in 14 20). Bousset has sought to explain it by reference to the Antichrist legend.

Fragments of older date seem to have been introduced into the account of the chaining of the dragon, the millennium, the irruption of Gog and Magog (20 1-10; cp 20 9, παρεμβολὴ τῶν ἁγίων, πόλις ἠγαπημένη, and Æthiop. *Enoch* 56, *Sibyll.* 3 319-322). The description of the binding and loosing of Satan recalls the Persian legend of the chaining of the dragon Azi Dahak on Mt. Demavend. Finally, a continuous piece—perhaps of Jewish origin (see 21 24 26 22 2)—lies before us in the description of the new Jerusalem, 21 9-22 5.

We ought to compare **Tob.** 13 16 *ff.*, Ps. Salom. 17 23 *ff.*, *Sibyll.* 5 247-85, 414-33, and the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*, edited by M. Buttenwieser, 65-67. In this last-named Jewish source also we find the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis: With the conclusion of the epistles to the seven churches (chaps. 1-3)the Apocalypse, properly so called, begins. Here the first six seals succeed one another uninterruptedly, till the interpolated fragment in 7 1-8 is reached. As a pendant to this Fragment, with its distinctly Jewish character, the Apocalyptist proleptically introduces in 7 9-17 a picture of the blessedness of believers from every nation who have come out of the great tribulation. Now follow the seventh seal and, arising out of this, the seven trumpets (chaps. 8-11). Between the sixth and the seventh trumpet the passage 10 1-11 13 has been interpolated. In chap. 10 the Apocalyptist indicates to some extent what the 'disposition' of the remainder of the book is to be (cp 10 11). It is to be observed that in chaps. 9 *ff.*, in addition to the distribution under seven trumpets, the Apocalyptist has attempted a second under three woes. The first woe answers to the fifth trumpet; the second, the mention of which might have been expected after the sixth trumpet, does not come up until 11 14, after the great interpolation has been reached. The third great woe (which is not expressly named by the Apocalyptist) is doubtless indicated in 1212. It is hardly likely that we have here a redaction from an older source. Before, then, he comes to the culmination of his prophecy, in chap. 13, the Apocalyptist casts his glance backwards in chap. 12. Borrowing the imagery of an ancient sun-myth, he depicts the birth, persecution, and rescue of the Saviour, and afterwards the persecution of the Church. In chap. 13 he goes on to foretell the coming final struggle, the last great and decisive battle between the faithful ones and the beast who demands adoration. For him the supreme crisis of this struggle still lies in the future, when Nero Redivivus is to appear. In the bright picture which he prophetically introduces at 14 5 by way of contrast to chap. 13, he adapts and modifies 7 1-8. 14 6-13 is intended to effect the transition to what follows. 14 14-20 is a smaller interpolated fragment. The great finale remains. The Apocalyptist still had to work in the prophecies contained in chap. 17 *f.*; by way of introduction to these, chap. 15 *f. are* given. Then follows, after an intermediate passage (19 1-10), the picture of the final judgment (19 11-21 8); after which we have a new fragment, 21 9-22 5, followed by the close.

47. Summary.

Literature.—The literature of the subject has been indicated in the course of the article. W. B.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

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INTRODUCTORY: The objects and nature of apocalyptic literature (§§ 1-4).

1. Synopsis of Article. I. APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH 1.—A composite work derived from at least five authors, written mainly in Palestine, if not in Jerusalem, by Pharisees *circ.* A.D. 50-90. Preserved only in Syriac (§§ 5-17).

11. Ethiopic BOOK OF ENOCH.—Written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic by at least five Assidean authors (200-64 B.C.) in Palestine. Part I. chaps. 1-36 earlier than 170 B.C. Part 11. chaps. 83-00, 166-161 B.C. Part 111. chaps. 61-104, 134-95 B.C. Part IV. (the Similitudes) chaps 37-70, 94-64 B.C. Part V. (the Book of Celestial Physics) chaps. 72-78, 82, 79. Part VI. (Fragments of a lost Apocalypse of Noah) (§§ 18-32).[2]

III. Slavonic BOOK OF ENOCH, or THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—Written by an Alexandrian Jew, mainly from pre-existing materials, about A.D. 1-50. Eclectic in character; preserved only in Slavonic (§§ 33-41).

IV. ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. —A composite work, written originally in Greek, partly by Jewish, partly by Christian authors, A.D. 1-100. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Latin (§§ 42-47).

V. BOOK OF JUBILEES.—Written originally in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew a Pharisee of the Pharisees, probably 40-10 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavonic (§§ 48-58).

VI. ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Written in Palestine, in Hebrew, 7-30 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin (§§ 59-67).

VII. TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—A composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors representing respectively the legalistic and the apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 130 B.C.-10 A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers from the close of the 1st century down to the 4th century A.D. Preserved in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic versions (§§ 68-76).

VIII. PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Written originally in Hebrew, possibly in Jerusalem, by two or more Pharisees, 70-40 B.C. (§§ 77-85).

IX. SIBYLLINE ORACLES.—Written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors mainly by the latter—the earliest portions belonging to the znd'century B.C., the latest not earlier than the 3rd century A.D. (§§ 86-98).

INTRODUCTORY.—The object of apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with **2. Problem.** a belief in God's righteousness and the suffering condition of his servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the Law. But while the continuous exposition of the Law in the post-exilic period confirmed the people in their monotheistic faith and intensified their hostility to heathenism, their expectations of material well-being, which likewise the Law had fostered, were repeatedly falsified, and a grave contradiction thus emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution which the people had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties arising from this conflict between promise and experience might be shortly resolved into two, which deal respectively with the position (1) of the righteous as a community and (2) of the righteous man as an individual.

The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration (or 'resurrection') of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possessisn of the earth as a reward of righteousness. Later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the religious and intellectual life, the second problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual to gain acceptance. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated not only the resurrection of the righteous nation but also the resurrection of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the final consummation of all things; and thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion (cp CHRONOLOGY OF OT, § 1). The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should finally be determined according to his works. For, though he might perish untimely amid the world's disorders, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was his due in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the duration and character of the risen life vary with each writer.

The writings that are treated of in the rest of this article, however, deal not only with the Messianic expectations but also with the exposition and application of the Law to the numberless circumstances of life. As Schiirer has rightly observed, the two subjects with which Jewish thought and enthusiasm were concerned were the Law and the Messianic kingdom. These were, in fact, parallel developments of Pharisaism. As we have the former—its legalistic side—represented in the ***Book of Jubilees***, so we have the latter—its apocalyptic and mystical side —set forth in the ***Book of Enoch***. ***The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** give expression to both sides of Pharisaism; but this book, as we shall see in the sequel, is really a composite work and springs from authors of different schools. The rest of the books here discussed belong mainly to the apocalyptic side of Pharisaism.

It is a characteristic of apocalyptic as distinguished from prophecy that the former trusts to the written, the **3. Method.** latter to the spoken, word. This is due largely to the fact that the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and that, when he fixes his gaze on the future, his prophecy springs naturally from the circumstances of the present. The apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane. He entertains no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals. His pessimism and want of faith in the present thus naturally lead him to pseudonymous authorship, and so he approaches his countrymen with a writing which purports to be the work of some great figure in their history, such as Enoch, Moses, Daniel, or Baruch. The standpoint thus assumed is as skilfully preserved as the historical knowledge and conditions of the pseudonymous author admit, and the future of Israel is 'foretold' in a form enigmatical indeed

[1] On other Apocalypses of Baruch. *see* below, APOCRYPHA § 20.
[2] On chaps. 71 80 *f.*, see § 30 *f.*

but generally intelligible. All precision ceases, however, when we come to the real author's own time: his predictions, thenceforward, are mere products of the religious imagination, and vary with each writer. In nearly every case, we should add, these books claim to be supernatural revelations given to the men by whose names they are designated.

It will not be amiss here to notice the gross misapprehension under which Jost, Graetz, and other Jewish writers laboured when they pronounced this literature to be destitute of value for the history of Jewish religion.

4. Historical value.

To such statements it is a sufficient answer that from 200 B.C. to 70 A.D. the religious and political ideals that really shaped the history of Judaism found their expression in this literature. It is not in the discussions and logomachies of the Rabbinical schools that we are to look for the influences and aims that called forth some of the noblest patriotism and self-sacrifice the world has ever witnessed, and educated the nation for the destinies that waited it in the first century of our era, but in the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic books which, beginning with Daniel, had a large share in preparing the most religious and ardent minds of Galilee and Judæa either to pass over into Christianity, or else to hurl themselves in fruitless efforts against the invincible might of Rome, and thereby all but annihilate their country and name. Still it is true that the work of the scribes and the exposition of the schools had opened the way for this new religious and literary development. The eschatological element, moreover, which later attained its full growth in such pseudepigraphical writings as Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in later prophets such as Is. 24-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but also a well-defined and developed type of this literature had already established itself in the OT. Its further developments were moulded, as we have pointed out above, by the necessities of the thought and by the historical exigencies of the time.

Cp Smend's introductory essay on Jewish apocalyptic, *ZATW* **5** 222-250 ('85); Schürer, *Hist.* **5** 44 *ff.*; Hilgenfeld, ***Die jüd. Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung***, 1857 (Einl.).

I. THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.—The Apocalypse of Baruch was for the first time made known to the modern world through a Latin version of Ceriani in 1866 (*Mon. Sacr.* i. 2 73-98). This version was made from a Syriac MS of the sixth century, the text of which was also in due course published by the same scholar, in ordinary type in **1871**, and in a photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883.

5. The Syriac Baruch.

An examination of the Syriac version makes it clear that this version is a translation from the Greek. It occasionally transliterates Greek words, and the text is at times explicable only on the supposition that the wrong alternatives of two possible meanings of certain Greek words have been followed by the translator.

6. A translation from Greek.

Even before Ceriani's publication, however, we had some knowledge of the Apocalypse of Baruch; for chaps. 78-86, which contain Baruch's Epistle to the nine tribes and a half that were in captivity, had already appeared in Syriac and Latin, in the London and the Paris Polyglots, in Syriac alone in Lagarde's *Lib. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syr.* **1861**, in Latin alone in Fabricius's *Cod. Pseudep. Vet. Test.*, and in English in Whiston's *Authentic Records.* Ceriani's Latin version was republished in Fritzsche's *Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test.* ('71) in a slightly emended form; but, as the Syriac text was still inaccessible, Fritzsche's emendations are only guesses more or less fortunate—generally less.

We have just remarked that the Syriac version is a translation from the Greek. We shall now enumerate the reasons from which it appears that the Greek was in turn translated from a Hebrew original.

7. The original Hebrew.

(i.) The quotations from, or unconscious reproductions of, the OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against 𝔊. (ii.) Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. Thus there are many instances of the familiar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb, and many breaches of Syriac grammar in the Syriac text are probably to be explained as survivals of Hebrew order and Hebrew syntax. (iii.) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. Thus, among many others, the passages 21 9, 11, 12, 24 2 and 62 7 can be restored by retranslation into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιοῦσθαι and this in turn of צדק; but צדק also=δίκαιος εἶναι, and this is the meaning required in the above passages, where the Greek translator erroneously adopted the commoner rendering. (iv.) Many *paronomasiæ* discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 44-53.

The final editor of this work assumes for literary purposes the person of Baruch, the son of Neriah. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; the supposed time is the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldæans.

8. Contents.

Baruch, who begins by declaring that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah,[1] speaks throughout in the first person. If we exclude the letter to the tribes in the captivity (chaps. 78-87), the work naturally divides itself into seven sections, separated from one another in all but one instance (*i.e.* after 35) by fasts which are, save at the end of the first section, of seven days' duration. The omission of a fast after chap. 35 may have been due either to an original oversight of the final editor or to the carelessness of a copyist.

That the text requires the insertion of such a fast is to be concluded on the following grounds:—According to the scheme of the final editor events proceed in each section in a certain order (see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 9, 36, 61). Thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or disclosure, and finally an announcement of this to an individual or to the people. Thus in the fifth section, 21-34, we have a seven-days' fast (21 1), a prayer (21 4-26), a revelation (22-30), and an address to the people (21 24). Then another seven-days' fast should ensue at the beginning of the sixth section (36-46). With the exception of this omission events follow in this section as in the others.

These sections are very unequal in length—1-5 6 5 7-8 9-12 4 12 5-20 21-35 36-46 47-77—a fact that, though it does not in itself make against unity of authorship, confirms the grounds afterwards to be adduced for regarding the work as composite.

1. The first section (1-5 6) opens with God's revelation to Baruch regarding the coming destruction of Jerusalem. But a time of prosperity should return.

2. According to the next section (5 7-9 1) Baruch fasts until the evening, and the Chaldæans encompass Jerusalem next day. In a vision Baruch sees the sacred vessels removed from the temple by angels and hidden in the earth till the last times. The angels next overthrow the walls, the enemy are admitted and the people carried away captive to Babylon.

3. In the third section (9 2-12 4), Baruch fasts seven days, and receives a divine command to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon; but Baruch himself is to remain at Jerusalem to receive God's revelations regarding the future. Baruch bewails Jerusalem and the lot of the survivors. 'Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol and say to the dead: "Blessed are ye more than we who live."'

4. In the fourth section (12 5-20), Baruch fasts for seven days, and is told by God that he will be preserved till the end of time in order to bear testimony against the nations that oppressed Zion. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked and the calamities of the righteous, God answers that the future world is made on account of the righteous—that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its quality and its end. Baruch is hidden not to publish this revelation (20 3).

5. In the fifth section (21 1-35), Baruch fasts as usual, seven days. He deplores the bitterness of life, and supplicates God to bring about the promised end. God reminds him of his ignorance, and declares that the end, though close at hand, cannot arrive till the predestined number of men be fulfilled, and again, in answer to Baruch's question respecting the nature and the duration of the judgment of the ungodly, describes the coming time of tribulation, which will be divided into twelve parts. At its close the Messiah will be revealed. Baruch summons a meeting of the elders in the valley of Kedron, and announces to them the future glory of Zion.

6. The sixth section (36-46) should begin with the missing fast of seven days. Shortly after, he has a vision of a cedar and a vine

[1] We may observe here that Jeconiah reigned only three months, and was carried captive to Babylon eleven years before the fall of Jerusalem.

which symbolise the Roman power and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, God answers : 'To those who have believed there will be the blessedness that was spoken of aforetime.' Baruch then (44-47) calls together his first-born son and seven of the elders, tells them of his approaching end, and exhorts them to keep the law, for 'a wise man will not he wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob.'

7. After a fast of seven days, Baruch in the seventh section (47-77) prays for Israel. The revelations that ensue tell of the coming tribulation. Baruch bewails the evil effects of Adam's fall. In answer to his request, he is instructed as to the nature of the resurrection bodies. Then, in a new *vision* (53-74), he *sees* a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. There was lightning about its summit, and soon it began to discharge first black waters and then clear, and again hlack waters and then clear, and so on till there had been six black waters and six clear. At last it rained black waters, darker than had been all that were before. Thereupon, the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning. In the following chapters the vision is interpreted. The cloud is the world, and the twelve successive discharges of black waters and clear waters symbolise six evil periods and six good periods of the world's history. The eleventh period, symbolised by the hlack waters, pointed to the supposed present tribulation of Jerusalem. The rest of the interpretation follows in the future tense. The twelfth clear waters point to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The last hlack waters that were to flow pointed to troubles, earthquakes, and wars over the whole earth. Such as survived these were to fall by the hands of the Messiah. These blackest of all the waters were to be followed by clear waters, which symbolized the blessedness of the Messianic times. This Messianic period should form the boundary line between corruption and incorruption. 'That time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible.' Baruch thanks God for the revelation vouchsafed. He is then informed of his coming departure from the earth, hut is hidden first to go and instruct the people. He admonishes them to be faithful (chap. 77), and at their request sends two epistles, one to their brethren in Babylon ('the two and a half tribes') and the other to the tribes ('nine and a half') beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in chaps. 78-87. It is probable that the lost letter to the two tribes and a half is identical with, or is the source of, the Greek Baruch 3 9-4 29. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 65-67.

9. Kabisch's theory of sources. From the discovery of the Apocalypse of Baruch in 1866 till 1891, it was regarded by scholars as the work of one author. In the latter year, Kabisch, in an article entitled 'Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs' (*JPT*, 1891, pp. 66-IO^), showed beyond the possibility of question that the work was composite and derived from at least three or four authors.

Thus be distinguishes 1-24 1, 30 2-34, 41-52, and 75-67 as the groundwork written after 70 A.D., since these chapters imply the destruction of the temple. He further observes that these parts are marked by a despair which no longer looked for peace and happiness in this world, but fixed its regards on the world of incorruption. In the other pieces of the book there is a strong faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks for the consummation of Messianic bliss in this life; and, as Kahiscb rightly remarks, the temple is still standing. These other sections, however, are the work not of one writer but of three, being constituted as follows : a short Apoc. 24 3-29, the Vine and Cedar Vision *3G-40*, and the Cloud Vision 53-74 : 30 1 32 2-4, 35 are due to the final editor.

10. Present writer's results. This theory is certainly in the right direction. It is open, however, to unanswerable objections. There is no unity in the so-called groundwork. When submitted to a detailed criticism, it exhibits a mass of conflicting conceptions and statements. The results of such a criticism may be stated briefly as follows (for the details see Charles, *Apoc. Bur.* 53-67). 1-26 31-35 41-52 75-87 were written after the fall of Jerusalem, and were derived from three or possibly four authors, B_1, B_2, B_3, and possibly S.

B_1=1-9 1 43-44 7 45 *f.* 77-82 84 86 *f.*, written by a Pharisee who expected Jerusalem to he rebuilt and the dispersion to he brought hack from exile.

B_2=9-12 13-25 30 2-35 41 *f.* 44 8-15 47-52 75 *f.* 63, also by a Pharisee who looked for no national restoration, hut only for the recompense of the righteous in heaven.

B_3=85, written by a Jew in exile.

S.=10 6-12 4, possibly by a Sadducee, hut perhaps to be assigned to B_2.

The rest of the book was written before the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of an Apocalypse 27-30 1 (=A_1) and the two Visions 36-40 (=A_2) and 53-74[1] (=A_3 already mentioned. All these different elements were combined by the final editor, to whom we owe also *42-6 26* 28 4 *f.* 32 2-4 and possibly some other additions.

11. Critical criteria. Jewish religious thought busied itself, as already observed, mainly with two subjects, the Messianic hope and the Law ; and in proportion as the one became more prominent the other fell into the background. Now, the chapters written before 70 A.D. arc mainly Messianic.

Chaps. 27-30 1 (A_1) and 36-40 (A_2) take account of the Lam only indirectly, whereas in those written after that date the whole thought and hopes of the writers centre in the Law as their present mainstay and their source of future bliss. In chaps. 53-74 (A_3) again, the Messianic hope and the Law are equally emphasized: This writing marks the fusion of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. (*See* Charles, *op. cit.*)

In the sections B_1 and B_2, on the other hand, written *after* the fall of Jerusalem, we have two distinct outlooks as to the future. In B_1 the writer is still hopeful as to the future of Jerusalem.

It is delivered into the hands of its enemies indeed, but only for a time (4 1 6 9). The consolation of Zion should yet be accomplished (44 7 81 1 4), and the ten tribes brought hack from their captivity (78 7 84 10). Moreover the retribution of the Gentiles was close at hand (82 2-9), and'in due time would arrive the judgment, in which God's justice and truth should exact their mighty due (859).

In B_2, on the other hand (and if possible still more in B_3=chap. 85), the writer is full of irremediable despair as to the earthly fortunes of Zion and its people in this world (10 6-11).

Destruction awaits this world of corruption (21 19 31 5). The righteous have nought to look for save the new world (44 12), the world that dies not (51 3), the world of incorruption (85 5). Only in the world to come will every man he recompensed in the resurrection according to his works (50 *f.*), when the wicked shall go into torment and the righteous shall be made like unto the angels.

In the sections written before the fall of Jerusalem, the Messianic element, which was wanting in B_1, B_2, and B_3, is predominant. The three Apocalypses *27-30* (A_1) *36-40* (A_2) 53-74 (A_3) have many features in common—such as an optimistic outlook as to Israel's earthly prosperity, the earthly rule of the Messiah till the close of this world, and the material blessings of his kingdom. There are, however, good grounds for regarding them as of different authorship. The Messianic reign is to close with the final judgment. On the Eschatology of the book see, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 78.

12. Authorship. All the elements of this book are distinctly Jewish. Its authors, as already observed, were Pharisees, full of confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or in the nest, notwithstanding their present humiliations. They entertain the most lofty conceptions as to the divine election and the absolute pre-eminence of their race.

It was on Israel's account that not only the present world (14 19) but also the coming world (15 7) was created. Israel is God's chosen people whose like is not on earth (48 20); the perpetual felicity of Israel lay in the fact that they had not mingled with the nations (4623). The one law which they had received from the one God (48 24) could help and justify them (51 3); for so far as they kept its ordinances they could not fall (48 22) : their works would save them (*14* 12 51 7 63 3). In due time also all nations should serve Israel; but such of them as had injured Israel should be given to the sword (72 6). The carnal sensuous nature of the Messiah and his kingdom (29-30 39 7-40 72-74) is essentially Pharisaic. There was to he a general resurrection (42 8 *f.* 2) ; hut apparently only Israel should be saved (51 4).

[1] It is possible to determine approximately the earlier limit of the composition of A_3 by means of what we might call the Enochic canon. This is : *No early Jewish book which extols Enoch could have been written after 50 A.D., and the attribution of Enoch's words and achievements in a Jewish work to other O T heroes is a sign that it was written after the Pauline preaching of Christianity.* This hostility to Enoch from 50 A.D. onwards (cp Enoch) is to he traced to Enoch's acceptance among the Christians as a Messianic prophet. For the grounds and illustrations of this canon see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 21-22, 101. Now, in 59 5-11 of this Apocalypse many of Enoch's functions and revelations are assigned to Moses. Hence A_3 was written after 53 A.D.

The affinities of Apoc. Bar. with 4 Esdras are so striking and so many that Ewald ascribed the two books to the same author. Though this view has not been accepted in later criticism, it will not be amiss to draw attention to these affinities. (1) The main features of the two books are similar. They have one and the same object—to deplore Israel's present calamities and awaken hope in the coming glories, temporal or spiritual, of their race.

13. Affinity with 4 Esd.

In both the speaker is a notable figure of the time of the Babylonian captivity. In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (as a rule, of seven days) between each two divisions; and, whereas in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the scriptures, in the other Baruch is bidden to spend forty days in admonishing Israel before his departure from the earth.

(2) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common.

According to both, man is saved by his works (4 Esd. 7 77 8 33 9 7, *Ap. Bar.* 2 2 14 12 etc.); the world was created in behalf of Israel (4 Esd. 6 55 7 11 9 13, *Ap. Bar.* 14 19 15 7 etc.); man came not into the world of his own will (4 Esd. 8 5, *Ap. Bar.* 14 11 48 15); a predetermined number of men must be attained before the end (4 Esd. 4 36 *f.*, *Ap. Bar.* 23 4 5); God will visit his creation (4 Esd. 5 56 6 18 9 2, *Ap. Bar.* 20 2 24 4); Adam's sin was the cause of physical death (4 Esd. 3 7, *Ap. Bar.* 23 4); the souls of the good are kept safe in treasuries till the resurrection (4 Esd. 4 35-37 7 32 80 95, *Ap. Bar.* 30 2).

This list might have been indefinitely added to. On the other hand, there are clear points of divergence. In Esdras the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years (7 28 *f.*), whereas in Baruch this period is quite indeterminate. Again, in the former (7 29) the Messiah is to die, and the Messianic reign is to close with the death of all living things; whereas in the latter, according to 30, the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven, at the close of his reign, and, according to 73 *f.*, this reign is to be eternal, though it is to belong partly to this world and partly to the next.

14. Divergence from 4 Esd.

Again, in Esdras the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies (5 29 *f.*), for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, and made the holy place a desolation (10 21 *f.*). In Earnch it is described at length how the holy vessels were removed by angels and the walls of Jerusalem demolished by the same agency before the enemy drew nigh (6-8).

On the question of original sin likewise these two hooks are at variance. Whilst in Esdras the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam (3.7 21 *f.* 4 30 7 48), and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see 8 55-61), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression (17 3 23 4 54 15), but as to ethical death declares that "each man is the Adam of his own soul" (54 19; yet see 48 42).

It will be clear from the facts set forth above that the relations of these two apocalypses constitute a complex problem. If we attempt to deal with this problem on the supposition that each book is derived from a single author, no solution is possible; and the barrenness of criticism hitherto in this direction is due to this supposition of their unity. When, however, we come perforce to recognise their composite nature, we enter at the same time on the road that leads to the desired goal. For a provisional study of the relations between the various constituents of this apocalypse and 4 Esdras, the reader can consult Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 67-76. The results of this study tend to show that, whilst some of the constituents of 4 Esdras are older than the latest of Baruch, other constituents of Baruch are decidedly older than the remaining ones of 4 Esdras.

15. Real relation.

The points of contact between this apocalypse and the NT are many; but they are for the most part insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side. The thoughts and expressions in questions are explicable from pre-existing literature or as commonplaces of the time.

16. Relation to NT.

Such, among many others, are Mt. 3 16, *Ap. Bar.* 22 1, Mt. 26 24, *Ap. Bar.* 10 6, Lk. 21 28, *Ap. Bar.* 23 7, Rom. 8 18, *Ap. Bar.* 15 8.

The following passages are of a different nature and postulate the dependence of our apocalypse on the NT, or possibly, in one or two of the instances, of both on a common source.

With Mt. 16 26, 'For what shall a man he profited, if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' cp *Ap. Bar.* 51 15, 'For what then have men lost their life, or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?' Also with 1 Cor. 15 19, 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,' cp *Apoc. Bar.* 21 13, 'For if there were this life only. . . nothing could he more bitter than this.' Also with 1 Cor. 16 35, 'How are the dead raised and with what manner of body do they come?' cp 49 2, 'In what shape will those live who live in that day?' Cp also Lk 14 2 with *Ap. Bar.* 54 10, Jas. 1 2 with 52 6, and Rev. 4 6 with 51 2.

As the Apocalypse of Baruch was written between 50 and 100 A.D. it furnishes us with the historical setting and background of many of the NT problems, and thereby enables us to estimate the contributions made in this respect by Christian thought. Thus, whereas, from 49 2-51, we see that the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. 15 35-50 was not an innovation but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism, it is clear, on the other hand, from the teaching of this book on Works and Justification, Forgiveness and Original Sin and Freewill (*see* Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 80-85), what a crying need there was for the Pauline dialectic, and what an immense gulf lay herein between Christian and Rabbinic teaching. No ancient book is so valuable in attesting the Jewish doctrine of that period.

17. Value.

Bibliography.—In addition to the works already mentioned, the reader may consult Langen, *De Apoc. Bar. comm.* ('67); Ew. *GGA* ('67), 1706-17, 1720; *Hist. of Israel*, 8 57-61; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* ('77), 117-132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Bar.* ('79), 190-198; Di. 'Pseudep.' in *PRE*(2), 12 356-358; Deane, *Pseudep.* ('91), 130-162.

II. THE BOOK OF ENOCH.—By the exegesis of later times, the statement that Enoch walked with God (Gen. 5 24; see ENOCH) was taken to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges of intercourse with God, and in this intercourse received revelations as to the nature of the heavens and the earth, the present lot and the destinies of men and angels. It was natural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature should seek the shelter and authority of his name in ages when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch* preserved in Ethiopic we have large fragments of this literature proceeding from a variety of Jewish writers in Palestine; and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* preserved in Slavonic we have further portions of it, written originally by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt. To the latter book we shall return.

18. Jewish view of Enoch.

The Book of Enoch as translated into Ethiopic belongs to the last two centuries B.C. All the writers of the NT were familiar with it and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production in the Epistle of Jude (14 *f.*) and as Scripture in that of Barnabas (*Ep.* 4 3 16 5). The authors of the *Secrets of Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.* and 4 Esd. laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book; but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries it began to be discredited, and finally it fell under the ban of the Church. The latest references to it are to be found in Syncellus and Cedrenus, who have preserved large fragments of the Greek version. The book was then lost sight of till 1773, when two MSS of the Ethiopic version were discovered by Bruce. From one of these MSS Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

19. Book of Enoch: its fortunes.

Enoch was originally written in Heb. or Aram., not in Greek. On this question the chief Apocalyptic scholars are practically agreed.

20. Language.

In the case of chaps. 1-32 this view is established beyond the reach of controversy; for in 10 9 19 1 88 27 2 28 1 29 1 31 1 of the Greek version we find that the translator transliterated Heb. or

Aram. words that were unintelligible to him. The same view as to the remaining chapters has been amply proved in the *Journ. As.* ('67) 352-395 by Halévy, who regards the entire work as derived from a Hebrew original. See also Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 21-22, 325. Recently some Dutch and German scholars have argued for an Aram. original on the ground that three Aram. forms have been preserved in the Gizeh Greek fragment—viz. φουκα in 18 8, μανδοβαρα in 28 1, and βαβδηρα in 29 1. The first is, it is true, an Aram. form of פּוּךְ and the two latter of מִדְבָּר. This argument, however, is inconclusive. We find ακανα in 2 K. 14 9*b* [BA*] as a transliteration of חוֹחַ, and Αινα in Neh. 2 14 [BℵA] as a transliteration of עַיִן; and there are other instances of the same peculiarity in 𝔊. Hence the presence of such Aramaisms in a text is not sufficient in itself to establish an Aram. original.

The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Greek version chaps. 6-9 4 8 4-10 14 15 8-16 1 have come down to us through Syncellus (*circ.* 800 A.D.), and 89 42-49 through a Vatican MS.; but the most important fragment of this version—the Gizeh Greek fragment—was discovered only a few years ago by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published in 1892.

21. Versions —Greek.

M. Lod's critical edition of this fragment, accompanied by a translation, appeared almost simultaneously, and next year it was edited by the present writer, with an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1-32, as an Appendix to his work on *Enoch*. The other Greek fragments will be found in the same work. The Gizeh fragment was edited also by Dillmann (*SBAW* ['92], li.-liii. 1039-1054, 1079-1092). The fragments of the Greek Enoch with a critical apparatus are to be published in the 2nd edition of vol. iii. of Swete's Cambridge LXX.

The Latin version is wholly lost—with the exception of 1 9, which is found in a treatise of the Pseudo-Cyprian entitled *Ad Novatianum* (see Zahn's *Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 2 797-801), and 106 1-18, which owes its discovery to Mr. James, in an eighth-century MS in the British Museum. This fragment is critically edited in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 372-375, James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 146-150.

22. Latin.

The Ethiopic version alone preserves the entire text, and that in a more ancient and trustworthy form than the other versions. It has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions.

23. Ethiopic.

I. *The Ethiopic MSS.*—The Ethiopic MSS are comparatively many. There are about twenty scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, half of them are found in the British Museum. The best of all the known MSS is undoubtedly that designated *Orient. 485* in the British Museum.

II. *Editions of the Ethiopic Text.*—Only two editions have appeared—that of Lawrence in 1838 from one MS and that of Dillmann in 1851 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his Translation and Commentary of 1893.

III. *Translations and Commentaries.*—Translations accompanied by Commentaries have been issued by Lawrence ('21), Hoffmann ('33-'38), Dillmann ('53), Schodde ('52), and Charles ('93). Of Dillmann's and Schodde's Translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (6-9).

IV. *Critical Inquiries.*—Some account of these will be found in Schürer, *Hist.* 70-73, and in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 9-21 309-311. Of the many works on this book the following deserve special mention here. Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. des Joh.*(2) ('52); Ew. *Abhandl. üb. d. äth. Buches Henokh Entstehung, Sinn, und Zusammensetzung* ('55); Köstlin, 'Ueb. die Entsteh. d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 240-279 370-386); Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik* ('57), 91-184; Gebhardt, 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen' (Merx's *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A T*, 1872, vol. ii. Heft 2 163-246); Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* ('87), 17-73; Lipsius in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* ('80), 2 124-128; Schürer, *Hist.* 5 54-73; Lawlor, *Journ. Phil.* vol. xxv. pp. 164-225 ['97].

The Book of Enoch is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name. To this fact the plurality of books assigned to Enoch from the first may in some sense point: as. for instance, the expression 'books' in 104 12; *Test. xii. Putr.* Jud. 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, 554, and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Book of Enoch is divided (1-36 17-71 72-82 83-90 91-108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this Enoch literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost apocalypse, the Book of Noah mentioned in Jubilees 10 13 21 10), from which he drew 6-11 (?) 17-19 39 1 2*a* 41 3-8 43 f. 54 7 55 2 59 f. 65-69 25 106 *f.* Another fragment of the Book of Noah has been embodied in the Book of Jubilees (see below, § 57).

24. Compositeness.

We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings of five different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in merest outline the different constituents found in the work by the chief scholars who have studied the subject.

25. Criticism.

Lücke in his *Einl.* (see above, § 23) regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1-36 72-105, written at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt, or, according to his later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus: the second consists of the Similitudes (36-71), and was written in the early days of Herod the Great. In the latter, however, there are some interpolations. Hofmann (J. Chr. K.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the second century. In this view he was followed later by Weisse and Philippi. Hofmann deserves mention in this connection on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seventy shepherds in 89 *f.* Ew. in his *Abhandl.* (see above, § 23) gives the following scheme:—Book I. (37-71) *circa* 144 B.C.; Book II. (1-16 81 1-4 84 91-105) *circa* 135 B.C.; Book III. (20-36 72-90 106 *f.*) *circa* 128 B.C., 108 later. Book IV., the Book of Noah (6 3-8 8 1-3 9 7 10 1-3 11 22*b* 17-19 54 7-55 2 60 1-10 24 25 64-69 16), somewhat later than the preceding. Köstlin in his essay (see above, § 23), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis: the groundwork (1-16 21-36 72-105) *circa* 110 B.C.: the Similitudes (37-71 and 17-19) before 64 B.C.; Noachic Fragments (54 7-55 2 60 65-69 25, possibly also 20 82 9-20 106 *f.*). 108 is an Essene addition. Hilgenfeld (*op. cit.*) regards the groundwork, consisting of 1-10 20-36 72-105, as written before 98 B.C., and the remaining chapters as coming from the hand of a Christian Gnostic after the time of Saturninus. The interesting study of Tideman (*ThT.* [1875] 261-296), and the works of Lipsius, Schürer, Drummond, enumerated above (§ 23), and Schodde (*The Book of Enoch*, 1882) can only be mentioned here. As Dillmann changed his mind three times, and in each instance for the better, it will be enough to give his final analysis. The groundwork (1-36 72-105) in the time of John Hyrcanus; the Similitudes and 17-19, before 64 B.C.; the Noachic fragments (6 3-8 8 1-3 9 7 10 1 11 20 39 1 2*a* 54 7-55 2 60 65-69 25 106 *f.*); 108 from a later hand.

We shall now proceed to discuss this question directly, and endeavour to carry the criticism of the book one further stage towards finality.

26. Results.

Disregarding the interpolations from the Book of Noah already mentioned as well as the closing chapter, we find that all critics are agreed in ascribing the Similitudes (37-70) to an authorship different from the rest. The remaining chapters (1-36 72-104) have been regarded by all critics except Ewald and Lipsius as proceeding from one and the same author; but these scholars, while differing from each other, have not persuaded any one but themselves as to the justness of their respective analyses. In their contention, however, as to the compositeness of these chapters they were undoubtedly right. This question has been gone into at length in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 55 *f.*, 187-189, 220 *f.*, 260-263, where grounds are given for believing that sections 1-36, 72-82, 83-90, and 91-104 are writings distinct as to authorship, system of thought, and date. We must now proceed to sketch briefly the various independent writings contained in the entire work, assigning to each its most probable date.

Part I., consisting of chaps. 1-36 (for the Noachic interpolations, see § 24), was written at latest before 170 B.C., and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chapters as Is. 65. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72-82, 83-90, 91-104, as it is used by the writers of these sections.

27. Chaps. 1-36.

As 83-90 was written not later than 161 B.C., 1-36 must be some years earlier, and, as there is no allusion to the massacres

of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date, **170**, is the latest reasonable limit for its composition.

This book—*i.e.*, 1-36—is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in the NT as opposed to that of the OT, or represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § *63*). The problem of the author is to justify the ways of God to men.

The righteous will not suffer always (1 1). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due to the lust of the angels—the Watchers (9 6 9 10 10 8). Hence the Watchers, their companions, and their children, will be destroyed (10 4-10 12). Their destruction will form the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge will form the completion (10 1-3). Sin still prevailed after the Deluge: however, through the influence of the evil spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (16 1). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime character finds its recompense in some measure immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the Watchers, the demons, and all classes of Israelites with one exception, will receive their final award (1 9 22 13). This judgment is preceded by a general resurrection of Israel (22). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27 2); the earth is cleansed from sin (10 20-22); the Messianic kingdom is established, with Jerusalem as a centre (25 5); and God abides with men (25 3). The Gentiles are converted (10 21). The righteous eat of the tree of life (25 4-6) and thereby enjoy patriarchal lives (5 9). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

28. Chaps. 83-90. Part II., consisting of 83-90, was written between 166 and 161 B.C., mainly from the same standpoint as Daniel. On a variety of grounds, we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding.

It will be enough to mention that, whereas in this there is a Messiah, in the preceding there was none; in this the life of the righteous is apparently unending, in the other it was finite; in this the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerusalem set up by God himself, in the other it was Jerusalem and the entire earth unchanged though purified. Finally, the picture in 83-90 is developed and spiritual, whilst that in 1-30 was naïve, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix.

The Ḥasidim (see ASSIDEANS), symbolised by the lambs that are born to the white sheep (90 6), are already an organised party in the Maccabean revolt. The lambs that become horned are the Maccabean family, and the great horn who is still warring while the author of the section is writing is Judas the Maccabee (90 9), who died in 161 B.C.

Chapters 83-90 recount two visions: 83 *f.*, dealing with the first world-judgment; 85-90, dealing with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the author considers the question of Israel's unmerited suffering.

Israel has indeed sinned; but the punishment immeasurably transcends its guilt. These undue severities, the author shows, have not come from the hand of God; they are the doing of the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Israel (89 59). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust; but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds (89 61-64), and for them and for their victims there is laid up a due recompense (90 33). Moreover, when the outlook is darkest, a league of the righteous is organised in Israel (90 6). In it there will arise a family from which will come forth the deliverer of Israel, Judas the Maccabee (90 9-16). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain, and God's appearance in person to judge will be the signal for their destruction. The apostates will be cast into Gehenna, and the wicked angels into an abyss of fire (90 20-25). God himself will set up the New Jerusalem (90 28 *29*); the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90 30); the righteous dead will be raised to take part in the kingdom; and finally the Messiah will appear among them (90 37). The Messianic kingdom lasts on earth for ever, and its members enjoy everlasting blessedness.

It will be observed that this is the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature (see MESSIAH, § 5; ESCHATOLOGY, § *60*). He has, however, no rôle to play: he has not as yet vindicated for himself a place in the apocalyptic doctrine of the last things.

29. Chaps. 91-104. Part III., consisting of 91-104, was written between 134 and 95 B.C. The well-defined opposition of the Pharisees and the Sadducees depicted in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees (see ISRAEL, § 78; SCRIBES, § 18); hence **not** earlier than 134 B.C. On the other hand, it cannot have been later than 95 B.C., as the merely passing reference to persecution in 103 15 could hardly be interpreted of Jannæus after his savage massacres of the Pharisees in 95 B.C., which won for him the title, 'the slayer of the pious.'

This section was originally, like **83-90**, an independent writing. In adapting it to its present environment, the redactor of the entire work broke up its original arrangement. In order to recover this we must read it in the following order:—92 91 1-10 93 1-10 91 12-19 94-104. On a variety of grounds (see Charles *Book of Enoch*, 260-263), we must attribute this work to quite another author than that of either of the preceding sections.

In passing from 83-90 to 91-104 we enter on a world of new conceptions (cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 64 *f.*). In all previous apocalyptic writings the resurrection and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom; whereas in the present writing these great events are relegated to the close of the Messianic kingdom, and not till then do the righteous enter on their reward. This kingdom is temporary (91 12-15); there is no Messiah; the righteous with God's help vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of the kingdom follow the final judgment (91 15) and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91 10 92 3). In this view of the future the centre of interest has obviously passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Messianic kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. This immortality is an immortality of the soul only (103 3-4). As for the wicked, they will descend into the pain of Sheol and abide there everlastingly (98 3 10 104 7 8). Here (103 7) Sheōl appears as Hell for possibly the first time.

30. Similitudes; chaps. 37-70. Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of 37-70, were written between 94 and 79 B.C., or between 70 and 64 B.C.

'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced, are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters: the later Maccabean princes, for the blood of the righteous was not shed (as the writer complains, 47 1 2 4) before 95 B.C.; not the Herods, for the Sadducees were not allies of the Herods; and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than **64** B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judæa.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the righteous, the author of the Similitudes has no interest save for the moral and spiritual world. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel.

The origin of sin is traced one stage farther back than in 1-38. The first authors of sin were the Satans (40 7). The Watchers fell through becoming subject to these and leading mankind astray (54 6). Though the Watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world and sinners deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (38 2) and of his Anointed (48 10), and the kings and the mighty oppress the children of God (62 11). Suddenly there will appear the Head of Days, and with him the Son of Man (46 2 3 4 48 2), to execute judgment upon all alike. To this end there will be a resurrection of all Israel (51 1 61 5), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41 9 69 27), who will judge all according to their deeds (41 1). Sin and wrong-doing will be banished from the earth (49 2), and heaven and earth be transformed (45 4 5), and the righteous will have their mansions in Paradise (39 6 41 2). The Elect One will dwell among them (45 4); they will be clad in garments of life (62 15 16), become angels in heaven (51 4), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (58 5).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of Enoch but also in Jewish literature as a whole (see, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § *66*).

The Messiah exists from the beginning (*46 2*); he sits on the throne of God (45 3 47 3), and possesses universal dominion (62 6); and all judgment is committed unto him (69 27). If we turn to the other sections we find that in **1-36** and 91-104 there is no Messiah at all; whilst in 83-90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no real rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations (see above, § *24*) he will find that many of them are to be found in this section.

They have as a rule been drawn from an already existing Apocalypse of Noah, and adapted by an editor to their present contexts in Enoch. This he does by borrowing from the Similitudes characteristic terms, such as 'Lord of Spirits,' 'Head of Days,' 'Sou of Man,' to which, however, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

Chapter 71 does not belong to the Similitudes. It shows the same misuse of characteristic phrases as the interpolations just referred to (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 183 *f.*).

Part V., the Book of Celestial Physics, consists of 72-78 82 79. This, like the preceding sections, is a work of independent authorship. There are no means of determining its date.

31. Celestial Physics (chaps. 72-78, 82, 79).

It has suffered from both disarrangements and interpolations at the hands of the editor of the whole work. In the first place, 80 *f.* is a manifest intrusion written from a standpoint quite different from that of the rest. In the next place 82 does not stand in its original position. The opening word; of 79 in fact presuppose 82 as already read. We have found a similar dislocation of the text in Part III.

Part VI., the Noachian and other interpolations. These have been enumerated above (§ 24).

32. Influence of Enoch.

The influence of Enoch on Jewish literature (to exclude for the moment the NT) is seen in *Jubilees* (written about the beginning of the Christian era), in the Slavonic *Enoch* (1-50 A.D.), *Test. xii. Putr.*, *Apoc. Bur.*, and in 4 Esdras.

In Jewish apocalyptic before 40 A.D. Enoch was the chief figure next to Daniel ; but his acceptance by the Christians as a Messianic prophet led to his rejection by the Jews. See note on § 10.

In patristic literature, Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in Ep. Barn. (43 165). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Iren. and Athenag., Tert., Clem. Alex., Orig., Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Chrys., Jer., August., and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *Const. Ap.* 6 16.

Far more important than its influence on Jewish literature, was its influence on N T diction (*a*) and doctrine (*b*).

(*a*) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. Enoch is quoted directly in Jude 14 *f.* Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it, or of closest kin with it, are found in Jude 4 13 *f.*; Rev.27 3 10 4 6 6 10 9 1 14 20 20 13; Rom. 8 38 9 5; Eph. 1 21; Heb. 11 5; Acts 3 14; Jn. 5 22 27; Lk. 9 35 16 9 23 35; Mt. 19 28 25 41 26 24.

(*b*) The doctrines in Enoch that had a share in moulding the analogous N T doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from the OT to the NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Shed and the resurrection, and demonology, on which reference must be made to the separate articles on these heads and to ESCHATOLOGY. We here content ourselves with remwking, as regards the doctrine of the Messiah, that four titles, afterwards reproduced in the New Testament, are first applied to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes. These titles are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One,' 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (48 10 52 4) applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. The second and the third of these titles, found first in Enoch, have passed over into the NT—the former occurring in Acts 3 14 7 52 22 14, the latter in Lk. 9 35 23 35. The last title, that of 'the Son of Man,' is historically the source of the New Testament designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 312-317).

III. THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—This book has, as far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience we shall call it 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book, which for the same reason we shall designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

33. Secrets of Enoch: its fortunes.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS, some of which were found in Russia and some in Servia. Although the very knowledge of such a book was lost for probably twelve hundred years, the book was much used by both Christians and heretics in the early centuries.

Citations appear from it, though without acknowledgment, in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, *Apoc. Moses* and *Pan2* (400-500 A.D.), *Sibylline Oracles*, *Asc. Zsa.* and *Ep. of Bar.* (70-90 A.D.). It is quoted hy name in the apocalyptic portions of the *Test. of the xii. Patr.* (*circa* 1 A.D.). It was referred to by Orig. and probably by Clem. Alex and was used by Iren. Some phrases of the N T may be derive2 from it.

34. The Slavonic MSS.

There are five Slavonic MSS : in two of them the complete text is found, while the remaining three supply ouiy a shortened and incomplete redaction. For the edition published by the present writer the two best of the above MSS (A and B) were translated and put at the service of the editor by Mr. Morfill. The editor had at his disposal also Mr. Morfill's translation of Prof. Sokolov'stext, which is founded on these and other MSS. In 1896 Prof. Bonwetsch published his *Das Slavische Henochbuch*, in which he gives a German translation of the MSS A and B side by side, preceded bv a short introduction.

35. Language. (*a*) The main part of the 'Slavonic Enoch' was written in Greek.

This is clear from such statements as (1) 30 13, 'And I gave him a name (*i.e.*, Adam) from the four substances : the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This derivation was first elaborated in Greek : it is impossible in the Semitic languages. (2) The writer follows the chronology of 𝔊. (3) In 50 4 he reproduces the 𝔊 text of Dt. 32 35 against the Hebrew. (4) He constantly uses Ecclesiasticus, which was current chiefly in Egypt.

(*b*) Certain portions were based on Hebrew originals. Such a hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from it or references to it which appear in the *Test. xii. Putr.* The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author drew upon Hebrew originals in quotations and references.

36. Place. The book was written in Egypt.

This is deducible from the following facts :—(1) The variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and other Hellenistic writers : thus souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23 5 (cp Philo, *De Somno*, 1 22 ; Wisd. 8 19 20). Again, man bad seven natures, 30 9 (cp Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 40). (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the OT does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenised Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) Such monstrous creatures as appear in chap. 12 are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the creation narrative in 25 *f.* betrays Egyptian elements.

37. Relation to other works.

Materials originally derived from this hook are discoverable in Joel and Cedrenus (1050-1200 A.D.), though in these authors the materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the *Book of Adam and Eve* (see APOCRYPHA, § 10) in 16 and 8 are all but quotations from 29 4 *f.* and 31 2 of our hook. Again in the *Apoc. Moses*, 19 (ed. Tisch. 1866), we have a further development of 14 2-4 of our text, just as in *Apoc. Paul.* 64 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἔνθα . . δένδρον . . ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is a Christian adaptation of 8 3, 'And in the midst (of Paradise is) the tree of life—on which God rests when he comes into Paradise.' The section on the derivation of Adam's name in the anonymous *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, 4, is to be traced ultimately to 30 13, and Augustine's speculation, *De Civ.* xxii. 30 5, on the eighth eternal day to 33 2.

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50 5-51 1 in the Sibylline Oracles 2 75. In Irenæus, *Contra Hær.* v. 28 3, the Jewish speculatioh of 33 1 *f.* is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lommatzsch ed., vol. xxi. 55). However this may be, there is no donbt as to the direct reference to 24-30 33 8 in the *De Princip.* i. 3 2 : 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertnr : Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' There are good grounds for believing that in a still earlier period (50-100 A.D.) the writers of *Asc. Isa.* 8 16 and of *Apoc. Bar.* 4 3 were acquainted with 19 1 and 31 2 of this book respectively. In *Ep. Barn.* 15 5-8 and probably in 18 1 the thought and diction are dependent on 32 2-33 and 30 15.

In the NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connection if not a literary dependence.

With Mt. 5 5, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cp 52 11, 'Blessed is he who establishes peace' ; with Mt. 5 34 35 37, 'Swear not at all,' etc., cp 49 1 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word,

yea, yea, or **nay,** nay.' Again, with Mt. 7 20 and 25 34, cp **42** 14 and **9** 1; with Jn. 14 2 cp 61 2; with Eph. 4 25 cp 42 12; with Rev. 9 1 and 10 5 *f.* cp **42** 1 and **05** 7. Still earlier we find this hook not only used but quoted by name in the *Test.* Dun 5, where the statement τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης· ἀνέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὁ Σατανᾶς is drawn from **183**, 'These are the Grigori (*i.e.* Ἐγρήγοροι) who with their prince Satanail rejected the holy Lord.' Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Naph.* 4, *Test. Sim.* 5, *Test. Benj.* 9, are adaptations of **34** 2-3.

38. Date. The question as to the date has, to a large extent, been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian.

This follows from the fact of their quotation in the *Test. xii. Patr.* Turning to the rest of the book, we find that the *terminus a quo* is determined by the fact that it frequently uses *Ecclus.* (cp **43** 2 *f.* **47** 5 **52** 8 **61** 2 4, etc.; see the writer's edition of the Slavonic Enoch). The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is continually presupposed to be in the background. Its phraseology and conceptions are reproduced (**7** 4f: **33** 4 9 *f.* **35** 2, etc.). At times its views are put forward in a developed form (**8** 1 5 *f.* **40 13 64** 5), and occasionally divergent conceptions are enunciated (16 **7** 18 4). Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are to be found not in his writings but in the *Eth. En.* (see **40** 5 *f.* 8 *f.*). It is possible that the Book of Wisdom also was used by our author; see 65 4.

Since, therefore, Ecclus., the *Eth. Enoch,* and Wisdom (7) were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than 30 B.C.

The terminus *ad quem* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is still standing. (2) This book was known and used by the writers of *Ep. Barn.* and *Asc. Isa.*, and probably by some of the writers of the NT. We may with reasonable certainty, therefore, assign the composition of the book *in Creek* to the period 50 A.D. The author is thus a contemporary of Philo, with whom, accordingly, we find that he holds many speculations in common, Much of the book, however, goes back to a Hebrew background of an earlier date.

39. Authorship. The author was thus an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. He believed in the value of sacrifices (42 6 59 1 66 2)—though he is careful to enforce enlightened views with regard to them (45 3 *f.* 61 4 *f.*)—in the law (52 8 *f.*), and in a blessed immortality (50 2 65 6 8 *f.*), in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of Gods glory' (**22** 8). In questions affecting the origin of the earth, of sin, and of death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows from every quarter. Thus Platonic (**30** 16), Egyptian (25 2), and Zend (58 4-6) elements are incorporated in his system. The result is highly syncretistic.

40. Contents. The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom God loved and received so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, and never-changing God.' In chap. 1 two angels appear to Enoch and bid him make ready to ascend with them into heaven. In chap. 2 he admonishes his sons and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought hack to them. Thereupon (*3-G*) he is carried up through the air into the first heaven, where he beholds a great sea, and the elders the rulers of the orders of the stars and the treasuries of the show and ice and clouds and dew, 'and the angels who guard them. Thence the angels bear him to the second heaven (7), where he sees the angels who had rebelled against God, imprisoned and suffering torments. These angels ask Enoch to intercede for them. Next, he ascends to the third heaven (8), where is Paradise, with all manner of beautiful fruits and 'the tree of life on which God rests when he comes into the garden,' and the four streams of honey milk, oil, and wine, that water the garden, and go down to the Paradise of Eden, between corruptibility and incorruptibility. The angels inform Enoch that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who turn their eyes from unrighteousness and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the huhpry and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen . . . and walk without blame before the face of the Lord.' Enoch is then taken to the northern region of this heaven (10), and shown 'a very terrible place' of 'savage darkness and impenetrable gloom, with 'fire on all sides, cold, and ice.' He is told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance' for those 'who commit evil deeds on earth, sodomy, witchcraft' . . . who oppress the poor, who are guilty of 'stealing, lying, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder,' who 'worship gods without life.' Thence Enoch is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the phœnixes, and the chalkadri? (12; cp COCKATRICE) and the eastern and western gates of the sun (13-16), and 'an aimed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs' (17).

In 18 he is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the Watchers who had rebelled; their brethren were already confined in torment in the second heaven. Then he passes to the sixth heaven (19), where are the angels who regulate all the powers of nature and the courses of the stars, and write down the deeds of men. Finally, he is raised to the seventh heaven (20 *f.*), where he sees God sitting on his throne, and the heavenly hosts in their ten orders on the steps of the throne, and the Seraphim singing the trisagion. He falls down and worships (22). At God's command, Michael takes from him his earthly robe, anoints him with the holy oil, and clothes him with the raiment of God's glory. Thus Enoch becomes like one of the glorious ones. Under the instruction of Vretil (chap. 23), he writes *366* books, in thirty days and thirty nights, about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created from eternity, and their future dwelling-places.

In 24-26 God makes known to Enoch how he created the invisible out of the visible; how he commanded Adoil (possibly a corruption of Uriel, regarded as=light of God), and Arkhas (possibly from ארץ or Aram. ארקא=earth), to come forth and burst asunder; and so the light on high and the world below were produced. And God divided the light and the darkness (27), and made the seven heavens, and caused the waters under the heaven to be gathered into one place, and made the earth from the waters (28). Such were the creations of the first day. And on the second day God created the heavenly hosts (29 1-3). And one of the archangels (Satanail) rebelled, and God cast him down (29 4 *f.*) from the heights. On the third day (30 1 2) God caused the earth to produce trees and herbs, and planted Paradise. On the fourth (30 3-6), he ordered great lights to be in the various circles of the heavens—Saturn, Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter Mercury the Moon. On the fifth (30 7-18), he created the hsh of the'sea, and the fowl of heaven, and every thing that moveth on the earth, and on the sixth he made man from seven substances, and called him Adam, and showed him the two ways. While Adam was in Paradise he could see the angels in heaven (31); but Satan envied him and deceived Eve. And God established the eighth day (33 1-2), at the beginning of which time should be no more. The corruption of the earth and the deluge are then foretold, and the preservation of Noah *(35)*. God bids Enoch return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (36-38). Enoch admonishes and instructs his sons, tells them what he has seen, and gives utterance to nine beatitudes (39-42). He 'impresses on them the incomparable dignity of goodness—'none is greater than he who fears God' (43). They are not to revile the person of man, but to present their offerings; yet they must not value these unduly, but consider the heart from which they spring (44-46). Enoch gives his hooks to his sons (47); instructs them not to swear (49); and bids them in meekness accomplish the number of their days, and be open-handed to those in need (50 *f.*). Again he enunciates seven beatitudes and the woes with which they are contrasted (52). The departed saints, he says, do not intercede for the living (53). At the close of the appointed time (55-59) Enoch again addresses his *sons.* He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of beasts will then bring charges against the men who ill-treated them. Further instruction follows, as to sacrifice and man's duty to the needy, and warning against contempt and lying (60-63). The people assemble in Achuzan to take leave of Enoch, who addresses them on various topics and exhorts them to faithfulness. He is then carried up to the highest heaven. His sons build an altar in Achuzan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64-68).

41. Value. The value of the book, in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought, may be exemplified by the fresh evidence it contributes on the following beliefs :—

1. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32 2-33 2. From this its origin is clear. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded not only as a history of the past, but also as a sketch of the future of the world. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000 years; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps. 90 4; Jub. 4 30; 2 Pet. 3 8); and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years—Le., the millennium.

2. *The sewn heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in the NT conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was believed by Paul, by the author of Hebrews, and probably by the author of Revelation. On the Secrets of Enoch see also ESCHATOLOGY, § 75.

IV. THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—This apocryph has come down to us in its entirety only in the Ethiopic version. It is a composite work, as we shall see; and two, if not three, of its constituents existed independently before their incorporation in the present work. Of these the oldest is undoubtedly 2 1 3 12 and 5 1 6-14, which contains an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (cp ISAIAH, i. § 1, end). From this section, which is of Jewish authorship, seem to have been derived such statements as : 'they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, ... they went about in sheepskins . . . being destitute . . . wandering in deserts and mountains' (Heb. 11 37 *f.*; Cp 2 10-12 5 1 6).

42. Ascens. Isa.; its fortunes.

The next probable reference is in Justin Martyr (*c. Tryph.* 120), where he says : 'ye sawed (Isaiah) in twain with a wooden saw.' So we find it in 5 1. In Tertul. (*De patientia*, 14) the reference is unmistakable, while in Origen the book or its matter is discussed : it is there called ἀπόκρυφον Ησαΐου, or simply ἀπόκρυφον (*Ep. ad Africanum*, 9, *Ad Matt.* 13 57 23 37, *In Jesaiam homil.* 1 5). The first reference to the second part (6-11) is in Epiph. (*Haer.* 40 and 67 3), where we are told that certain heretics made use of this work, which he calls τὸ ἀναβατικὸν Ἠσαΐου, to support their opinions. Jerome speaks of an *Ascensio Isaiæ*, and in the list of the Canon edited by Montfaucon and others it is called Ἠσαΐου ὅρασις.

The various constituents of the book were written originally in Greek. Thus. in 4 19 21 68 𝔊 is followed where it differs from- the Hebrew. Of the Greek the greater part has come down to us in a MS found in the National Library in Paris, and edited by Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1878)—though it is not the original work, but a free recast and rearrangement of it (see below).

43. Language.

Translations from the Greek were made into Latin, Ethiopic, and Slavonic. Of the *Latin* version, 6-11 were extant in the sixteenth century and were printed at Venice in 1522, but had long been lost to view when Gieseler re-edited them in 1832. Two other fragments, 2 14-3 13 and 71-19, were discovered and published in 1828 by Mai, though that editor was not aware that they belonged to this apocryph. Happily, as remarked above, the entire work has been preserved in *Ethiopic*, and on the whole faithfully, as we can infer from the Greek and the Latin fragments.

44. Versions.

The sources of its corruptions are often ately recognisable by retranslation into Greek. Thus in 9 35 the Ethiopic = 'qui se ad te advertit,' the Latin 'præ The original of both is ἐπιτρέπων, as we find in the Greek; hut the Ethiopic translator has followed an inappropriate meaning. That followed by the Latin translator is admissible ; but the context requires the ordinary sense of ἐπιτρέπων = 'permitting.'

The Ethiopic version was first edited by Laurence in 1819 from one MS, and afterwards in 1877 by Dillmann from three MSS. To the latter edition are appended the Latin fragments. Next year, as we have already noticed,' Gebhardt edited the Greek text. Although a free recast of our apocryph, it is very valuable for critical purposes, and in many respects confirms the critical acumen of Dillmann. Still there is need of a work which will give a text emended and corrected with the help of this Greek MS as well as of 'the Slavonic version and will deal more exhaustively with the different elements from which the apocryph is composed. This need Charles has tried to meet in his forthcoming work, *The Ascension of Isaiah.*

Ewald was the first to recognise the composite structure of this book, finding in it the works of three distinct authors. Subsequent criticisms, however, have only in part confirmed his analysis, and the best work as yet done in this direction is that of Dillmann. Dillmann's hypothesis is as follows :—There were originally two independent works : one, an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (2 1-3 12 5 2-14), of Jewish origin; the other, the vision of Isaiah (6-11 1 23-40), of Christian authorship. These two works were next combined into one volume by a Christian, who supplied them with a prologue and an epilogue (1 1 *f.* 46-13 11 42 *f.*). Finally, when the book had assumed this shape, another editor inserted 1 3 4*a* 3 13-5 1 15 *f.* 11 2-22 41. This will do as a provisional hypothesis, but it is not final; and Gebhardt, Schürer, and Deane are wrong in saying that it is borne out by external testimony, averring that in the Greek work there is no trace of the sections 3 13-5 1 11 2-22. By a minute examination of the Greek certain phrases which imply the author's acquaintance with 3 13 17 4 8 11 19 are discoverable (see Charles, *op. cit.*). Thus the final editing was completed before the composition of the Greek legend. Further, since 3 13 is found in one of the Latin fragments published by Mai, this section (*i.e.*, 3 13-5 1) was already present before the Latin version was made. Too much stress must not be laid on the fact that 11 2-22 is represented in the Latin version by only a few lines; for it is characteristic of this version to abridge the text it is rendering.

45. Compositeness.

The following is an outline of the contents of the book.

In the twenty-sixth year of his reign Hezekiah summons Manasseh in order to entrust to him certain writings touching the future (1 1-6). Isaiah foretells to Hezekiah his martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh (1 7-73). On the death of Hezekiah, Manasseh abandons the service of God for that of Satan ; and thus, owing to the evils perpetrated in Jerusalem, Isaiah and other prophets withdraw into the wilderness (2). Thereupon Balkira, a Samaritan, accuses Isaiah and the prophets of prophesying evil things against the king and the people. As Berial has gained possession of the king's heart, the king sends and seizes Isaiah (3 1-12). There is a sudden break in the narrative here (the conclusion of the martyrdom of Isaiah follows in 5 2-14), to explain the reason of Berial's anger—viz., Isaiah's vision and the revelation in which he laid hare the future rule and destruction of Sammael, as well as the corning redemption by Christ. In fact, we have the history of the Christian Church summarised briefly from the coming of Christ to the Neronic persecution and the last judgment (3 13-5 1). In this short apocalypse we have the account of an eye-witness of the condition of the early Church, 50-80 A.D. Church organisation is still in its infancy; the rulers are called presbyters and pastors; bishops are nowhere mentioned. There are disputes about the second advent ; prophecy has not yet disappeared ; the vice and greed of the Christian teachers are unsparingly dealt with. The writer feels that the end is at hand. On 5 2-14, see above.

46. Contents.

With 6 begins the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of the reign of Hezekiah, he discloses it to the king and to Josah his son. In this vision Isaiah is conducted by an angel through the firmament and the six lower heavens and is shown the chief wonders in each (7 *f.*). Next he is raised to the seventh heaven, where he sees all the righteous from Adam downwards. He is then told of the coming advent of the Beloved into the world, and of his crucifixion and resurrection. Finally, he sees the Beloved in the form of an angel, and likewise the Holy Spirit in the same form, and 'the Great Glory'—*i.e.*, God—worshipped by the Beloved and the Spirit (9). In 10, Isaiah hears God commissioning his Son to descend into the world, and thereupon follows an account of this descent. In the concluding chapter are revealed the birth of Jesus and the history of his life on earth down *to* his crucifixion and resurrection and ascension through the seven heavens to his seat at the right hand of God.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah proper (2-3 12 5 2-14), which is of Jewish authorship, was written some time in the first century of our era ; the Vision (6-11) probably about its close ; and the apocalyptic section (3 13-5 1) *circa* 50-80 A.D.

47. Date.

For additional bibliography on this book, see Schürer, *Hist.* 5 145-146 ; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah.*

V. THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.—The Book of Jubilees, which is really a haggadic commentary on Genesis, is. important as being the chief monument (practically the sole monument) of legalistic Pharisaism belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era. Just as we have the other side of Pharisaism, its apocalyptic and mystical side, represented in the Book of Enoch, so here we have its natural complement in the hard and inexorable legalism to whose yoke, according to the author, creation was subject from the beginning and must be subject for evermore.

48. Book of Jubilees; its value.

Jubilees is not only indispensable to students of the NT and of the history of the Pharisaic movement : it is likewise of first-class importance as a witness to the readings of the Hebrew text of Genesis about the

beginning of the Christian era. In this respect it comes next in worth to 𝔊 and the Samaritan text, and presents us with much earlier readings than are to be found in the Syr. or Lat. versions, or in Targ. Onk. In the matter of determining the respective values of the Samaritan, 𝔊, and Massoretic chronologies its evidence will be practically of decisive weight.

This hook has been variously named at different stages of its career. Its original name seems to have been 'Jubilees,' and not the 'Book of Jubilees.' So we find it in the Syriac fragment, and likewise in Epiphanius, where it is designated τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι.

49. Name.

It is also called ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις in Epiphanius, Syncellus, and others—a title pointing back to בראשית זוטא. This name was given to it not because of its smaller bulk—for it is greater than that of the canonical Genesis—but on the ground of its inferior authority. Other variations of this title are Μικρογένεσις and τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως. In the Abyssinian Church it is named the 'Book of the Division,' from the first words of the inscription at the beginning, and we find still other designations. Thus, in the decree of Gelasius, according to Rönsch's emendation, we find 'Liber de filiabus Adæ, hoc est Leptogenesis.' This name, as Ceriani observed, was given to the book because it contains the names of all the Patriarchs' wives and assigns them a prominent rôle in the course of events—a view that is confirmed by the Syriac fragment. Again, it seems to be identified by Syncellus with 'the so-called Life of Adam'—ὁ λεγόμενος βίος Ἀδάμ;—for he cites as from that book three passages that occur in Jubilees. This *Life of Adam* may have been identical with a part of Jubilees, or a later enlargement of a portion of it. Jubilees is once described as the 'Testament of Moses,' and once as the 'Apocalypse of Moses,' but only by very late writers.

Such being the origin of Jubilees and the conditions under which it was produced, it was naturally written in the sacred language of Palestine. Of this we have direct testimony in Jer. *Ep.* 78, *ad Fabiolam, mansione* **18**, where he discusses a Hebrew word for which he could cite no authority save that of this hook. The entire cast and the idiom of the book confirm the statement of Jerome.

50. Language.

We have further testimony to the same effect in the title of the Syriac fragment, in which the present hook is designated 'The Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It is, further, impossible to deal with the textual corruptions unless we deal with them on this presupposition. In the case of many of these it is only necessary to retranslate them into Hebrew in order to discover the original misconception or misreading of the Greek translator. Some interesting transliterations of Hebrew words, moreover, still survive in the text.

Finally, fragments of the Hebrew original have come down to us embedded in the Midrashim. In these at times an entire sentence survives, preserving not only the words, hut even their original order, as we can infer from the evidence of the versions.

There were probably four versions of Jubilees—Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Latin. The first two were made from the original Hebrew. Of the *Greek* only some fragments have come down to us in Epiphanius and through such annalists as Syncellus and Cedrenns. Of the *Syriac* only a small fragment, containing the names of the Patriarchs' wives and a few other facts, survives.

51. Versions.

The Ethiopic and the Latin versions were made from the Greek version, not from the original text. The former survives almost in its entirety, and from an exhaustive comparison of the best attainable text with all existing materials we find that it is most accurate and trustworthy. It is, indeed, as a rule, servilely literal.

52. Ethiopic.

It has, of course suffered from the corruptions naturally incidental to transmission through MSS; but it is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis must have been great. Only in about a dozen instances did the temptation prove too great, with the result that changes were introduced into the text in subservience to that version.

Of the Latin version (made, as we have seen, from the Greek) more than a fourth has been preserved.

53. Latin.

First published in 1861 by Ceriani (*Mon. sacra et prof.* tom. I fasc. I, pp. 15-62), it was next edited with great learning' by Ronsch in 1874 (*Das Buch der Jub. unt. Beifüg. d. revidirten Textes der . . . lat. Fragmente*). Rönsch emended the text in many passages; but as he was not aware that it had been corrected in conformity both with 𝔊 and with the Vg., and as further, he had only a late representative' of the Ethiopic version before him, his work is defective and far from final. A critically revised text of these fragments is given in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text.

The Ethiopic MSS of which there are four, belong respectively to the National Library in Paris (A), the British Museum (B), the University Library in Tübingen (C), and to M. d'Abbadie (D). B is by far the most valuable; next in value comes A; C and D are late and very corrupt. In addition to these MSS, however, there is a vast wealth of materials for the criticism and reconstruction of the text in the Mas. and Sam. Texts, and in the Gr., Syr., Aram., and Lat. ,versions of Genesis; in the fragments of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions of Jubilees mentioned above; and in abundant other documents of a less directly serviceable nature. (a) *The Ethiopic Text* has been edited twice—first by Di. in 1859 from two MSS (C, D), and next, by the present writer from A, B, C, D.[1] Though Di. made no use of the critical materials just enumerated in the formation of his text, and it was, accordingly, in no sense a critical edition, it was a great boon to scholars at the time. (b) Three *translations* have appeared: the first by Di. in 1850 from one MS (*i.e.*, C); the second by Schodde (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1885) from Di.'s edition of the text, and the third by the present writer (*JQR*, 1894, 1895) from the text published in 1895 referred to above.

64. Text of Jubilees.

Jubilees cannot have been written later than 70 A.D.; for the temple is throughout supposed to he standing. As the hook repeatedly uses Enoch (1-36 72-104), it cannot have been written much before 60 B.C. Though there is some evidence that would place it nearer the earlier than the later date, we shall leave the date undefined for the present.

55. Date.

The author was a Palestinian Jew and a Pharisee.

56. Author.

Frankel's view (*MGWJ*, 1856, pp. 311-316, 380-400) that it was written by a Hellenistic Jew belonging to Egypt is rendered untenable by the fact that it was written originally in Hebrew. Nor can the writer have been a Samaritan, as Beer supposes (*Das Buch der Jub.*, 1856; *Noch ein Wort üb. d. Buch der Jub.*, 1857); for, whereas the text agrees in turn with MT, 𝔊, Syr. Vg., with Onkelos, and even with the Ar. against all the rest, it never, strange to say, agrees thus with the Samaritan. This evidence is conclusive in itself; but we might further observe that, in speaking of the four places most favoured of God in all the earth, the author enumerates Eden, Sinai, Zion, and the mountain in the East, but not Gerizim. Again, that he is not a Sadducee is proved by the fact that be believes in angels and in the immortality of the soul. Nor, finally, was he an Essene; for, though some characteristics (a highly-developed angelology, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul without the resurrection of the body, the exaggerated reverence for the Sabbath and the number seven) would seem to argue an Essene origin, such an origin is absolutely precluded by the enforcement of animal sacrifice and the absolute silence as to the washings and purifications that were of such importance among the Essenes. Thus, though in some legal questions of less moment (Beer, *Das Buch der Jub.*) the author's views are at variance with traditional Pharisaism, in all essentials he is emphatically a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

That Palestine was the home of the author is deducible in the first instance from the language in which he wrote. A Hellenistic Jew would not have written in Hebrew. Again (not to press other details), the duty of absolute separation from the heathen, which is repeatedly enforced, would have been impossible of fulfilment for any Jew outside Palestine.

There are several lacunae in the hook; but as far as evidence is forthcoming, these seem to be slight. It appears, on the other hand, to be free from interpolations.

57. Integrity.

A curious phenomenon, however, presents itself in chap. 7. Verses 20-39 seem to be an extract from the Book or Apocalypse of Noah, beginning in an indirect form with *v.* 20 and changing into the direct with *v.* 26, whence to the end Noah admonishes his sons in the first person. These verses are similar to the Noachic interpolations in the Book of Enoch (see above, § 24).

The contents of Jubilees may he briefly described as a haggadic commentary on the biblical text, from the creation of the world to the 'institution of the Passover, in the spirit, and from the point of view. of later Judaism. Its aim is to prove the everlasting validity of the law. The work assumes the form of a revelation to Moses, made on Mt. Sinai by the 'angel of the presence' in the first year

58. Contents and character.

1 *The Eth. Vers. of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, ed. from four MSS. R. H. Charles, M.A., 1895. Clar. Press, Oxford.

of the Exodus. The author thereby seeks to secure a divine sanction for the additions he makes to the biblical narrative. Among these the most important novelty is his chronological system.

In this system the basis of reckoning is the jubilee period of forty-nine years. This jubilee period is subdivided into seven year-weeks of seven years each. Hence, in order to date any event exactly, the author determines it **as** occurring on **a** certain day of a certain month of a certain year in a certain year-week of **a** certain jubilee period. Fifty of these jubilee periods are assumed **as** the interval between the creation and the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. His year strangely consists of fifty-two weeks (*i.e.*, 364 days), and, in opposition to the Pharisaism of his time he **claims** that the year should be regulated by the movement; of the sun without reference to those of the moon. The dates assigned to the various events, though presenting many difficulties, favour in the main the Samaritan chronology.

Another object of the author is to carry the Jewish cultns back into the patriarchal or even pre-Adamite period.

Thus we are given to understand that the angels observed the rite of circumcision; while, as regards the great annual festivals, the Feast of Weeks was observed by Noah and Abram, the Feast of Tabernacles was first celebrated by Abram about the time of the birth of **Isaac,** and the Day of Atonement was established by Jacob in memory **of** the loss of Joseph. Again, the law regarding the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. **12)** is traced to the fact that Adam was created in the first week and Eve in the second ; to this is due the command ' Seven days for a man-child and two weeks for **a** maid-child.

Certain variations from the prescribed ritual are observable in relation to the festivals. Thus, the injunction of fasting on the Day of Atonement and the exclusion of the uncircumcised from the Passover are omitted; while in the case of the Feast of Tabernacles there is no reference to the custom of drawing water from the pool of Siloam and pouring it out upon the ,altar. Though in the last instance the author agrees with the Sadducees, **it** must he admitted that the practice was **a** Pharisaic innovation and that the Sadducees had the law on their side.

Another notable characteristic of the work is the increased rigonr of many of the Levitical ordinances.

Thus, the man who eats blood is to be utterly destroyed, and the father who gives his daughter, or the brother who gives his sister, in marriage to a heathen is to he stoned to death, and the woman to he burned. Death is to he the universal penalty for breaking the Sabbath ; and the Sabbath is broken by buying or selling, by lighting a fire, by drawing water, by talking of an intended journey, or by lying with one's wife.

Another no less interesting characteristic is the care either to leave unrecorded or to palliate the faults of the Patriarchs as well as to multiply their virtues.

Thus, from the first they were scrupulous observers of the ritual and ceremonial law before its authoritative promulgation on Sinai. There is no mention made of Abram's deceit at the court of Pharaoh; Jacob's answer to Isaac's question 'Art thou my very son Esau?' is cleared from verbal falsehood by representing him **as** answering ' I am thy son. This quibble is found likewise in the Talmud, and may therefore have been **a** stock interpretation of Jewish exegesis. Again, whereas in Genesis Levi is cursed for his share in the destruction of Shechem, in Jubilees he is highly honoured for the same action and his posterity elected to an everlasting priesthood. We find the same view taken by Philo (De *Ebrietate*, **23**).

Akin to the aim just described is the attempt to justify from the standpoint of a later age the severities practised by Israel in their conquest of Canaan.

It is **a** Jewish prototype of Ronsseau's Social Contract. Thus it is represented that in the presence of an angel, Noah divided the earth by lot ambngst his three sons, and bound them and their successors by the most sacred oaths to observe the arrangement. Destruction was invoked on the head of him who transgressed it. According to the sequel, Canaan seized upon Shem's inheritance ; and thus our author justifies the extermination of his descendants by Israel.

As has already been pointed out, though the immortality of the soul is taught, there is no resurrection of the body. In the restored theocracy that is foreshadowed there may be a Messiah. See, further, ESCHATOLOGY, **§ *72*.**

For the literature of this hook see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jub.* 422-439 ; Schurer in *loc.* ; Charles, The *Book of Jubilees.*

VI. THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Of this book, which from the twelfth century was regarded as lost, a large fragment was rediscovered by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and published by him in 1861 (*Mon.* tom. i. fasc. i. pp. 55-64). This fragment was part of an old Latin version;' and is written on a palimpsest of the sixth century—the same MS that contains the Latin version of Jubilees—which originally belonged to the monastery of Bobbio.

59. Assumpt. Mos.: its fortunes.

Before this discovery, however, we were, from various sources, in some degree acquainted with the contents of the book.

Thus, the account of the strife between the archangel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses was drawn as we know (Origen, ***De Princip.* 3 21),** from the apocryphal 'hook entitled the *Ascensio Mosis—i.e.*, **ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως.** Many other writers testify to the existence of this apocryph. Besides the reference already noticed in Origen, there are other references or citations in Clem. Alex. (***Strom.* 123 153 615 132);** in Origen (***In Josuam homil.*** 2 1), Didymus Alex. ***(Zn ep.*** *Jud. enarrat.* in Gallandi, *Biblioth.* ***Patr.*** **G 307),** in Evodius, Apollinaris, the Stichometries, and in the ***Acta*** *Synodi Nicænæ*, 2 18. This last reference must he given in full as the passage quoted is found in Ceriani's fragment,—Μέλλων ὁ προφήτης Μωυσῆς ἐξιέναι τοῦ βίου, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως, προσκαλεσάμενος Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυὴ καὶ διαλεγόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· καὶ προεθεάσατό με ὁ θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην. The words quoted are thus rendered in the Latin fragment (1 14) : Itaque excogitavit et invenit me, **qui** ah initio orbis terrarum præparatus sum, **ut** sim arbiter testamenti illius. The rest of the quotations are in the main from the part of this book which is lost.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question. Thus Greek words are transliterated ; as *chedrio* from *κεδρόω* 1 17, *heremus* from ἐρῆμος 3 11, *clibsis* from θλῖψις 37, and *acrobistia* from ἀκροβυστία **83.** Again, we are not infrequently obliged to adopt not the Latin text but the Greek it presupposes, which has been misrendered by the translator. Thus 'ab oriente usque ad occidentem,' which means 'from the east to the west,' is derived from ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δυομένου, which means also ' from sunrise to sunset '—the meaning required by our context. For similar instances see 11 11 **18.**' Finally, retranslation into Greek makes it evident that in the case of some corruptions in the Latin the error arose through the confusion of different though similar forms of words : cp 2 7 3 4 **5** 6 11 16. In **4** 1 we have the Greek article rendered by *hic.*

60. Latin based on Greek.

The derivation of our text from a Semitic original was stoutly denied by Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and others. This position, however, can no longer be persevered in. A Semitic original must now be conceded. It remains a matter of debate whether the balance of evidence is in favour of an Aramaic or of a Hebrew source. Rosenthal decides for the latter ; Schmidt-Merx, Colani, and Carrihe for the former. Notwithstanding all that has been advanced by these three scholars, however, in support of their contention, the evidence points decidedly in the direction of a Hebrew original.

61. Hebrew original.

Rosenthal restores three or four passages by means of retranslation into Hebrew. In Charles's *Assumption of Moses* **(1897)** the necessity of such an hypothesis is shown alike in the Hebrew character of the Latin version and in the possibility of removing most of its corruptions by means of retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in 6 3 6 we must follow the Hebrew presupposed by the Latin , next, in **G 4** there is a play upon words possible only in the Hebrew . **again,** there are Hebrew phrases and constructions reproduced in 1 18 2 4 **7 3 3 12 G 1** 10 2. Finally, it is only through retranslation into Hebrew that we can understand the text or get rid of its corruptions in 4 9 5 5 10 9 10 16 12 **7.**

Schurer has already pointed out ***(Hist.*** 3 *82)* that the Latin version we possess is in reality a 'Testament of Moses,' although quoted in the Acts of the Council of Nicæa as the Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως, and has conjectured that 'these designations were the titles of two separate divisions of one and the same work, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second.' The present writer's studies tend in some degree to support this conjecture.

62. Real name Test. Moses.

Thus in the Latin version (1 15 and **10 14)** Moses speaks of his death **as** an ordinary one, and the same fact undoubtedly was stated in 10 12 before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one look. Thus in **10 12** the text is : 'ernnt enim a morte—receptione—m(ea) usque ad adventum Illius tempora CCL.' Schmidt-Merx omit morte,' and Hilgenfeld omits 'receptione,' these critics failing to see that 'receptione' was introduced by the final

editor into the text of the 'Testament' which recounted nothing of Moses' Assumption, in order to prepare, the reader for the main subject of the added work, the Assumption of Moses.'

Schürer apparently assumes that both the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption' were from one and the same author; but the facts stated above are against this supposition. The Latin fragment is the Διαθήκη Μωυσέως mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is there said to consist of 1100 lines. Of these about half have survived. Some writers have sought to identify this 'Testament' with the Book of Jubilees. This is impossible. Since 4300 lines are assigned to Genesis in Nicephorus' Stichometry, this 'Testament of Moses' would have above 5000 or 6000 if it were the Book of Jubilees, for the latter is much longer than Genesis.

About one-half of the original Testament has been preserved by our Latin Version.[1] It is possible that the latter half dealt with certain revelations about

63. Lost portion. creation made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight.

We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* ii. 121-122). 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi *de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam*, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur.' On the 'bright cloud' see also Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 *49.*

On the question of the date of the Assumption of Moses the opinions of critics oscillate between the

64. Date. death of Herod the Great and the death of Bar-Cochba. The later date is impossible. Ewald, Wieseler, Drummond, Dillmann, and Schiirer assign it to the first decade after Herod's death; Hilgenfeld assigns it to 44-45 A.D.; Merx to 54-64 A.D., and so also Fritzsche; Baldensperger to 50-70 A.D. On various grounds all these determinations are unsatisfactory. The real date appears to lie between 4 B.C. and 30 A.D. It cannot be later than **30 A.D.** 'Towards the close of chap. **6** it is stated that the sons of Herod should reign for a shorterperiod (*breviora tempora*) than their father—a statement that could have been made only while they were still living, since it is true of Archelaus alone; for Antipas reigned forty-three years, Philip thirty-seven, and Herod himself only thirty-four. The book must, therefore, have been written at the latest less than thirty-four years after Herods death (4 B.C.)—*i.e.*, earlier, at all events, than 30 A.D. The limits may, however, be defined more closely; for the prediction that Herods sons should rule for shorter periods than their father, may owe its origin to the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority, but still more to the actual deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D.—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of **a** divine judgment and suggest to him the prediction that appears in the text as to the impending fate of Philip and Antipas. Hence the earliest limit of composition is **7 A.D.**

As for the author, he was not **a** Sadducee; for according to chap. 10 he looks forward to the establish-

65. Author. ment of the Messianickingdom by God in person. Nor is it possible, with Wieseler and Schurer, to regard him as a Zealot; for (1) there is not a single incentive held forth to encourage men to take arms in behalf of the theocracy; (2) the actual advent of the kingdom is brought about, not by any action of the righteous in Israel, but by the archangel Michael (10 1-2) and God himself (10 3-7); **(3)** the author's ideal of duty as regards preparation for the Messianic kingdom is that depicted in 9—*i.e.*, absolute obedienceto the law andnon-resistance. The faithful Israelite was quietly to do his duty and await God's will. The writer, accordingly, glorifies the old ideals cherished and pursued by the Ḥasid and Early Pharisaic party, which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. See § 81. God would in his own good time interpose in person (10); at all events, he would avenge the death of his servants *(97)*. Our author pours the most scathing invective on his religious and political opponents, the Sadducees, whom in 7 he describes in terms that frequently recall the anti-Sadducean Pss. of Solomon. (Through some inexplicable misapprehension, Schurer and others have regarded this chapter as a description of the Pharisees.) The author, therefore, was a Pharisee, and a Pharisee who was the antithesis of the Zealot exactly in those respects in which Pharisaism differed from Zealotism. His book was designed as a protection against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its adoption of political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. To guard against the possible suggestion of an Essene author, we may remark that such a derivation is absolutely precluded by the recognition of animal sacrifices, by the declaration of the speedy coming of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, and by the strong sense of national life, unity, and triumph. See Charles's *The Assumption of Moses,* pp. 51-54; and cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 73.

The following is ah outline of the contents of **Ass.** Moses 1 1-9: Introduction. 10-17 Moses tells Joshua that he is about to die, and commits certain books of prophecies to his

***66.* Contents.** safe keeping. In 2 *f.* the subsequent history of Israel down to the captivity is briefly but clearly outlined. In their captivity the tribes remember that all that had befallen them had already been foretold by Moses. In **4,** owing to the prayers of one who is over them (Daniel), God will take pity on them and raise up a king (Cyrus) who will restore some fragments of their tribes to their own land. These will mourn because of their inability to sacrifice to the God of their fathers. Judgment *(5 1)* will overtake their oppressors (the Seleucid kings). Yet they themselves (the Sadducees and the Hasids) will he divided as to what is true, and the altar and temple will he defiled by men who are not priests (as Menelaus, who was a Benjamite), but slaves born of slaves (5 2-4) (the paganising high-priests who were nominees of the Seleucidæ), and many of them (the Sadducean priesthood and aristocracy), moreover, will be respecters of persons and unjust, and their country **will** he filled with unrighteousness **(5** 5-6). Then **(8** 1-5) a fresh vengeance will alight upon them, in which the king of kings (Antiochus) will crucify those who confess to their circumcision, and force them to bear on their slioulders impure idols, and to blaspheme the word. **A** man of the tribe of Levi (9 1-7), whose name is Taxo (*i.e.*, Eleazar [2 Mac. 6 19]; for, as Burkitt has discovered, Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc=ταξωκ=תכסוק uhich by gemetria=אלעזר), will say to his seven sons: 'Let us fast three days, and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field and die, rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers. In 6 1-7 we are told of the assumption of royal power by the Maccabees, and of Herod as their successor who is to reign for thirty-four years. **He** will beget sons who will reign as his successors, but for shorter periods. Tden follows (6 8 *f.*) the capture of Jerusalem by a king of the west (Varus). Soon after, Judæa becomes a Roman province. The author next launches out into a scathing denunciation of the Sadducees, of whose injustice, greed, and gluttony we have an account in 7. Thereupon **(10** 1-10) the times are fulfilled, and God appears to judge the enemies of Israel **(10).** Moses is then represented as exhorting Joshua to guard these words and this book (10 11). When Joshua deplores his inability to lead Israel (11), Moses bids him not to depreciate himself and not to despair of the future of his people (12). Here the fragment ends.

67. Bibliography.

Ceriani, *Mon. Sacr.* vol. i. fasc. 1 (1861); Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum* (1869), 435-468, cp *Prol.* 70-76, and *Clem. Rom. Epist.*[2] (1876), 107-135; Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt and Merx (*Archiv f. wiss. Erforschung des ATs*, I. ii. 111-152, *1868);* Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. VT* (1871), 700-730; cp Prol. *32-36*; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), *74-84*; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1888), 23-31, 114-118; Deane, *Pseudepigr.* (1891), 95-130; Schiirer, *Hist.* 5 73-83; Charles, *The Ass. of Mos.* (1897). For complete bibliography, see the two works **last** mentioned.

[1] It is to be remarked that we have in this Latin Fragment a clear instance of dislocation of the text. The perception of this fact removes some of the main difficulties in the way of interpretation. In order to recover the original order, we have to restore 8 *f.* to their original position, before 6. For the grounds of this restoration of the text, see the present writer's edition of the hook.

VII. THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—The earliest reference to this book by name is in Origen in his *Hom. in Josuam*, 156 (Ed. Lommatzsch 11143): 'in aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharnm, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus, quod per singulos peccantes singuli Satanæ intelligi debeant' (cp Reuben 3). It is possible, indeed, that in the preceding century the ideas of *Fragment* 17 in Stieren's edition of Irenæus (1836-837) are derived from this book—*ἐξ ὧν* 6 *Χριστὸς προετυπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσὴφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη· διὰ δὲ τοῦ Συμεὼν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπεγνώσθη . . . διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμίν, τοῦ Παύλου, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρυχθεὶς ἐδοξάσθη*. This conjunction of Simeon and Levi is found in Sim. 7; Lev. 2 8; Dan 5; Gad 8; Jos. 19; Benj. 11. Since, however, it is now demonstrable that the Christian elements in the Testaments are due to interpolation, it is not possible at the present stage of criticism to determine the relative chronology of these elements and the writings of Irenæus.

68. Test. xii. Patr.; its fortunes.

The passages in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5 1, *Scorpiace* 13 which most critics from Grabe onwards have regarded as based on Benj. 11, are due, as Schiirer has already recognised, simply to the patristic interpretation of Gen. 4927. This eleventh chap. of Benj., which contains the striking account of Paul, is not found in the Armenian version, and is for the most part wanting in the Greek MS R. On these and on other grounds we may safely regard it as one of the latest of the Christian interpolations.

There is possibly an allusion to this book in the contemptuous words of Jerome, *Adv. Vigilant.* 6. The Testaments are next mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, in the *Synopsis Athanasii* as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Petra, and others. In these lists the book is simply called *Πατριάρχαι*. After this date the Testaments are lost to knowledge till their reappearance in the thirteenth century, when Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, translated them from Greek into Latin. The MS from which the translation was made is the tenth century Cambridge MS of this book (Sinker). This Latin version was the parent of almost all the European versions.

69. Title.

The work consists, as its present title indicates, of the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. Each Testament deals with a fresh and special side of the ethical life, with some virtue or vice which finds apt illustration in the life of the particular patriarch. Thus, according to the titles in Sinker's text, Simeon deals with the vice of envy, Zebulun with compassion and mercy, Dan with anger and lying, Gad with hatred, Joseph with chastity, and Benjamin with a pure mind. These titles are appropriate; but in manuscripts O and R all mention of the virtues and vices is omitted; in P they are generally wanting, and when they are given they differ in all but two instances from Sinker's text, while in the Armenian version they are wanting in Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; for 'concerning chastity' in the title of the Test. Joseph we have 'concerning envy'; they differ in the case of Levi, Gad, and Asher; only in the case of Judah do they give a divided support to the Cambridge MS, which Sinker follows. We may, therefore, regard the title of each Testament as originally consisting of the word *Διαθήκη*, followed by the name of the patriarch to whom it was attributed. It is possible, moreover, that the title was originally still shorter—*i.e.*, as we find it in the Oxford MS, merely the name of the patriarch. The fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus and in the Synopsis Athanasii, as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Petra, and others, this book as a whole is designated simply *Πατριάρχαι* points in the same direction; and this evidence is the more weighty since the adjoining books in these lists have their full titles given. This supposition receives further support from the initial words of the Testaments themselves. In the case of seven of the Testaments the contents are simply described as the *λόγοι* of the Patriarchs, which they spake or ordained (*λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν*, or *διατίθεσθαι*) before they died. It is only in the case of the remaining five that each is described as a *διαθήκη* which the patriarch spake, enjoined, or ordained (*λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, ἐντέλλεσθαι, διατίθεσθαι*). It is probable, therefore, that the original title of the entire book was 'The Twelve Patriarchs.'

70. Contents.

In the next place, it is noteworthy that in each of the Testaments three elements are distinguishable. (1) In each instance the patriarch gives a brief or detailed account of his life, in which his particular virtues or vices are vigorously emphnsised. The biblical notices of his life are expanded and enriched after the manner of haggadic Midrash. In a few instances their place is taken by materials that conflict directly with the biblical narrative. (2) The patriarch next proceeds to press upon his children a series of exhortations based upon and naturally suggested by the virtues or the vices conspicuous in his own career; they are to imitate the one and to shun the other. (3) Finally, the patriarch gives utterance to certain predictions which bear upon the future of his descendants, and the evils of overthrow and captivity which they will entail upon themselves by their sins and apostasies, and their breach with the tribes of Levi and Judah. These predictions are generally *(a)* of purely Jewish authorship; but many are *(b)* distinctively Christian.

71. Compositeness.

To account for the difficulties which confront us in this work, Grabe (*Spicileg. Patrum*[2] [1714], 1 129-144 335-374), was the first to suggest that the book was written by a Jew and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis was for the time so successfully combated by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 2 101-110) that most subsequent writers, such as Nitzsch, Liicke, Ritschl, Vorstman, Hilgenfeld, Dillmann, and Sinker, have practically ignored the question of the integrity of the book and confined themselves mainly to the discussion of the religious and national affinities of the author.

Nitzsch (*De Test. xii. Patriarch. libro VT pseud.*, Wittenberg, 1810) describes the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed many of the Essene doctrines that were then current. Ritschl (*Entsteh. der altkathol. Kirche.* 1. Aufl. 322 *ff.*) assigns the book to a Gentile Christian, appealing principally to Benj. 11 (a chapter really due to Christian interpolation: see § 68). Ritschl's view was vigorously assailed by Kayser ('Die Test. d. Zwölf Patr.' in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beitr. zu den theol. Wissenschaften* [1851], 107-140), who on several grounds derives the hook from Ebionitic circles, reviving on a large scale Grabe's theory of interpolation in order to arrive at this result. Kayser's treatise was in turn examined by Vorstman (*De Test. xii. Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, 1857), who, after a detailed criticism of Kayser's arguments, concluded that the Testaments present no trace of Ehionism, but were the work of a Gentile Christian. Hardly had Vorstman thus vindicated the view of Ritschl when a second edition of this scholar's work (see above) appeared, in which his former contention (pp. 172-177) was abandoned as impossible, and the theory of a Nazarene authorship was advocated. Ritschl's first view: however, has received the continued support of Hilgenfeld (*ZWT* [1858], 395 *ff.* [1871] 302 *ff.*), whilst Langen (*Das Judenthum in Pal. zur Zeit Christi*, 140-157) and Sinker (*The Test. xii. Patr.* [1869], 16-34; art. 'Test. xii. Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 4 865-874) hold fast to the theory of a Jewish Christian authorship.

If there were no other methods of determining the questions of authorship and date than those pursued by Nitzsch and his successors, finality or even progress in such matters would be a sheer impossibility. To Schnapp (*Die Test. der xii. Patr. untersucht*, Halle, 1884), however, is due the credit of lifting the criticism of this book out of the arena of fruitless logomachies by returning to Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that in its original form the book consisted of biographical details respecting each of the patriarchs and of exhortations suggested by these details. Thus the work com-

prised only two of the three elements mentioned in the preceding section (§ 70). Subsequently, however, the book was worked over by a Jewish writer, who inserted, generally towards the end of each Testament, sections dealing with the future fortunes of the tribes and other matter of an apocalyptic nature. Finally, at a later period still, the book thus enlarged was revised by a Christian, who in some passages merely modified the text by slight changes, but in others made large interpolations. Thus we have three writers concerned in the Testaments: the original Jewish author, the Jewish interpolator, and the Christian interpolator. It is not difficult to prove that in the main this theory is true.

Thus in the Testament of Joseph we have two partially conflicting accounts derived from different authors—*i.e.*, 1-10*a*, and 106-18. As early as **1869**, indeed Sinker suggested a composite authorship as the solution of 'certain difficulties in the narrative, but he made no attempt to verify this hypothesis, and so it was reserved for Schnapp to establish beyond question the dual origin of this Testament and the other Testaments. The same compositeness is observable on a smaller scale in Benj. **2**, where 2*b* conflicts with 2n and with every other reference to the same subject in the rest of the Testaments. Again, in Levi 2 ὡς δὲ ἐποιμαίνομεν . . . 6 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου we have **a** large addition which conflicts with the words before and after. Levi 8 *f.* ἤλθομεν εἰς Βεθήλ is open to the same criticism. Again, in Dan 5, in adjoining sentences, Levi is commended as the guide and stay of Israel and denounced as the leader in Israel's apostasy. It is needless to multiply such instances further. The presence of additions to the list from a Jewish interpolator is unquestionable.[1]

It is, however, no less certain that all the Christian passages have been inserted in the text not, as Schnapp supposed, by a single Christian interpolator, but by a succession of such interpolators.

The grounds for this conclusion will he found in Conyheare's valuahle article 'On the Jewish authorship of the Twelve Patriarchs' (*JQR* ['93], **375-398**). By collating the Armenian version with the Greek text of Sinker, this scholar has shown that most of the Christian passages in the latter are not to he found in the former. Thus when the Greek MS used in making the Armenian version was written, the process of Christian interpolation had advanced only a short way in the direction in which later it progressed so far. In the Armenian version we have thus a striking confirmation of the critical sagacity of the scholars who saw in the Testaments a Jewish work interpolated later from Christian sources. With the fresh materials at our disposal, there is **a** splendid opportunity for a critical edition of the text, and **a** scientific edition of the work in which the various elements will he duly discriminated, their dates as far as possible determined, and their hearing on history elucidated.

We have now arrived at a stage when we are in a position to consider the question of the original language of the Testaments. Apart from Grabe, no notable critic has advocated a Hebrew or Aramaic original. This is only what might be expected, since nearly all the students of this book believed in its integrity and Christian authorship. However, now that by means of external and internal evidence we have come to see that the book was originally Jewish, the question as to its original language can no longer be evaded. On two grounds the present writer is inclined to advocate a Hebrew original. Space does not suffice for dealing with the first here. Let it merely be observed that fragments have been found in the Testaments which are not explicable on the assumption of a date later than 100 B.C. This and other kindred questions will be dealt with at length in the present writer's forthcoming edition of the Testaments. The second reason for supposing a Semitic origin is to be found in the language. Dr. Gaster ('The Hebrew text of one of the 'Test. xii. Patr.' *PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Feb. 1894) gives some evidence which points in this direction.

72. Language.

In the article just referred to, indeed, he publishes what he claims to he the 'actual Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali' entitled צוואת נפתלי. 'In this text,' he writes, 'we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation.' He adds: 'The Greek counterpart of the Hebrew makes no sense and has no meaning at all: while the Hebrew is rounded off and complete, and perfectly clear. It is not necessary to traverse these statements at any length

[1] Most of Schnapp's conclusions have been accepted by Schürer (Hist. 5 **114-124**).

First of all, the style of the Hebrew is not earlier, as Dr. Neubauer informs us, than the 7th or the 8th century A.D. In the next place, even if it were early, it can lay no claim to being the original of the Greek 'Testament. All that could he urged is that the two texts possess some material in common. Their aim and their spirit are as antagonistic as possible. This Hebrew Naphtali, in fact is a strong polemic against Joseph, whereas in the Greek Test.' xii. Patr. as well as in Jubilees, Joseph is universally extolled for his goodness and virtue, and the various patriarchs are punished in proportion as they are hostile to Joseph. By the name of Joseph in this polemical treatise we are probably to understand the ten tribes and their successors the Samaritans. Though this treatise was probably composed long after the Christian era, it is based on old materials, some of which are common to it and the Greek Test. Naph.; and thus Gaster is probably right in observing that in chap. 6 the text must he corrupt where the ship that comes sailing by is said to he μεστὸν ταριχῶν, ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν καὶ κυβερνήτου. The μεστὸν ταρίχων—'full of salt fish'—cannot he correct. It was probably due to **a** corrupt dittography of בְלֹא מֶלַח, as מלא מֶלַח, for in the Hehrew 'Testament' the text runs והנה אנייה הולכת בלב ים בלא מלח ובלא איש.

Subjoined are some of the arguments for a Hebrew original.

(1) Hebrew constructions and expressions are frequent. Thus, συνιὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (Reub. 3)= בָן בתורה; ἐναυ τῷ ἐξελέξατο (6)= בחר ב; πάντας αὐτούς (Jud. 1)=כֻלָּם, βαρύς (*ib.*)=large—*i.e.*, כבד; βέθ (9) transliteration of בת: ποιεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν (Joseph. 12)=עשה משפט עם, etc. (2) Paronomasiæ, which are lost in the Greek hut can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew, are frequent. Thus in Sim. 2 ἡ μήτηρ μου ἐκάλεσέ με Συμεῶνα ὅτι ἤκουσε κύριος τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῆς=ותקרא אמי את שמי שמעון כי שמע אל תפלתה. In Levi 11 ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Γηρσάμ. ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν πάροικοι ἦμεν=ותקרא את שמו גרשם כי גרים היינו בארצנו; ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Μεραρὶ ὅ ἐστι πικρία μου=ותקרא את שמו מררי הוא מררי; Ἰωχαβέδ . . . ἐτέχθη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἔνδοξος γὰρ ἤμην=יכבד נולדה במ׳ כי נכבד אני. In Zab. 1 ἐγώ εἰμι Ζαβουλών, δόσις ἀγαθὴ τοῖς γονεῦσί μου=זבולן הוא זבד טוב. In Naph. 1 ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε Ῥαχὴλ . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην Νεφθαλείμ=נפתלה רחל . . . לכן נקראתי נפתלי. In the closing words of this same chapter we have two paronomasiæ on the name Bilhah. ἔτεκε τὴν Βάλλαν, λέγων· καινόσπουδός μου ἡ θυγάτηρ· εὐθὺς γὰρ τεχθεῖσα ἔσπευδε θηλάζειν=ילד את־בלהה לאמר בהלה בתולתי כי . . . בהלה לינק. In Issach. i. διὰ τὸν μισθὸν ἐκλήθην Ἰσάχαρ=בשכר נקראתי יששכר. The Hebraisms given in no. 1 might occur it is true, in an Hellenistic Greek original; hut it is otherwisd with regard to the 'linguistic' phenomena just dealt with. These undoubtedly postulate **a** Hebrew original. (3) A third and final argument enforces the same postulate. There are certain passages, obscure or unintelligible in the Greek, which become clear on retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in Zab. **4** ἔβαλον ἐσθίειν is unintelligible Greek. This is the text of C and **O**. R and P correct the text, the former giving ἐκάθισαν ἐσθίειν, and the latter ἤρξαντο ἐσθίειν, both of which yield an excellent sense. They are, however, merely late emendations, and we must therefore start from the best attested text ἔβαλον ἐσθίειν=ישימו לאכל='they served up food.' It is possible, indeed, that the idea of R is right, and that ישימו is corrupt for ישבו. Hence 'they sat down to eat.' In Gad **4** it is obvious from the contrast instituted between ὀλιγοψυχία and μακροθυμία that we must take the former not in its natural meaning as 'faintheartedness' but as 'impatience.' Hence we have here **a** mistranslation of קצר רוח. Exactly the same contrast appears in Prov. 25 15, and the same false rendering in 𝔊. Again, in Gad 7, ἀφαιρεῖται αὐτὰ & κακοῖς must mean 'He taketh them (*i.e.*, riches) away from the wicked,' or 'when [*men*] are wicked." Thus ἐν κακοῖς seems due to confusing ברשעים and מרשעים, and should be ἐν κακοῖς.

Before leaving the question of a Hebrew original it will be well to notice some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Sinker in favour of the original being Greek.

(1) He urges that the very title αἱ διαθῆκαι κ.τ.λ. is against the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. But it is probable that the title was merely οἱ ιβ' πατριάρχαι; sees **69**, end. (2) He argues that such paronomasiæ as ἀθετεῖν, νουθετεῖν (Benj. **4**); ἀναίρεσις, ἀφαίρεσις (Judah 23); ἐν τάξει, ἄτακτον; and τάξις, ἀταξία (Nap. 2 3) imply a Greek original. As regards the first pair, they are late interpolations, since the passage in which they occur is wanting in the Armenian version and in **O R**. As regards the second pair, P reads ἀναίρεσις in both cases, R omits ἀφαίρεσις, and the Armenian version omits ἀναίρεσις. It is probable, therefore, that there was no paronomasia in the early Greek version. There is no weight attaching to the other paronomasiae cited. **(3)** Again, Mr. Sinker speaks of the use of certain philosophical terms as favouring a Greek original. But these are found also in 𝔊. **(4)** Again, the use of 𝔊 in Judah **24**, which he presses in favour of a Greek original, is no longer a valid argument, since we find from the Armenian version that the passage in which it occurs is a Christian interpolation.

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the groundwork of the Testaments was originally written

in Hebrew. The additions of the Jewish interpolator were, as far as I have examined them, in the same language. Christian interpolations were introduced at the close of the first century of the Christian era, and some probably as late as the third or the fourth.

73. Versions. The earliest versions were the Greek, the Syriac, and the Armenian. Of the *Syriac* version only **a** fragment survives, preserved in the British Museum *(Cat. of **Syriac** MSS* Cod. 86180). Of the *Armenian* version six MSS, varying in date from 1220 to 1656, are in Venice (in the Library of the Mechitarists of San Lazzaro); one, of 1388, in Vienna; another, of the fourteenth century: in the library of Lord de la Zouche; and **a** ninth, in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. An edition of the Armenian version by the Mechitarist Fathers is soon to issue from the press. No trace has as yet been discovered of **a** ***Latin*** version anterior to that of Grosseteste in the thirteenth century. This version and the later European versions are of no critical worth. There is also an old *Slavonic* version published by Tichonrawow in the *Denkm.* ***der altruss. Apocri. Lit.***, St. Petersburg, 1863.

74. The Greek MSS. Four[1] of these MSS have already been made known to the public: the Cambridge MS of the tenth century, and the Oxford MS of the fourteenth, through Sinker's edition of the Greek text, the Vatican MS of the thirteenth and the Patmps MS of the sixteenth through the Appendix he published in 1879. These four MSS are designated by their editor respectively as C O R P, and this notation has been followed in the present article.

75. Date. It has already been observed that the process of Christian interpolation probably extended from the close of the first century A.D. to the fourth. As regards the apocalyptic sections (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 61), which are due to a Jewish interpolator, we have no means at present of determining their date with any exactness. Some of them are the oldest portions in the book, and were probably written in the second century B.C.; but some of them are very much later, since they contain citations from the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Enoch. As far as the present writer has examined them, he is inclined to regard them as all springing from a Hebrew original. The date, therefore, of these interpolations may possibly extend from the second century B.C. to 30 **A.D.** It may be added, partly on the evidence of the Armenian version and partly from the context, that it is clear that in Levi 15, Judith 23, and Dan 5, there are no references to the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. The groundwork may have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. We can hardly suppose it to be based upon Jubilees, for it never mentions it; yet, since it possesses in common with it a vast mass of biographical details as well as the same chronological system, it is natural to regard both works as almost contemporary and as emanating from the same school of thought.

76. Christology. No attempt has been made to give a systematic statement of the Christology, since the passages relating to this subject are derived-not from one writer or period, but from a variety of scribes and times. The value, therefore, of the Christological portions in this book is slight.

77. Pss. Sol.; its fortunes. VIII. THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Very little is known of the early history of these psalms. Only six direct and undoubted references to them are found in early literature.

Four of these occur in catalogues of canonical and uncanonical books—viz., in the *Synopsis Athanasii*, the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the 'Sixty Books,' and the table of contents in the Alexandrian MS. The fifth reference is found in the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which ordains ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης. The sixth belongs to the twelfth century, and consists merely of **a** note on this canon. With doubtful references we have here no concern.

[1] Mr. Sinker has since discovered two other Greek MSS; and these six MSS, with the other versions, he is using as the foundation of **a** new Greek Text which, we hope, will see the light soon.

It is obvious, therefore, that the book never attained a large circulation. On the other hand, as Ryle and James point out, 'where it was read' it was 'read with respect'; for 'it is the solitary instance of an OT book which, from being merely ἀντιλεγόμενον, became ἀπόκρυφον.' As belonging to the former it appears in the first two lists above mentioned; as an ἀπόκρυφον it is enrolled in the 'Sixty Books.'

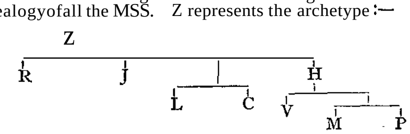
78. Extent. It is notable in the next place that, whereas these psalms are designated in the first two lists as ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ (Fabricius ᾠδαὶ) Σολομῶντος and ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ (*varia lectio*-ὴ)[1] Σολομῶντος, στίχοι, ͵βρ', in the next two they are described simply as ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος, with the addition of ιή in the case of A. The book, therefore, circulated as early as the fifth century in two forms: one consisting simply of the eighteen 'Psalms of Solomon,' the other of these together with certain Odes. The first form is the older. The second probably originated in an attempt to supplement a defective edition of the first by certain odes or songs, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian, authorship, that were current under Solomon's name. For if we accept the number of στίχοι assigned to the psalms in the MSS (*i.e.*, 1000), we must regard the present psalms as deficient to the extent of 300. On the other hand, as the Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns 2100 στίχοι to the psalms and the odes combined, the odes themselves must have been about the same length as the psalms. Of the odes only five have been preserved. These are edited in an appendix to the edition of Ryle and James.

79. Text. Up to the present, five MSS of this book have been found: but of these the Augsburg MS has long been lost, though we possess **a** record of its readings in de la Cerda's edition, which was based upon it. The second codex is that of Vienna (=V). This MS was collated by Haupt for Hilgenfeld's two editions (*ZWTh.* [1868], 133-168 and *Messias Judæorum*, 1869, pp. xi-xviii 1-33); but the collation has been recently shown to be most inaccurate. The next edition is that of Geiger, ***Der Psalt. Salomo's herausg. u. erkl.*** (1871), based on the same critical materials as Hilgenfeld's. Though agreeing with Hilgenfeld as to the date and situation, Geiger maintains, in opposition to him, the Hebrew original. Fritzsche's edition was published in the same year (*Libri apoc.* ***VT*** *græce*, 569-89); and that of Pick in 1883 (*Presb. Rev.* 775-813). The third codex is the Copenhagen one (=H), to which attention was first called hy Graux in the ***Rev.*** *Crit.* (1877) 291-293. The Moscow (=M) and Paris (=P) MSS were discovered and collated hy Gebhardt. All these authorities have been used in the edition of Ryle and James (ψαλμοὶ **Σολομῶντος, *The Psalms of the Pharisees*, 1891).** In this edition, eminent alike for its learning and for its critical insight, the reader will find everything worth knowing on the subject.[2] For the remaining literature on these psalms we mnst refer the student to this **work** (*Introd.* 13-21), and to Schür. ***(in loc.)***; but we must not forget two of the most fruitful studies that have yet been made—namely, an article by Movers in Herder's *Kirchen-* ***Lexicon*** (1847), and an Appendix to We.'s ***Die Phar. u. Sadd.*** (1874), which contains the translation with notes.

The date must be determined by the references to

[1] Ryle and James make it clear that in both cases 'we should read the plural, against the best MSS.'

[2] Since the above account was written two new editions of the text have appeared. The first is that of Swete ***(The OT in Greek,*** 3765-787). This editor has made a valuable contribution to the criticism of the text by means of a hitherto uncollated MS (which Gehhardt designates R) belonging to the Vatican. According to Gehhardt, however, his collation of this MS is deficient in point of accuracy. The second edition is that of **O.** von Gehhardt (ψαλμοὶ Σαλομῶντος—*Die Psalmen Salomonis zum ersten* ***Male*** *mit Benutzung d.* ***A****thoshandschriften und* ***d. Cod. Casanatensis,*** Leipzig, 1895). In the formation of his text Gebhardt has used the MSS **C** H J L R. Of these only H (the Copenhagen MS) was used by Ryle and James, and H R by Swete. Hence C J **I**, are here used for the first time. These are respectively the Codd. Iberiticus, Laura-Klostu, and Casanatensis. The remaining MSS, M P **V,** Gebhardt regards as not deserving consideration. He gives the following genealogy of all the MSS. Z represents the archetype:—



contemporary events; and, as these are many and varied, there will be little difficultyin assigning a definite period to the activities of the authors.

80. Date.

The book opens with the alarms of war (1 2, 8 1) in the midst of a period of great material prosperity (1 3 *f.* 8 7); but the prosperity is only seeming : from their ruler to the vilest of the people they are altogether sinful (17 21 *f.*). The king, too, belongs to the family that has usurped the throne of David (17 6-8). A righteous judgment, however, speedily comes upon them. A hostile army advances against them, led by a 'mighty striker,' who came from the ends of the earth (8 16). The princes of the land go forth to meet him with joy, and greet him with the words 'Blessed is thy path ; come ye, enter in with peace' (8 18). When) he has established himself within the city he seizes its strongholds (8 21); he casts down its fenced walls with the battering ram (2 1). Then the Gentiles tread Jerusalem under foot (2 20) ; yea, they pollute even the altar with their presence (2 2). Its princes and wise counsellors are put to the sword, and the blood of its inhabitants flows like water (8 23); its sons and daughters are carried away captive *to* the West (8 24 17 14) to serve in bondage (2 6), and its princes to grace the triumph of their conqueror (17 14). But the dragon who has conquered Jerusalem (2 29), aimed at lordship of land and sea, and thought himself to be more than man, at last meets with shameful death on the shores of Egypt, and there is none to bury him (2 30 *f.*).

There can be little doubt now as to the interpretation of these facts. The family that had usurped the throne of David are the Asmonæans, who, since 105 B.C., had assumed the regal name. The 'mighty striker' who comes 'from the ends of the earth' is Pompey. The princes who welcomed his approach are Aristobūlus 11. and Hyrcanus, II. When the followers of the latter opened the gates to Pompey, the party of Aristobulus shut themselves up within the temple, where they were besieged by Pompey and their defences battered down with battering-rams. The massacre that follows, and the carrying away captive *to the West* of princes and people, agree only with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Finally, the circumstances attending the death of the conqueror on the shores of Egypt recall the death of Pompey in a mahner that cannot be misconceived.

We conclude, therefore, that the second psalm was written very, soon after the death of Pompey in 48 B. C., and that 1, 8, 17 were composed between 63 and 48, as they presuppose Pompey's capture of Jerusalem but show no knowledge of his death. Psalms 5, 7, 9, 13, and 15 seem, to allude to the same sequence of events as 1, 8, and 17, and therefore to belong to the same period. In 4 and 12, on the other hand, 'the sinners' are denounced ; but as yet no visitation by the Gentiles is spoken of, nor any interposition of the Gentiles in Jewish affairs foretold. Hence these psalms are probably anterior to 64 B.C. Psalms 3, 4, 11, 14, and 16 betray no distinctly historical colouring ; but there is nothing in them which requires us to assume different authorship and date from those of the other psalms. We may, therefore, with Ryle and James, safely assign 70-40 B.C. as the limits within which the psalms were written.

It may he added that Movers, Del. and Keim have identified the invader of Palestine with Herod ; but this is impossible on many grounds ; and just as many difficulties are against Ew.'s identification of this personage with Antiochus Epiphanes. In fact, all modern critics support the view advocated above.

81. Authorship.

The authors were clearly Pharisees. Thus they divide their countrymen into 'righteous' (*δίκαιοι*; 2 38 *f.* 33-5 7 *f.* 14 49 etc.) and 'sinners' (*ἁμαρτωλοί*; 238 3 13 49 13 5 6 7 10), 'saints' (*ὅσιοι*; 3 10 47 840 etc.) and 'transgressors' (*παράνομοι*; 4 11 13212 7 12 1-4 17 27), of whom the former were the Pharisees and the latter the Sadducees. They assail the 'sinners' for having usurped the throne of David (17 5 8) and laid violent hands on the high-priesthood (176). This assault on the Asmonæan house evidently emanates from a Pharisee.

The authors further denounce the priests for polluting the holy things by their uncleanness and their neglect of the true observances (2 3 5 8 13 26), and likewise for outdoing the heathen in their abominations (18 8 9). Their attitude, moreover, to the law, their conception of the theocracy, their ideal of the bearing of a righteous man in the case of Gentile oppression, all alike mark them out as belonging to the Pharisaic school. To the same school appertains the doctrine taught regarding future retribution and the Messiah. In regard to the last, Ryle and James observe with justice that the Messianic conception in these psalms 'marks the revolution which had passed over Pharisaic thought since the time, not a century before, when Israel's mission in the world was identified only with the fulfilment and dissemination of the law. . . . The heroic deeds of Judas Maccabæus and his brothers had rekindled the ardour of the people for a Jewish dynasty and a Jewish kingdom ; and the Pharisaic supporters of a theocracy were powerless so long as their teaching showed no sympathy with this patriotic enthusiasm.' **But** as it was hopeless to look for Israel's redemption to the helpless and hated later Asmonaeans, so it is just at this crisis that the author of these psalms 'combines the recognition of the failure of the Asmonæan house with the popular enthusiasm for a Jewish monarchy' (p. 57). Thus the Pharisees 'appealed to the patriotic feelings of those who had no power to appreciate the abstract beauty of the old legalism. By its hope for a "son of David" it proclaimed the downfall of the Levitical Asmonaan house. By its ideal reign of "wisdom and righteousness," it asserted the fundamental Pharisaic position that the law was supreme. Thus 'the Messianic representation of our seventeenth psalm marks the stage at which Pharisaic thought passed beyond the narrow limits of its earlier teaching, and availed itself of the popular aspiration for an earthly kingdom.' This step, however, 'entailed upon the theocratic party no policy beyond the exercise of patience till God should raise up the king, and until then the minute observance of this law' (p. 58). Against the attitude adopted by the writers of this book the *Assumption of Moses* is a protest from beginning to end (see above, § 65).

We give below (§ 85) some grounds for assuming that pss. 1-16 and 17-18 are due to different writers.

82. Place.

As the main interests of the psalms centre in Jerusalem, the writer probably lived in that city.

It is 'the City of the Sanctuary' (84); in it shall the song of triumph be sung when God brings hack its children from the east and from the west (11 1-3). Though Jerusalem has now been trodden under foot by the Gentiles (2 2), the Messiah will cleanse it from all such pollution (17 25 33), and thither all the nations of the earth will go up to see the Messiah's glory (17 34). The psalmist's indictment of the Sadducean members of the Sanhedrim (4 1), and his account of their vices and ahominations, are best understood as coming from a contemporary inhabitant of Jerusalem. To the writer of psalms 2, 8, and 17 that city is the centre of all the world, and the history of other nations or world-empires is of moment only in as far as it connects itself with 'the Holy City.'

83. Language.

The circumstances connected with these psalms point undoubtedly to a Hebrew original—*i.e.*, their composition, *circa* 70-40 B.C., by a Pharisee residing in Jerusalem :—and. notwithstanding Hilgenfeld's strong advocacy of 'a Greek original, all modern scholars admit that the psalms were composed in Hebrew.

This fact was first established by Geiger in opposition to Hilgenfeld's view. It has further been substantiated by Ryle and James with a fulness and insight that cannot fail to win conviction (*Introd.* pp. 77-87). As for the Greek translation, we may provisionally accept the date assigned by the editors just named, who, by a hypothetical train of reasoning, show that it 'is not later than the middle of the first century A.D.'

84. Greek version.

85. Eschatology.

We will now sketch in a few words some of the teaching of these psalms regarding the Messiah and the resurrection. First, in regard to the Messiah, the writer of psalm 17 returns to the conception of the prophets and describes him as 'the son of David' (17 23). He calls him also 'the Anointed One' (v.36, cp 18 6 8)—a title that had been applied a few years before to the ideal Messianic king in association with supernatural attributes (Enoch 48 10 52 4). Here, however, the Messiah is a man and nothing more,

He is to be raised up by God himself (17 23, cp 18 6). He is to destroy the supremacy of the Gentiles (the Romans) and drive them forth from the borders of Israel (17 25 27 31). The 'proud sinners' (the Sadducees) will be expelled from the heritage of God which they had unlawfully seized (*vv.* 26 *f.* 41 51). The Messiah will purge Jerusalem from all impurity and make it his capital (*vv.* 33 35) ; he will bring hack *to* Palestine the dispersed tribes (*vv.* 28 34 50); the Gentiles will become tributary and he converted *to* the faith of Israel (*vv.* 31 *f.* 34). He shall himself be free from sin (*v.* 41), and all his people will he holy (*u.* 36). Further, he will not conquer by force of arms (*v.* 37), but will smite the earth with the word of his mouth (*v.* 39). Finally, his rule is temporary (*v.* 42): 'He shall not faint all his days.' Only the surviving righteous share in his kingdom (17 50) ; the departed righteous are not raised *to* participate in it.

As these hopes of the Messiah are confined to pss. 17 *f.*, and as not even the remotest hint of such hopes can be discovered in the preceeding sixteen psalms, it appears necessary to assume for them a difference of authorship.

In these, we should observe, there is not a hint that redress for present evils is to be looked for from the Messiah. In every instance the Psalmist expresses his faith that wrong will be set right either by God's present judgments, by which his righteousness is or shall be justified (2 36 4 9 8 7 9 3), or by his final judgment of the world, when the righteous shall rise to eternal life (3 16 14 6), and hell and destruction and darkness shall be the heritage of transgressors (14 6 15 14). This final judgment is spoken of as a 'visitation' of God upon the righteous and the wicked (3 14-16 15 14 *f.*); it is likewise called in respect of the righteous 'the day of mercy for the righteous' (14 6 18 6), whereas in respect of the wicked it is named 'the day of the judgment of the Lord' (15 13).

Since there is in pss. 1-16 only a resurrection of the righteous, Sheol was conceived as the perpetual abode of the wicked, 16 2. Into Sheol, thus conceived as hell, the wicked enter immediately on death (16 2 compared with 14 6 15 11): The intermediate abode of the righteous is probably to be regarded as the 'treasuries' to which we find the first reference in Eth. En. 100 5. See also ESCHATOLOGY, § 67.

IX. THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES. — The Sibylline literature belongs to a class of productions highly characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism.

86. Propagandist Literature.

'These,' as Schürer aptly remarks, 'were Jewish works under a heathen mask.' However divergent the outward form assumed, they all exhibited one characteristic in common: they addressed themselves to heathen readers, under cloak of some name that was influential in the heathen world, and in the form most natural to their alleged origin. Indirectly or directly, their aim was the propagation of Judaism among the Gentiles. Whilst the works ascribed to Hecatæus and Aristeas belong to the former category (indirect propaganda), the Sibyllines are distinctly of the latter.

The Sibyl was regarded in the ancient world as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic order or priestly caste, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a superhumanly gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods.

87. Sibyls.

The number of such Sibyls is variously stated at different times. Heraclitus in Plutarch (*De Pythiæ orac.* 6), Aristophanes (*Pax*, 1095), and Plato (*Phædr.* 22), speak of only one. Tacitus (*Ann.* 6 12) is doubtful whether there were more than one. Pausanias (*Descr. Græc.* 10 12) mentions four, while Varro (in Lactantius *Div. Instit.* 1 6) specifies ten. For further information on this subject the reader should consult Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyl.* (1st ed.), 1856, 2 1-101, Maass, *de Sibyllarum Indicibus* (1879), and the arts. on the subject in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.*, and the *Ency. Brit.* (9).

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a private circulation. Still though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not underrate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquin, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted by the state before their destruction in the fire that consumed the Capitol in B.C. 83. (Alexandre [2 198] has traced sixty such occasions.) Their place was soon afterwards taken (75 B.C.) by a collection, amounting in all to about 1000 verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate. (After being revised under Augustus, it seems finally to have been burnt by the order of Stilicho in 404 A.D.)

88. Sibylline Oracles.

Inasmuch as such oracles enjoyed high authority and a wide circulation in the East,—inasmuch, likewise, as they were anonymous in origin, free from authoritative revision, and capable of modification or enlargement at pleasure by those in whose hands they were for the time being,—they offered to the missionary spirit of Hellenistic Judaism a form of literature which would readily admit the disguised expression of its highest beliefs, and at the same time procure for them a hearing in Gentile circles. It is not unlikely, too, that the prolonged search of Roman officials for Sibylline oracles in the East may have further stimulated the inventive faculties of the Alexandrian Jews, and led to the composition of many of the verses in our present collection. In this method of propaganda the Christians proved themselves later to be apt pupils of the Jews. So common, indeed, had become in early Christian times the invention of such oracles that Celsus (Orig. *contr. Cels.* 5 61) terms Christians Σιβυλλισταί, believers in sibyls, or sibyl-mongers.

This charge of Celsus was not unmerited; for with the exception of a citation about the tower of Babel made by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 B.C. (see Eus. *Chron.* 1 23), and found likewise in Josephus (*Ant.* 1 4 3), it is to Christian writers that we are indebted, not only for all other references, but also for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

Hermas (*Vis.* 2 4) mentions the Sibyl, but not her verses; but quotations are frequent in Clement Alex. and Lactantius. A collection of the Patristic quotations from the Sibyllines will be found in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quæ apud Lactantium reperiuntur*: 1817), in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844), in Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*: Montauban, 1851), and in Alexandre (2 254-311).

The Sibylline Oracles, as we now have them, are a chaotic medley. They consist of twelve books—there were originally fourteen—of various authorship, date, and religious conception.

89. Surviving collection.

This arrangement, which is due to an unknown editor of the sixth century (Alexandre), does not in itself determine identity of authorship, or of time, or of religious belief; for many of the books are merely arbitrary groupings of unrelated fragments. As the editor, moreover, was guided by caprice as often as by any discernible principle of editing, it is not strange that the same passage frequently recurs in different contexts.

90. Editions.

The first printed edition of these Oracles was published at Basel, in 1545, from an Augsburg (now a Munich) MS, and consisted of eight books. A metrical Latin translation of these books by Sebastian Castalio appeared in the following year, and an emended Greek text from the same scholar in 1555. The most valuable of the early editions is that of Opsopœus (*i.e.*, Koch), Paris, 1599, in which fresh MS evidence is brought to bear upon the text. These were followed by that of Gallæus, Amsterdam, 1689; but his work is of no critical worth. These eight Sibylline books were likewise reprinted in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Vett. Patr.* (Venice 1788). Book 14 was first edited by Mai in 1817 from a Milan MS and Books 11-14 from two Vatican MSS in 1828 by the same scholar. Books 9 and 10 have not been recovered. All these editions have been superseded by the first edition of Alexandre's *Oracula Sibyllina* (2 vols. Paris, 1841-1856), and his second edition of 1869, in which the valuable excursuses of the first are omitted; and by the edition of Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1852). The latter has a useful introduction, and is accompanied by a translation into German hexameters; but the text is untrustworthy.

By far the best text that has yet appeared is that of Rzach, *Oracula Sibyllina* (Vienna, 1891). For the formation of this text fourteen MSS have been used; the text has been further emended by an exhaustive collation of quotations in the Fathers. Our citations will be made from this text.

For further literature on the subject, see Alexandre's work (1st ed. 2 71-82; 2nd ed. 418-419); Schürer (*Hist.* 5 288-292). English readers will find the subject well treated in the work of Schürer just mentioned; *Edinb. Rev.* (July 1877, pp. 31-67); and Deane (*Pseudepigr.* 1891, pp. 276-344).

The relation of the Jewish and the Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones it is practically impossible to determine.

91. Rel. to heathen Sibyl.

1. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older Oracles, being written in Homeric hexameter verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. Short syllables are lengthened through the in-

fluence of the accent, or even without it, owing to the exigencies of the verse; and long syllables are likewise shortened.

For peculiarities of metre and syntax, see Alexandre, *Excursus*, 7. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of these disappear in the better text of Rzach. Of acrostic verses, which, according to Dionys. Hal. (462) and Cicero (*De Div.* 2 54), was the form of the most ancient Sibyllines, only one specimen is still preserved—viz., in 8 217-250, the initials of which are ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ. It should be observed, further, that without the last word[1] the initials of the title compose the word ΙΧΘΥΣ—'a fish'—a frequent symbol of the Christian faith on early monuments.

2. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibyls used much of the older material lying ready to hand.

Thus, in 3 414-418 (the passage about Helen), 'the Erinnys from Sparta,' is from a heathen source; so likewise the punning couplet in 4 99-100, which frequently recurs:

καὶ Σάμον ἄμμος ἅπασαν ὑπ' ἠιόνεσσι καλύψει
Δῆλος δ' οὐκ ἔτι δῆλος, ἄδηλα δὲ πάντα τὰ Δήλου.

Another notable instance is 8 361, where a line from an ancient Delphic oracle is given verbatim. See Herod. 147.

We must turn from such questions to discuss the various elements of which the work is composed.

92. Composite character. These, as we have already observed, are both Jewish and Christian, and the latter largely preponderate. Owing, however, to the character of the work, it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. It is therefore only on some of the smaller portions that we can arrive at anycertainty. Much is of a neutral character, and, as far therefore as internal evidence goes, may equally well have proceeded from either class of writers. There is a great lack of external evidence. We shall now deal with the various elements of the work in their chronological order as far as that is possible. Our space does not admit of an analysis of all the books; we shall, however, give a short survey of the more important.

The first and oldest part is 397-829[2] and probably the Prooemium. The latter is not found in our MSS; it

93. Prooemium. is taken from the *Ad Autolycum* of Theophilus (180 A.D.). It consists of two fragments, of thirty-five and forty-nine lines respectively. Rzach (pp. 232-238) and Alexandre link them together by another short fragment of three lines. On very inadequate grounds the latter editor assigns them to Christian authorship; but they contain nothing of

94. 3 97-829. an essentially Christian cast (on their contents, see ESCHATOLOGY, § 58). With regard to 3 97-829 opinions are conflicting. Bleek regards verses 97-807—with the exception of 3 350-380, a later Christian interpolation—as the work of an Alexandrian Jew, 170-160 B.C.; Hilgenfeld thinks that the whole of 97-817 was written about 140 B.C.; Ewald brings down the date to 124 B.C. Alexandre assigns 3 97-294, 489-828, to 168, but 295-488 to the age of the Antonines. The strongest evidence in favour of Alesandre's view is to be found in the difficulty of interpreting adequately such passages as 3 464-473 as applying to the civil war and the dissensions of Marius and Sulla (Friedlieb, p. 33).

3 97-818 falls naturally into three groups: (*a*) 97-294; (*b*) 295-488; (*c*) 489-818.[3] The first (*a*) opens abruptly with the building and the destruction of Babel (97-104). Then the earth is peopled and its rule is divided between Cronos, Titan, and Japetos (106-110). In the strife that subsequently arose between the Cronides and the Titans these races were destroyed, and there arose in succession the great kingdoms of the earth—those of Egypt, Persia, Media, Ethiopia, Assyria, Macedonia, again of Egypt, and of Rome (118-161). This closes the retrospect of the Sibyl; now begins her prophecy (162-166). First, she predicts the rise of the Jewish (under Solomon), the Macedonian, and the Roman kingdoms; during the reign of the seventh king of Egypt, of Hellenic race, the people of God will again become powerful (167-195). Then are recounted the judgments of God on the kingdoms of the world and on the Jews (196-212). Next the Sibyl takes as her theme the praise of the Jewish nation: their virtues, and the salient points in their history from their departure from Egypt down to Cyrns (218-294). The second group (*b*) is mainly concerned with judgments against Babylon, Egypt, Gog and Magog, Libya (295-333), and likewise against individual cities (341-366). Then follows the promise of Messianic prosperity and peace (367-380), and this group closes with oracles regarding Antiochns Epiphanes and his successors, and various countries, towns, and islands (381-488). In 419-432 we have the celebrated diatribe against Homer. The third group (*c*) openswith oracles against Phcenicia, Crete, Thrace, Gog and Magog and the Hellenes (489-572). Then Israel is praised for its worship of the true God (573-600). Thereupou ensues a second prophecy of judgment and a call to conversion, and an account of the evils that were to befall the ungodly (601-651). Then the Sibyl foretells the coming of the Messianic king, who would take vengeance on his adversaries; next comes a detailed account of the period of Messianic prosperity (652-731), and, finally, the signs that are to herald the end of all things (796-808). The Sibyl declares that she is neither the Erythrxan Sibyl nor yet the Cumxan (809-818).

3. Though it is obvious from the above epitome that 3 97-818 is not a single and homogeneous composition but rather an aggregate of separate oracles, we are safe [with Schiirer) in regarding the three groups as derived in the main from one author, and as dating from the same period, the reign of the seventh Ptolemy, which is referred to in all three groups (192-193, 316-318, 608-610).

Ptolemy VII. Physcon reigned first in conjunction with his brother Ptolemy VI. Philometor (170-164 B.C.). He was then banished, but recovered the throne in 145 and reigned as sole king till 117 B.C. That the composition dates from the latter period is clear (520-572) from the prophecy of the complete subjugation of all Hellas. As Hilgenfeld, Schurer, and Drnmmond point out, this cannot have been written before the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.). The doom of Corinth is actually referred to (487), and possibly that of Carthage (492-503). Verses 388-400, which deal with the Seleucid kings, were written (according to Hilgenfeld's interpretation) about 140 B.C. Therefore, since the author represents the Messianic kingdom as beginning during the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, we may safely take 97-818 to have been written in the second half of the second century B.C. The Procemium, with which we have already dealt (see above § 93), most probably formed the introduction to these verses, and Schiirer adduces external evidence from Lactantins (iv. 6 5) to that effect.

Before proceeding to discuss 31-96, we should add that Friedlieb and others reject 819-828 as a later addition, as these verses are at variance with 809-811.

With regard, however, to 3 1-92 all previous critics seem to have gone wrong in connecting 63-92 with the

95. 3 1-92. preceding verses. In 63-92 the end of all things is to come during the sway of Rome over the world (75-80). In 1-62, on the other hand, only the partial judgments that are to take effect on the coming of the Messianic king in 49 *f.* are reconnted. The Sibyl then promises in 61 *f.* to enumerate the cities that are to suffer; but here the account breaks off, and not a word more is said in 63-92 in fulfilment of her promise. Hence these two sections are of different authorship. 63-92 is certainly late and Christian. On 3 1-62, see also ESCHATOLOGY, § 68.

In 63-74 we have a reproduction of the myth concerning Nero, according to which Beliar was to return in the form of that emperor and work many mighty signs. This idea recurs in 2 167-170 (a distinctly Christian product), and in the Asc. Isa. 3 13-5 1 (cp ANTICHRIST, § 15).

As regards 3 1-62, it may be derived from one author, and *v.* 52 may refer to the triumvirate of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus. In that case this section was written before 31 B.C.

Book 4 is, with Friedlieb, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Alexandre, and Schiirer, to he regarded as of Jewish authorship, and was

96. Book 4. written about 80 A.D. or somewhat later. This date is determined by two allusions: the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) in 115-127, and the eruption of Vesuvins (79 A.D.) in 130-136. The latter was to be the immediate precursor of the vengeance that was to be wreaked on Rome by Nero, returning with many myriads from the East (137-139). There are no grounds for assigning this hook, with Ew. and Hilgenfeld, to Essene authorship; for, with the exception of the reference to ablutions in 163-165, there is no mention of anything characteristic of the Essenes, and the words in question are most naturally taken as referring to proselyte baptism (Schiirer). The teaching enforced in 179-192 shows that the author cannot have been a Jew of Alexandria, hut probably belonged to Palestine; for the eschatology is very naïve. From the bones and ashes of men's bodies God

[1] A Latin rendering with the last seven verses omitted is given in Augustine's *De Civ.* 18 23.

[2] Where Friedlieb and Alexandre give 828, Rzach gives 829 verses.

[3] In the detailed analysis that follows, certain verses, unimportant for the present purpose, are (for the sake of brevity) left unaccounted for.

will fashion anew the bodies in which they will rise to judgment. The judgment will then proceed according to their deeds. The wicked will again die, but the righteous live again on earth. This recalls Enoch **1-36**.

Book **5** professes to be the work of an Egyptian Sibyl, the sister of Isis (*v.* 53). It is mainly Jewish ; hut there may be Christian elements. There is **a** marked absence

97. Book *6*. of ideas characteristic of Judaism or Christianity, and also of internal connection. Friedlieb attributes the book to an Egyptian Jew in the time of Hadrian; Alexandre to **a** Christian Jew of Alexandria in the age of the Autonines. The first fifty-one lines are in effect a chronological oracle ending with Hadrian. As the rest of the hook deals with Egyptian affairs, it is probably of different authorship and date, and we may, with Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and Schiirer, accept **80** A.D. as an approximate date for 52-531. Some passages are decidedly Jewish : *vv.* 260-285 (announcement of woes upon the idolatrous Gentiles, but of blessing on Israel), *vv.* 397-413 (the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem), *vv.* 414-433, 492-511 (the building of **a** new temple in Egypt which is to take the place of that already destroyed at Leontopolis); there are others also. The one passage that seems to be certainly Christian is 256-259 :

εἷς δέ τις ἵξεται αὖτις ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἔξοχος ἀνήρ,
οὗ παλάμας ἥπλωσεν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀγλαοκάρπου
Ἑβραίων ὄχ' ἄριστος, ὃς ἠέλιόν ποτε στῆσεν
φωνήσας ῥήσει re καλῇ καὶ χείλεσιν ἁγνοῖς.

Book 6 is the work of a' Gnostic (?) Christian. Jesus, the natural son of Joseph, is united with Christ at baptism. The

98. Books 6-8 11-14 1 *f.* hook describes certain incidents at the baptism somewhat after the manner of the apocryphal gospels. Book 7 is of like authorship and is not earlier than the third (see above, § 91, 1) century A.D. Book 8, in which the famous acrostic occurs, is of Christian origin but of divided authorship. 1-429 belongs to the second century; 430-501 to the third. As to Books **1** *f.* and **11-14**, there is **a** great variety of opinion. Alexandre assigns the former to **a** Christian author of the third century, and the latter to an Alexandrian Jew of about the year 267. Friedlieb places 1 *f.* at the close of the second century ; **11-14** he ascribes to Jewish writers of the second and the third centuries A.D. respectively ; 12 *f.* to Christian writers of the third century.

Some of these judgments are simply hypotheses ; there is still room for indefinite study on these questions. R. H. C.

APOCRYPHA

CONTENTS

It is proposed in the present article to give, in the first place, a general survey of the very miscellaneous

1. Aim of article. collection of hooks known as 'the Apocrypha' (details being reserved for special articles), and then to proceed to an enumeration and classification of the larger literature which lies beyond the limits of that collection. Fuller treatment of the subdivision 'Apocalyptic,' however, will he reserved for **a** special article (see above, APOCALYPTIC), where will he found an account of the following nine works :—Apoc. of Baruch, Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Slavonic Book of Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Test. xii. Patr., Psalms of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles. The later Christian literature will be excluded, only those writings being considered which contain portions assignable, at latest, to the early years of the second century.

The name Apocrypha (nom. pl. nent. of **Gk.** adj. *ἀπόκρυφος, hidden)* is used to denote **a** large body of

2. Name. Jewish and Christian literature, consisting of writings which either their authors or their admirers have sought to include among canonical scriptures, but which have ultimately failed to secure such *a* position in the estimation of the Church at large.

This special usage of the word is derived from the practice common among sects, religious or philosophic, of embodying their special tenets or formulae in books withheld from public use, and communicated to an inner circle of believers. Such books, generally bearing the name of some patriarch, prophet, or apostle, were called by their possessors apocryphal, the designation implying that they were hidden from the outer world, and even from the ordinary members of the sect itself; in such cases the epithet apocryphal was used in **a** laudatory sense. Since, however, the hooks were forgeries, the epithet gradually came to take colour from that fact, and in process of time it was employed to indicate otber writings that had been forged. In the common parlance bf to-day, it denotes any story or document which is false or spurious.

One of the earliest instances—and certainly **a** typical instance—of the use of the word ***apocryphal*** in its laudatory sense, occurs in a magical book of Moses edited from a Leyden papyrus of the third or fourth century by Leeman and by Dieterich (*Abraxas*, 109). The book may be as old as the first century A.D. Its title is Μωϋσέως ἱερὰ βίβλος ἀπόκρυφος ἐπικαλουμένη ὀγδόη ἢ ἁγία, 'A Holy and Secret Book of Moses, called the Eighth, or the Holy.' For the earliest use of the word *in malam partem*, on the other hand, we have to turn probably to Cyril of Alexandria (348 A.D.) ; and for **a** more frequent and clear employment of the adjective in **a** disparaging sense to Jerome, whose constant use of it is probably responsible for odr employment of it at the present day as the equivalent of 'non-canonical.'

Finally the name Apocrypha has come to be applied, and is now applied, by the reformed communions to a particular collection of writings. While some of these are genuine and authentic treatises, others legendary histories, and the rest apocryphal in the disparaging sense of hearing names to which they have no right, all come under the definition proposed above, for each of them has at one time or another been treated as canonical.[1]

I. The Apocrypha Proper.

3. Apocrypha proper : classification. This collection of books may he classified in several ways. We might classify them critically thus :—

1. ***Additions to canonical books :—***
   - 1 Esdras (interpolated form of Ezra) : see below, § 4, ii.
   - Additions to Esther : see below, § 5, 1.
   - Additions to Daniel : see below, § 5, 2.
   - Prayer of Manasses : see below, § 6, 3.
2. ***Pseudepigraphical writings :—***
   - **4** Esdras : see below, § 7.
   - Wisdom of Solomon : see below, §8, 2.
   - Baruch : see below, § 6, 1.
   - Epistle of Jeremy : see below, § 6, 2.
3. ***Legendary or Haggadic writings :—***
   - Tobit : see below, § 5, 3.
   - Judith : see below, § 5, 4.
4. ***Genuine and authentic treatises :—***
   - Ecclesiasticus : see below, § 8, 1.
   - 1, 2 Maccabees : see below, § 4, i.

Probably the most natnral and convenient division

[1] It does not seem necessary to devote space here to commenting upon the use of the word Deutero-canonical, as applied to these hooks by the Church of Rome ; for it is expressly said by the authorities of that Church that no distinction of authority **is** implied in the term.

will be one depending upon the kind of literature which each book represents, as thus :—

I. Narrative : *(a)* Historical ; *(b)* Legendary (or Haggadic).
II. *(a)* Prophetical ; or *(b)* Apocalyptic.
III. Didactic.

I. *(a)* HISTORICAL. i. The *Books of Maccabees*. 1 *Maccabees*.—An important and generally trustworthy history, extant in Greek. It was translated from a Hebrew original, which survived as late as the time of Jerome. On this and the following see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.

4. Historical.

2 *Maccabees*.—Extant in Greek; an abridgment of a work in five books by Jason of Cyrene (see 2 23). Prefixed to it are two letters, from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt, commonly held to be spurious (see, however, MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7).

3 Maccabees.—Greek. A fragmentary history of an attempted massacre of the Jews under Ptolemy Philopator, and of their miraculous deliverance. This book and the following are not included by the Roman Church in its Canon, and do not appear in the Vg. though found in 𝔊.

4 *Maccabees*.—Greek. A philosophical discourse, illustrating the triumph of Reason over Matter, by the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the 'Seven Maccabees' and their mother. The work was traditionally attributed to Josephus. An edition of the Syriac version with kindred documents, prepared by the late Prof. Bensly, has been printed under the supervision of W. E. Barnes.

ii. 1 *Esdras*.[1]—Greek. A recasting of the canonical Ezra, to which is added the legendary tale of the Dispute of the Three Courtiers (known to Josephus). This book appears in Vg. as an appendix to the NT; but no authority is attributed to it by the Church of Rome. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF, First and Second.

(*b*) LEGENDARY. 1. *Additions to Esther*.—Greek. They consist of a number of letters, prayers, visions, and the like, which are found intercalated into the canonical book of Esther in 𝔊. See ESTHER, § 10.

5. Legendary.

2. Additions *to* Daniel.—Greek. These are three in number :—

(i.) The Story of Susanna, prefixed to the book.
(ii.) The Song of the Three Children, inserted in ch. 3.
(iii.) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, following ch. 12 and attributed to Habakkuk.

They are found both in the 𝔊 Version and in that of Theodotion. What is said to be the Hebrew original of part of the Song of the Three Children has been recently found by Dr. M. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel, and printed by him in *TSBA*, 1894. Cp DANIEL, § 5.

3. Tobit.—Greek and 'Chaldee.' A romantic narrative of the period of the Captivity, written not later than the first century A.D. at latest, and perhaps in Egypt. The book has a literary connection with the story of Aḥiḳar (see ACHIACHARUS). The date cannot at present be considered at all certain. The 'Chaldee' or Aramaic version (on the name see ARAMAIC, § 4, end), published by Dr. Neubauer in 1878, is probably not the earliest form of the book. Of the Greek there are three recensions, and there are three old Latin recensions besides Jerome's Vg. version. There are also two Hebrew texts, one derived from 𝔊, and the other from the Aramaic. Dr. Gaster has printed some fresh Hebrew texts of the story in *TSBA*, 1896. See TOBIT.

4. *Judith*.—Greek. A romance which, in its present form, may date from the first century B.C. It tells the story of the deliverance of the city Bethulia from the Assyrians under Holofernes, through the bravery of Judith, a Hebrew widow. No miraculous element appears in the story. See JUDITH.

[1] So called in EV and 𝔊 (*e.g.* Swete [B]). In 𝔊A (subscr.) it is called ὁ ἱερεύς ; in Lag.'s Luc. it is Ἔζδρας Β', and in Vg. it is 3 Esdras.

APOCRYPHA

II. *(a)* PROPHETICAL. 1. *Baruch*.—Greek. A pseudepigraphical book (*i.e.* one written under a false name), ascribed to Baruch son of Neriah, amanuensis of Jeremiah. It consists of two parts : (1) 1-38, which may date from the times of the Persian supremacy, possibly has a Hebrew original, and certainly shows close affinities with Dan. 9 ; (2) 39-59 (end), originally written in Greek, probably after 70 A.D. ; chap. 5 is modelled on the 11th Psalm of Solomon. Edited most fully by Kneucker. Appended to this book is—

6. Prophetical.

2. *The Epistle of Jeremy* (Baruch 6 in our Apocrypha).—Greek, also pseudepigraphic, purporting to be a letter of Jeremiah addressed to the Jews at Babylon, inveighing against the worship of idols.

3. *The* Prayer *of* Manasses.—Greek. This is attributed to Manasseh, king of Judah, when in prison. It is very likely an extract from a legendary history of Manasseh, of which other portions appear to be quoted (in connection with the prayer) in the *Apostolical* Constitutions (2 22) ; or possibly it was written with a view to insertion into the text of 2 Chron. 33. It is not in the Roman canon, but is appended thereto.

(*b*) APOCALYPTIC.—Of this large and important class of writings only one specimen is contained in our Apocrypha, namely :—

7. Apocalyptic.

4 *Esdras*.[1]—Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. The original Greek is lost. Only chaps. 3-14 appear in any Version save the Latin; chaps. 1 *f.* 15 *f.* are later accretions, probably of two different dates, 1 *f.* being perhaps of second century, and 15 *f.* of third century; 3-14 are a Jewish apocalypse, probably written about 97 A.D. ; 1 *f.* are Christian, 15 *f.* most likely Jewish. Rejected by the Roman Church, it is printed as an appendix to the Vg. See ESDRAS, BOOKS OF and APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 13-15.

III. DIDACTIC. 1. Wisdom *of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, commonly *called Ecclesiasticus*.—Greek, avowedly translated from the Hebrew of which a considerable portion has lately been recovered. A genuine authentic treatise, in parts of high literary excellence. The author was a Palestinian Jew of the second century B.C. See ECCLESIASTICUS.

8. Didactic.

2. *Wisdom of* Solomon.—Greek. Written under the name of Solomon, perhaps by Philo (according to an early tradition), certainly by a Jew of Alexandria in the first century. It is of great merit in parts ; but the tone deteriorates towards the end. The book seems, moreover, to be incomplete. See WISDOM, BOOK OF.

II. Other Apocryphal Literature.

Our survey of the remaining literature is a much more difficult matter. The idea of classifying the books upon chronological principles must be set aside at once as impracticable; the data are in a majority of cases far too vague. The simplest division that can be made is between those books which have to do with the OT and those which associate themselves with the New. Within those the classification will be made, as in the case of the apocrypha already described, according to kinds of literature represented ; writings which unite more than one element will be arranged according to their most prominent feature. In the case of the OT literature, slightly modifying our previous classification, we can include all the documents we possess under the following headings :—i. Legendary or Haggadic Narratives. ii. Prophetical and Apocalyptic books. iii. Poetical. iv. Didactic.

9. Other literature.

[1] Called 2 Esdras in EV but oftener, as here, 4 Esdras—Le., 4th after 1st Esdras, the Heb. Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is called 3 Esd. when Ezra-Neh. are counted one book, as in 𝔊. In an Amiens MS chaps. 1 *f.* 3-14 15 *f.* are called 3rd, 4th, and 5th Esd. respectively.

A. *OLD TESTAMENT* (§§ 10-25).

I. LEGENDARY OR HAGGADIC NARRATIVES (§§ 10-18).

10. Adam and Eve, etc.

1. *Testament* (or *Apocalypse*, or *Penitence*) *of Adam*: *Book of the Conflict of Adam* and Eve. — Extant partially in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic [and Coptic]

These versions represent variously developed forms or fragments of a Jewish romance dealing with the life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, and with their death and burial. We no longer possess the romance in its original form.

The remains of it must be sought in the following documents :—
(*a*) Greek *Apocalypse of Muses*, more properly Διήγησις περὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας. Edited by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, 1866) and, in a fragmentary text, from the best MS, by Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, 521). It is principally concerned with the death of Adam and Eve, and includes an important narrative of the Fall. It is essentially Jewish.
(β) Latin Vita *Adæ et Evæ*: extant in many MSS, printed by Wilh. Meyer in *Abh. d. Münch.* Akad., Philos-philol. Kl. 14, 1878. It covers the same ground as (*a*) and introduces elements which occur in (γ) and (δ).
(γ) Arabic and Ethiopic Book *of Adam and Eve* or *Conflict of Adam and Eve*. A long romance, Christianized throughout, dealing with the sufferings and temptations of Adam and Eve after the Fall. The history is continued to the birth of Christ, and has close affinities with the Cave *of Treasures* (ed. Bezold ; *Schatzhöhle*). It is derived in large part from the lost Jewish romance. First translated by Dillmann (*Das Christl. Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, 1853): Ethiopic text by Trnmpp in *Abh. d. Münch.* Akad. 15, 1879-81 : English Version by S. C. Malan (Book *of Adam* and *Eve*, 1882). *See too* the article 'Adam, Books of,' by Hort, in Dict. *Christ. Biogr*.
(6) Greek, Syriac, and Arabic fragments of the *Testament of* Adam. Prophetic and apocalyptic in character ; some are extracts from the old romance in its original form; others are Christianized. Edited by Renan in *Journ. As.* (1853, pp. 427-471) ; the Greek by M. R. James (*Apocrypha* Anecdota : *Texts and Studies*, ii. 3 138).
(ε) Coptic. A leaf from a Moses-Adam apocalypse, gnosticized. Edited by Scbinidt and Harnack in *Sitzungsber. d.* k. *pr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1891, p. 1045. It is now recognised by Harnack to be part of the late Coptic *Apocalypse of Bartholomew*.

2. *Book of Jubilees*, *Little Genesis* (*Leptogenesis*), *Apocalypse* (or *Testament*) *of Moses*. — A 'haggadic commentary upon Genesis.' The hook is in the form of a revelation made to Moses on Mount Sinai by the angel of the Presence. Hence it has been called the *Apocalypse of Moses*. The' narrative communicated hy the angel begins with the Creation, and extends to the giving of the law, and the whole time is reckoned in periods of Jubilees : hence the name *Book of Jubilees*. The events narrated in Genesis are for the most part sketched slightly with the addition of details of a legendary character : hence the name *Leptogenesis*, 'a detailed treatment of Genesis' (see, however, ESCHATOLOGY, ~~~). These details include the names of the wives of the patriarchs, the wars of Jacob and Esau, the last words of Abraham and Isaac. Much of the legendary element in *Test. xii. Patr.* (see below) is derived from this book : see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 48-58.

3. *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs* (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob). — Referred to in the *Apost. Const.* (6 16).

11. Patriarchs.

Books under these names, combining the legendary, apocalyptic, and didactic elements Christianized, are found in Greek, Slavonic, and Roumanian (*Testament* [or *Apocalypse*] of *Abraham*), and in Arabic and Ethiopic (*Testaments of Abmham, Isaac, and Jacob*). They narrate the circumstances attending the deaths of the three patriarchs. Their early date is maintained by the present writer (one is quoted hy Origen), but is not universally allowed. Dr. Kohler (*JQR*, 1895) assigns an Essene origin to the *Test. of Abraham*.

Edited by M. R. James ('Test. of Abraham': *Texts and Studies*, 22) and by Dr. Gaster ('Roumanian version of Apoc. of Abraham,' PSBA, 1887). The Greek version is printed from one MS by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, 1893).

4. *Apocalypse of Abraham*.—Slavonic, from Greek. An interesting Jewish hook with Christian insertions. The first part is haggadic, and gives the story of Abraham's conversion : the second is an expansion of the rision narrated in Gen. 15 : edited by N. Bonwetsch in *Studien zur Geschichte d. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1897.

5. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* — A hook combining the three elements of legendary, apocalyptic and didactic matter in twelve sections, each of which gives the last dying speech of one of the sons of Jacob ; see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 68-76.

6. *Life* (or *Confession*) of *Aseneth*. —A Jewish legend of early date; Christianized. Extant in Greek and Syriac (and Latin). It is connected with the *Test. xii. Patr.*, and narrates the circumstances attending the marriage of Aseneth with Joseph. There is much beauty in the story. The Latin version was, according to the present writer's belief, made by or for Grosseteste, at the same time as that of the *Testaments*.

12. Aseneth.

The Greek and Latin are edited by P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica*, 1889. The Syriac will be found in Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, and Oppenheim, *Fabula Josephi et Asenethæ*, 1886. *See* Hort's article in Dict. *Chr. Biogr.*

7. *Testament of Job*. —A Midrash on Job, containing a mythical story of his life, Christianized to a very limited extent. It is ascribed to his brother Νηρεύς (Nahor). Job's wife is called Sitis. Elihu is represented as inspired by Satan. The story is worth reading.

13. Job.

It exists in Greek and seems to be quoted in the *Apoc. Paul.* Printed from a Vatican MS by Mai (*Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* 7 180) ; a French translation in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes* ; edited last from two MSS by M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. 1897.

8. *Testament of Solomon*. — Greek. Practically a magical hook, though interspersed with large haggadic sections. It is mainly Jewish, though Christian touches have been introduced. It narrates the circumstances under which Solomon attained power over the world of spirits, details his interviews with the demons, arid ends with an account of his fall and loss of power.

14. Solomon, etc.

Ed. first by F. F. Fleck in *Wissenschaftl. Reise*; reprinted in Migne's *Cedrenus*, vol. ii. as an appendix to Psellus's writings. A German translahon by Bornemann in Illgen's *Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1843.

9. *Contradictio Salomonis*. —A work under this name is condemned in the "Gelasian" Decree *de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*. It was in all likelihood an account of Solomon's contest in wisdom with Hiram, and was the groundwork of the romance still extant in many forms and under many names—*e.g.*, Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn (Anglo-Saxon), Solomon and Kitovras (*i.e.* Kentauros, Slavonic), Solomon and Marcolph (Latin, etc.). Josephns mentions the Hiram-legend.

See on all these books J. M. Kemble's Introduction to the *Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, Ælfric Society, 1843, and compare ACHIACHARUS.

10. *Ascension of Isaiah*. — Partly haggadic, but chiefly important as an apocalypse — under which heading it will be treated. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

11. Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum*. — Latin, from Greek, and that from Hebrew. Printed thrice in the 16th century (in 1527, in 1550, and in 1599), this book had practically escaped the knowledge of all modern scholars (except Cardinal Pitra) until Mr. Leopold Cobn reintroduced it to the world in an article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1898. It is a haggadic summary of Bible history from Adam to the death of Saul, full of most interesting visions, prophecies, and legends.

15. Pseudo-Philo.

The Latin version, the only form in which the book is known, very much resembles the version of 4 Esd. Four fragments published by the present writer (Prayer of Moses, Vision of Kenaz, Lament of Seila, and Song of David = *Apoc. Anecd.* i.) tnrn out to be extracts from this work of Pseudo-Philo. It is apparently pre-Christian and merits careful studv.

12. *Book of Jasher*. —A haggadic commentary updn the Hexateuch, containing ancient elements, hut preserved in a mediæval form. There is a French translation by Drach in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, vol. ii.

16. Jasher.

13. *Book of Noah.*—Haggadic and apocalyptic fragments of this work are incorporated in the Book of Enoch;

17. Noah. there is also a Hebrew Midrash under this name printed by Jellinek in *Bet-ha-Midrasch,* 3 155, partly based on the *Book of Jubilees.* See Ronsch and Charles, and cp. APOCALYPTIC, §§ 24, 57.

14. *Book of Lamech.*—The title 'Lamech' occurs in Greek lists of apocryphal' books. A story of Lamech

18. Lost Books. which is found separately in Slavonic may or may not be identical with this. There can be little doubt that the old bsok treated (as the Slavonic one does) of the accidental slaying of Cain by Lamech.

15. *Book of Og.*—In the Gelasian Decree a book is mentioned as 'The Book of Og the giant, whom the heretics feign to have fought with a dragon after the Flood.' It was, according to the present writer's belief, identical with a hook Πραγματεία τῶν Γιγάντων or *Treatise of the Giants,* which is mentioned in a list of Manichæan apocrypha by Timotheus of Constantinople (Fabricius, *Cod. apoc. NT* 1 139). It was no doubt a Jewish haggada, containing, to judge from the title, some stirring incidents. Possibly it may have given a Jewish form of the ancient Dragon-myth of Babylonia, on which see Gunkel (*Schöpf.*).

16. *Penitence of Jannes and Mambres.*—Mentioned also in the Gelasian Decree, and perhaps, like the *Pœnitentia Cypriani*, a confession of the wicked magical arts of the two Egyptian wizards. See an article by Iselin in Hilgenfeld's *ZWT,* 1894. There is a fragment (in Latin and Anglo-Saxon) apparently belonging to this book in the Cotton MS Tib. B.V. ; but it has not yet been printed.

17. *Esther.*—Origen on Romans (9 2 : p. 646) has the following passage, which clearly refers to a romance about Esther : 'We have found it written in a certain book of an apocryphal nature (*secretiore*) that there is an angel of grace who takes his name from grace. 'For he is called Ananehel (5 1 Anahel), which being interpreted means *the* grace *of God.* Now in this writing it was said that this angel was sent by the Lord to Esther to give her grace in the sight of the king.'

There are, besides, many haggadic histories—*e.g.*, of David, Jonah, the Captivity, and (see *Rev. Sém.* 1898) the Rechabites—in Syriac, Carshunic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, which are still unpublished; they are to be found in MS at Paris and elsewhere.

See Zotenberg's *Cat. des MSS Syriaques* and *Cat. des MSS Éthiopiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, and Wright's Catalogues of Ethiopic and of Syriac MSS in the British Museum. Much Slavonic apocryphal literature also remains unknown to critics, though most of it has been printed. See Kozak's list of Slavonic apocryphal literature in *JPT* xviii., and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Altchristl. Lit.* 902-917.

II. APOCALYPTIC. **1.** *Book of Enoch;* and **2.**

19. Apocalyptic: Enoch, etc. *Secrets of Enoch.*—See APOCALYPTIC, 18-32 and 33-41 respectively.

3. *Sibylline Oracles.*—Greek hexameter verse, in fourteen books of various dates. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 86-98.

4. *Assumption of Moses.*—Quoted in the epistle of Jude, as well as by later Christian writers; extant in Latin, incomplete. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 59-67.

5. *Apocalypse of Baruch.*—A long and important apocalypse, closely resembling 4 Esdras in style and

20. Baruch, Jeremiah, etc. thought. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 5-17, and also below under *Zoroaster* (§ 23, no. 15).

6. Other *Apocalypses of Baruch (a),(b),(c).*—As far as is known at present (*a*) is contained in only a single Greek MS (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073) : edited by M. R. James, *Apocr. Anecd.* ii., with a translation of the Slavonic version by W. R. Morfill : Bonwetsch also has published a German translation of the Slavonic. The Greek text has two Christian passages. In the main it may very well be Jewish and of early date. It contains revelations about the course of the sun and noon, the history of the Tower of Babel, the Vine Christian), and the offering of the prayers of men to God by Michael: (c) An Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Baruch,* preserved in a British Museum MS (118 in Dillmann's *Catalogue*) is apparently the production, in part at least, of an Abyssinian Christian. This, or another, is mentioned in Wright's *Catalogue* (No. 27, 6, etc.). A quotation from Baruch not found in any existing book of his, is in the *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (*Text eu. Unters.* 1 3), and a larger one in some MSS of Cypriani's *Testimonia*, 3 29. It is noticed by Dr. J. Rendel Harris in *The Rest of the Words of Baruch,* p. 10.

7. *Reliqua verborum Baruchi (The rest of the words of Baruch),* or *Paralipomena Jeremiæ.*—Greek and Ethiopic. There is hardly anything really apocalyptic in this book, which is a Christian appendix to the *Apocalypse of Baruch,* haggadic in character. It narrates the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, the miraculous rescue of Ebed-melech, and the martyrdom of Jeremiah.

Printed first in Ethiopic by Di. (*Chrestomathia Æthiopica*), in Greek by Ceriani (*Mon. sacr. et prof.*), and lastly in Greek by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch,* 1889). Harris regards it as an *eirenicon* addressed by the church of Jerusalem to the synagogue after the Bar-Cochba rebellion. It was often printed in variously abridged forms in the Greek *Menæa.*

8. A short *Prophecy of Jeremiah* is uniformly attached to the *Epistle of Jeremiah* in Ethiopic MSS of the Old Testament. It consists of only a few lines, and is written to justify the quotation from 'Jeremy the prophet' in Mt. 27 9. It is addressed to Pashur. Jerome had seen a Hebrew volume in which a similar passage occurred. Dillmann printed it in his *Chrestomathia Æthiopica,* 1866 (p. viii n. 2).

9. *Ascension of Isaiah.*—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

10. *Apocalypse of Elias,* and

11. *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.*

The first of these was supposed to be the source of Paul's quotation in 1 Cor. 2 9, 'Eye hath not seen,' etc.

21. Elias, Zephaniah, etc. The second is quoted by Clement of Alexandria. They both survive in two dialects of Coptic. Fragments of 10 and 11 were published by Bouriant in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique au Caire.* Stern translated them into German in *ZÄ*, 1886. The whole, with additional fragments, has been edited by Steindorff in Harnack and Gebhardt's *Texte u. Untersuch.* The Apocalypse of Elias is fairly complete : the editor assigns only one leaf to the Apocalypse of Zephaniah and a large fragment to an unknown Apocalypse. It is the present writer's belief that this last is from an Apocalypse of Zephaniah. Both are seemingly Christianized forms of Jewish books, containing sections descriptive of heaven and hell, and prophecies of Antichrist, and his conflict with Tabitha and the two witnesses. There is an Apocalypse of Elias in Hebrew and one was printed in Jellinek's *Bet-ha-Midrasch* and edited in 1897 by Buttenwieser. A passage from a Gnostic Vision of Elias is quoted by Epiphanius (*Her.* 26 13).

12. *A Revelation of Moses,* containing a visit to the unseen world, has been translated from Hebrew by Dr. Gaster (*JRAS,* 1893).

13. *An Apocalypse of Esdras,* extant in Syriac, edited by Baethgen from a late MS, and published

22. Esdras, etc. with a translation in *ZATW* (6 199-210 ['86]), is by some thought to be an old Jewish apocalypse which was remodelled in Mohammedan times. There is an Ethiopic *Apoc. of Esd.* in the British Museum (see Wright's *Catalogue*).

14. The same remark applies to a Persian *History of Daniel* edited and translated by Zotenberg in Merx's *Archiv* (1 386), which in its present form is certainly mediæval. The Armenian, the Coptic, and the Greek Visions of Daniel,[1] which are printed respectively by

[1] It may be noticed in this connection that in 𝔊A of Theodotion's Daniel the whole book is divided into twelve Visions (ὁράσεις).

Kalemkiar, by Woide, by Klostermann, and by Vassiliev (*Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*, 1893), are also very late, but contain ancient elements. See on these books W. Bousset's recent work, ***Der** Antichrist*, and compare ANTICHRIST. It is thought by Zahn that Hippolytus commented upon the apocryphal Apocalypse of Daniel as well as on the canonical Apocalypse (*Forschungen*, 5_{120}).

15. *Books of Zoroaster.*—Zoroaster, as we learn from the Clementines (*Recogn.* 1_{29}; *Hom.* **94**). was identified with Ham. son of Noah; and mystical prophecies; most likely of Jewish origin, were current under both names. Clement of Alexandria quotes a prophecy of Ham (*Strom.* **6642**); and there are oracles of Zoroaster in Greek verse (with commentaries by Gemistius Pletho and Michael Psellus) printed, *e.g.*, in Opsopœus's *Sibyllina*, 1607. Zoroaster was also identified by Eastern scholars with Baruch. Solomon of Bassora in the Book of the Bee cites a prophecy of his concerning the Star of the Epiphany (ed. Budge, *circa* 37). The prophecy is, of course, Christian.

23. Lost Apocalypses.

16. *Books* of Seth.—The Sethians possessed writings called Books of Seth and others under the name of the *Allogeneis* (ἀλλογενεῖς), a term which meant the sons of Seth. Hippolytus (*Ref. Her.*) quotes much from a Sethian hook. *Pseudepigrapha* of this kind, however, to which might be aclded the prophecies of Parchor (Clem. Alex.), the Gospel of Eve (Epiphanius), and. Justin the Gnostic's Book of Baruch (Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.* 5). are hardly to be reckoned among apocryphal literature, since there seems to have been in them little or no attempt at verisimilitude of attribution.

17. ***Prayer of*** Joseph.—Quoted by Origen and Procopius (*in Genesim*). It represented Jacob as an incarnation of a pre-existent angel Israel; in the fragments we possess, Jacob is the speaker. The book extended to 1100 στίχοι, being of about the same length as the Wisdom of Solomon.

18. *Eldad and Medad.*—A prophecy attributed to these two elders (for whom see Nu. 11) is quoted in the Shepherd of Hermas (**Vis** 2_{34}). It consisted of 400 στίχοι (about twice the length of the Song of Solomon).

III. POETICAL. 1. *Psalms of Solomon.*—Greek, from Hebrew (lost). A collection of eighteen (or nineteen) Psalms. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 77-85.

24. Poetical.

2. *Additions to the Psalter.*—(*a*) Ps. 151, on David's victory over Goliath, is appended to the 𝕲 Version of the Psalter. It is a very simple composition, of some merit. (6) Three apocryphal psalms in Syriac, edited by W. Wright (*PSBA*, 1887, p. 257), viz. a prayer of Hezekiah, a psalm on the Return, and two thanksgivings by David on his victory over the lion and the 'wolf.' They are probably Jewish, and of considerable antiquity.

3. *A Lamentation of Job's Wife*, inserted in the 𝕲 text of Job 2, is closely connected with the Testament of Job.

IV. DIDACTIC.—The three main members of this class, the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremy, have been already noticed (§ 8, 2; § 6, 1; and § 6, 2 respectively). ***The** Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see APOCALYPTIC, §§ 68-76) have a large didactic element. Besides these there is little to note, save perhaps certain

25. Didactic.

Magical Books of Moses.—Extant in Greek papyri found in Egypt; they have been printed by Leemans and Dieterich (in *Abraxas*). They are not purely Jewish; Jewish names are employed, but there is a large Orphic element. The story of Achiacharus (see ACHIACHAKUS) also ought to he mentioned in this place.

Besides the many extant books and titles, there were probably others of which we know nothing; yet it is the belief of the present writer that many more apocalypses at least have been postulated by recent criticism (*e.g.*, Spitta on the Johannine Apocalypse, and Kabisch on the apocalypses of Esdras and of Baruch) than the probabilities of the case will warrant.

B. *NEW TESTAMENT* (§§ 26-31).

Under this head only a few of the most prominent NT apocrypha can be mentioned; much of the literature is excluded by its late date.

I. GOSPELS.[1] 1. *Gospel according to **the** Hebrews.*—The relation of this book to the canonical Gospel of Matthew cannot be discussed here (see GOSPELS). The facts known about the book are that it was in Aramaic, that Jerome translated it into Greek and into Latin, and that in his time it was in use among the 'Nazarenes' of Syria. Jerome's versions have perished; but he repeatedly quotes from the Latin one. The fragments preserved hy him, by Origen and Eusebius, and by Codex Tischendorf III. of ninth century (566 in Gregory) number about twenty-two. They will be found in Hilgenfeld's *NT **extra** Canonem receptum*, **4**, in the monographs of Nicholson, and Handmann (*Texte u. Unters.*), in Westcott's *Introd. to the Study of **the** Gospels*, and in Zahn's *Gesch. des NTlichen Kanons*, **22**, etc. The fragments quoted contain additions both to the narrative and to the sayings of Jesus. Some of the sayings differ only in form from similar sayings in the canonical gospels; others are independent. The account of the baptism is distinctly Ebionitic. The longest continuous passage describes the appearance of Jesus to James the Just after the resurrection.

26. Gospels, fragmentary or lost.

2. *Gospel of the Ebionites* or *Gospel* of ***the Twelve.***, Epiphanius is the only writer who has preserved us any fragments of this gospel (*adv. Hær.* 30), and from these it is plain that the book was a 'tendency-writing' put into the mouths of the Twelve Apostles (who describe their call, using the first person), and related to the *Greek* Matthew. It was naturally strongly Ebionitic, and it began with the baptism.

3. *Gospel **according to** the Egyptians.*—Probably the earliest Gnostic gospel. A passage is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who tells us that one Julius Cassianus, a Docetic teacher, used the same words; they also appear in the so-called second epistle of Clement (of Rome). The passage quoted is Encratite in its bearing.

4. *Gospel according to* Peter.—Of this book we have knowledge from the following sources:—(1) A fragment of a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 190-203), addressed to the church of Rhossus, condemning the gospel (after perusal) as Docetic (Eus. *HE* **612**). (2) A statement by Origen (*In Matth.* tom. 17_{10}) that the hook represented the brethren of Jesns as sons of Joseph by a former marriage. (3) A long and important fragment, containing an account of the Passion and Resurrection, found by the French Archaeological Mission in a tomb at Akhmim in 1885, published first in their *Mémoires* (1892), and repeatedly since then. Among German editions must be mentioned those of Harnack, of Schubert, and of Zahn; among English ones, those of Robinson and of Swete. The literature is very considerable. The conclusions upon which critics seem agreed at this moment are: that the fragment is Docetic and anti-Jewish, though saturated with allusions to the Old Testament; and that it shows a knowledge of all four canonical gospels. Its use by Justin Martyr is held probable by most, but denied by Swete (p. xxxivf.).

5. ***The** Fayûm gospel-fragment.*—Contained in a tiny fragment of papyrus among the Rainer papyri at Vienna; discovered by Bickell. It gives the words of Christ to Peter at the Last Supper in a form which diverges largely by omissions from any in the canonical gospels. Hort contended for the view that it was a fragment of a patristic homily and merely a loose quotation. Ed. Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* 5_4, etc.

6. The Login.—This is the name given by the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, to the contents of a

[1] On these *see* **also** GOSPELS (index).

single leaf of a papyrus book found by them at Oxyrhynchus. It contains a small number of sayings of Jesus which in part agree with sayings contained in the canonical gospels and in part differ from them. Harnack believes them to be extracted from the Gospel according to the Egyptians; but it is as yet not possible to express a final opinion on their character.

7. *Gospel of* Matthias.—Probably identical with the *Traditions of* Matthias, from which we have quotations. It was most likely a Basilidian work, for the Basilidians professed to regard Matthias as their special authority among the apostles. See Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT* Kanons, ii. 2 751.

8. Γέννα Μαρίας (the Descent of Mary), quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 26 12), was a Gnostic anti-Jewish romance representing Zacharias as having been killed by the Jews because he had seen the God of the Jews in the temple in the form of an ass.

9. Zacharias, *the father of John Baptist.*—A. Berendts in *Studien zur Zacharias-apokryphen u. Zach.-legende* gives a translation of a Slavonic legend of Zacharias which may be taken from an early book, subsequently incorporated into the *Book of James*.

Almost every one of the apostles had a gospel fathered upon him by one early sect or another, if we may judge from the list of books condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, and from other patristic allusions.

Of a gospel of Philip we have fragments, descriptive of the progress of the soul through the next world, showing it to have been a Gnostic composition; it was probably very much like the *Pistis* Sophia (a long Gnostic treatise in Coptic), in which Philip plays a prominent *rôle*. The Questions of Mary (Great and Little) was the title of two Gnostic books of the most revolting type, quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* **268**).

A Coptic papyrus volume recently acquired by Berlin contains texts as yet unpublished of two Gnostic books connected with the names of the Virgin and John, and also a portion of some early Acts of Peter.

For the most part, however, these heretical pseudepigrapha, where we know anything of their contents, must be

27. Extant Gospels. assigned to a period later than that contemplated by our present scope. Of extant apocryphal gospels two must be mentioned.

1. *Book of James*, commonly called *Protevangelium* (this name being due to Guillaume Postel, who first noticed the book, in the sixteenth century).—Extant in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, etc. A narrative extending from the Conception of the Virgin to the death of Zacharias. The James meant is perhaps James the Just. In one place, where Joseph is speaking, the narrative suddenly adopts the first person. Origen, and perhaps Justin, knew the book. A Hebrew original has been postulated for it. It is undoubtedly very ancient, and may possibly fall within the first century. From it we ultimately derive the traditional names of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne. The work has been edited by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*).

2. Acts *of Pilate*, often called the Gospel *of Nicodemus.*—Greek, Latin, Coptic, etc. In two parts: (1) an account of the Passion and Resurrection; (2) a narrative of the Descent into Hell. Part I. may be alluded to by Justin Martyr, who more than once appeals to Acts of Christ's Passion. It is possible, however, that he may be referring to another apocryphal document which exists in many forms—the *Anaphora Pilati* or official Report of Pilate to Tiberius. In any case, the Acta *Pilati* (Part I.) in some form probably date from early in the second century. Edited by Tischendorf (*l.c.*); see also Lipsius, ***Die Pilatusakten***, and Schubert on the Gospel of Peter.

II. ACTS. 1. *Ascents of James* (Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου), only mentioned by Epiphanius (***Hær.*** 30).—An Ebionite

28. Acts. and anti-Pauline book of which we most likely have an abstract in the end of the first book of the *Clementine* Recognitions. It contained addresses delivered by James the Just in the Temple. See Lightfoot, Galatians, 330, 367.

2. Acts *of Paul and* Thecla.—Greek, Syriac, etc. Tertullian tells us that this romance was composed in honour of Paul by a presbyter of Asia, who afterwards confessed the forgery (***De Baptismo***, 17); and Jerome, quoting Tertullian (probably from the Greek text of the same treatise), adds the detail that the exposure took place in the presence of John. In the present writer's opinion, this may be a false reading: 'apud Iconium' may have been corrupted into 'apud Johannem.' Undoubtedly the romance is the earliest of the kind which we possess. It details the adventures and trials of a virgin, Thecla of Iconium, who was converted by Paul. Ed. Lipsius (Acta Petri et *Pauli*). Professor Ramsay contends for the historical accuracy of much of the local detail. It is now clear that this episode formed part of the *Acts of Paul* which has just been discovered by Carl Schmidt in a fragmentary form in Coptic. Until the text is published, however, little can be said.

The Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Philip have all survived in part. They may be referred to some time in the second century. The author of all of them, save the first and last, was most likely one Leucius. The Passions and Acts of the remaining apostles are all later.

III. EPISTLES. 1. The *Abgarus* Letters.—A letter from Abgar Uchama, king of Edessa, to our Lord,

29. Epistles. begging him to visit Edessa and take up his abode there, and an answer from our Lord, promising to send an apostle to Abgarus, are given by Eusebius (***HE*** 1 13), who translates them from Syriac, and derives them from the archives of Edessa. They are very early, and are intimately connected with the legend of the apostolate of Addai or Thaddæus at Edessa. A fragment of a fourth-century papyrus text of the letters (which are very short) is in the Bodleian. They are found also in Syriac.

2. ***Epistle of*** Paul *to* the *Laodiceans.*—Latin. It was founded upon Col. **416**, and is a short cento of Pauline phrases. An Epistle to the Laodiceans is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. See Lightfoot's Colossians, 347 *ff.*, and Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kan.* ii. 2 566; also COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS, § 14.

3. *Epistle of* Paul ***to the*** Alexandrines.—Also mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, and nowhere else. Zahn (*l.c.* 58) has printed, from the Bobbio Sacramentary and Lectionary, a lesson purporting to be taken from the Epistle to the Colossians, which he assigns to the Epistle to the Alexandrines, or to some similar Pauline apocryph.

4. *Third Epistle of Paul to* the Corinthians *(and* letter from *Corinth to* Paul).—Armenian and Latin (and Coptic). These are now known to have formed part of the Acta *Pauli*.

There are but few other spurious epistles, and these are all of a distinctly later character.

IV. APOCALYPSES. 1. Apocalypse *of* Peter.—Greek. Quoted by Clement of Alexandria and by the heathen

30. Apocalypses. antagonist of Macarius Magnes (who is possibly Porphyry), and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. We have now a considerable fragment of it, which was discovered in the same MS as was the excerpt from the Gospel of Peter (see § **26** no. **4**). This contains the end of a prophecy of Jesus about the last times, and a vision of the state of the blessed, followed by a much longer description of the torments of various classes of sinners. It was probably written rather early in the second century, and has had an enormous influence on later Christian visions of heaven and hell. Dieterich, in his *Nekyia*, has pointed out the strong influence which the Orphic literature has had on the writer. A trace of the influence of this apocalypse on Latin documents has been recently pointed out by Harnack in the Pseudo-Cyprianic tract *De Laude Martyrii*, and earlier by Robinson in the

Passion of St. Perpetua, and there is a possible trace in the earlier tract ***De** Aleatoribus*. The Arabic and the Ethiopic *Revelation of* ***Peter*** or *Books of Clement* (see an article by Bratke in Hilgenfelds *Zeitschr.*, **1893**) seem *not* **to** contain the old book embedded in them; but as yet they are not very well known. Ed. Dieterich, Harnack, James.

2. *Prophecy of* **Hystaspes.**—Lost. There are quotations from it in the *Preaching of Paul* (quoted by Clem. Alex.), in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 1 20 44), and in Lactantius (*Diu. Inst.* 7 15 18). In every case it is coupled with the Sibylline Oracles, with which it is clearly to be associated, as a Christian forgery in pagan form. Ammianus Marcellinus (236) calls Hystaspes a 'very wise king, father of Darius,' Lactantius, 'a very ancient king of the Medes, who has handed down to posterity a most wonderful dream as interpreted by a prophesying boy (sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri).' The same author represents Hystaspes as saying that the Roman name was to be wiped out, and, further, that in the last days the righteous would cry to God and God would hear them. Justin says that he prophesied the destruction of all things by fire, and the quotation in Clement makes him declare that the kings of the earth should hate and persecute the Son of God—the Christ—and his followers. It is this last passage which fixes the book as Christian rather than Jewish.

V. DIDACTIC. 1. *Teaching of the Apostles* (Didachè).—Greek. The literature of this manual of ethics and church discipline is enbrmous, and the history of its various forms cannot be attempted here. It was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in a MS of **1056** at Constantinople, and printed first in the year **1883**. It consists of two distinct parts: the first an ethical manual which may be founded on a Jewish document, and reappears in the Epistle of Barnabas; the second relating to church matters, containing disciplinary rules and liturgical *formulæ*. Opinions as to its date differ widely. Harnack would assign it in its present form (which is probably not primitive) to 130-160. It forms the groundwork of the 7th Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.

31. Didactic.

2. *Preaching of* ***Peter.***—Apparently an orthodox second-century book, of which Heracleon and Clem. Alex. have preserved important fragments containing warnings against Judaism and polytheism, and words of Jesus to the apostles. Another set of fragments, which there is no sufficient reason for repudiating, contains a lament of Peter for his denial, and various ethical maxims. There are strong similarities between the first set of fragments and the *Apology of Aristides*. Dobschutz (in a monograph in *Texte u. Unters.*) rejects the second set. The relation of the book (*a*) to a supposed *Preaching* **f Paul,** the existence of which is very doubtful, and (*b*) to the Pseudo-Clementhe literature, is by no means clear. A Syriac *Preaching of Simon Cephas*, published by Cureton, has none of the matter appearing in the quotations from the Greek book.

32. Bibliography. For the books noticed above, and the later documents not named (which are many), the student must consult:—

J. **A.** Fabricius, **Codex** *Pseudepig. Vet. Test.* Hamburg, 1713 and 1723; **Codex** *Apocryphus NT*, *ib.* 1719, 1743 (ed. 2); **O. F.** Fritzsche, *Libri V.T. pseudepigraphi selecti*; **A.** Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum*: E. Schiirer. *GIV*: Strack and Zöckler, *Apokryphen d. AT*; Wace add Salmon, ***Speaker's*** *Comm.*, *Apocrypha*; **J. C.** Thilo, **Codex** *Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*; Tischendorf, *Evangg. Apocr.* (ed. z, 1876); *Acta Ap. Apocr.*; *Apoc. Apocr.*; Lipsius, ***Die*** *Apokr.*, *Apostelgeschichten, u. Apostellegenden*; Migne, *Dict.* **des** *Apocr.*; James; *Apocrypha Anecdota*, i. ii.; Vassiliev, *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina*; Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocr.* i. ii.

Editions of individual writings have been specified under their proper headings. **M. R.** J.

APOLLONIA (ἀπολλωνια [Ti. WH]). A town on the Egnatian Road, in that part of Macedonia which had the name Mygdonia and lay between the rivers Strymon and Axius. It was near Lake Bolbe (*Betschik Göl*); but its exact site is not yet known. From the *Itin.* ***Ant.*** we learn that it was 30 R. m. from Amphipolis, and **37** from Thessalonica. Leake places it to the S. of the lake, at the modern village *Polina*; and this is probably right, though others are inclined to look for it more to the W. at the post-station of Klisali, which is seven hours from Thessalonica. Apollonia was at any rate on the main road between Amphipolis and Thessalonica by the Aulon, or pass of Arethusa. Paul and Silas, therefore, 'passed through' the town on their way to Thessalonica (Acts 17 1).† **W.** J. W.

APOLLONIUS (ἀπολλωνιος [VA]; APOLLONIUS; ܐܦܠܘܢܝܘܣ).

1. (Son) of THRASEAS [*q.v.*]; the governor of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia who, according to 2 Macc. (3 5-4 4), induced Seleucus IV. to plunder the rich temple treasury of Jerusalem (see HELIODORUS). He may possibly be the same as—

2. The governor of Cœlesyria under Alexander Balas, who came to the help of Alexander's rival, Demetrius II. (Nikător), who made him chief of the army. This is more explicable if, as in Polyb. xxxi. 21 2, Apollonius was the foster-brother (*σύντροφος*) of Demetrius I. He was besieged at Joppa, and was entirely defeated by Jonathan near Azotus (Xshdod) in 147 B.C. (1 Macc. 10 69 *ff.*). Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. **4 3**) calls him Δαός (or rather Ταός, Niese)—*i.e.*, one of the Dai (the classical Dahæ) on the E. of the Caspian Sea—and erroneously represents him as fighting on the side of Alexander Balas.

3. General of Samaria, one of the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, beaten and slain by Judas the Maccabee, 166 **B.** C. (1 Macc. 3 10 *ff.*). He is probably the chief tax-commissioner (*ἄρχων φορολογίας*), who previously (168-167 **B.** C.) had been sent to hellenise Jerusalem, and by taking advantage of the sabbath had routed the Jews and occupied a fort there (1 Macc. 1 29 *ff.* 2 Macc. 5 24 *ff.*). He may perhaps be identified with—

4. The son of Menestheus sent by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemy **VI.** Philometor on his accession (διὰ τὰ πρωτοκλήσια: 2 Macc. 4 21).

5. Son of GENNEUS (ὁ τοῦ Γενναίου); a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Eupător (2 Macc. 12 2).

APOLLOPHANES (ἀπολλοφανης [VA]; Syr. has ܐܦܠܘܢܝܣ, Apollonius?), a Syrian slain by the men of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 10 37).

APOLLOS (ἀπολλως[1] [Ti. WH]), according to 1 Cor., our most important source, was a missionary and teacher who continued Paul's work in Corinth after the first visit of the latter (3 6), and was afterwards his companion in Ephesus, though not perhaps at the time the Epistle was being written (see ἦν in 16 12). Shortly before the writing of the First Epistle ***four*** parties had arisen in Corinth (1 10-12), one of which claimed to be 'of Paul,' and another 'of Apollos'; it argues, therefore, delicacy of feeling in Apollos that he did not comply with Paul's invitation to revisit Corinth again. The invitation itself, on the other hand, makes it plain that there were no very fundamental differences between the two men, least of all as to doctrine. Yet neither is it conceivable that the party-division turned npon nothing more than the personal attachment of their individual converts to the two men respectively. On that supposition there would be nothing so blameworthy about it; and it would be impossible to explain the existence, alongside of them, of the party of Christ, and still more of that of Peter. Our earliest authority for Peter's ever having been in Corinth at all is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth about **170** (Eus. HE ii. 25 8), who, contrary to all the known facts of history, will have it that Peter

1. In 1 Cor.

[1] By contraction, or rather abbreviation, like **Ζηνᾶς** from **Ζηνόδωρος**, **'Αμύνας** from **'Αμύνανδρος**, and **so** on (cp **NAMES**, § 86, end). The fuller form is more probably **'Απολλώνιος** than **'Απολλόδωρος**, of which the usual contractions were **'Απολλᾶς**, **'Απελλᾶς**, or **'Απελλῆς**. The reading 'Απολλώνιος is actually given by D in Acts 18 24. By analogy the accentuation **'Απολλῶς** ought to be preferred to the currently adopted **'Απολλώς.**

came both to Corinth and to Italy simultaneously with Paul. Thus the formation of an Apollos party, as distinguished from the party of Paul, can have been due only to the individuality and manner of teaching of Apollos. Paul finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that 'wisdom' is absent from his teaching. His answer (1 17-34) is that in substance 'wisdom' is really contained in the simple preaching of the Cross, hut that in form he offers it only to Christians of mature growth, and (this not being the Corinthians' case) that he has purposely kept it in the background in his dealings with them. The teachers who offered' 'wisdom,' and thus excelled Paul in the eyes of many of the Corinthians, however, were assuredly not the Judaisers among whom the parties of Christ and of Peter found their supporters. Apollos, therefore, must he meant. Paul actually says that on the foundation laid by himself in Ccrinth, besides the gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble have been built (3 12). But the energy with which he pronounces his judgment in 1 19 *f.* 29 25 can be explained only by the fact that the adherents of Apollos overvalued their teacher and subordinated substance to form.

2. In Acts.

With this agrees the notice in Acts **1824-28** (our secondary source; see ACTS),[1] that Apollos was an eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures, and an Alexandrian Jew. We may accordingly assume that the distinguishing quality in Apollos' teaching of 'wisdom' showed itself in an allegorising interpretation of the OT, such as we see in Philo or in the Epistle of Barnabas. But the fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of Jesus 'exactly' (ἀκριβῶς : 18 25*a b*) contradicts the statements (on the one hand) that he knew only the baptism of John (18 25*c*) and (on the other) that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila (18 26*b c*). Whilst, therefore, it is possiblefor us to regard 18 24 25*a b* as derived from a written source which the compiler had before him, 18 25*c* 26*b c* would seem to be later accretions. The effect of these last expressions (even if they are traditional) is to represent Apollos as subordinate to Paul; for, according to 19 1-7, the rest of the disciples of John must receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the first time at the hands of Paul. As to the rest, the fact that in 19 1-3 mention is made of these as of something new goes to show that originally in 18 25 there was no reference to a disciple of John. Further, Acts 18 28 is not easily reconcilable with what is said in 1 Cor. *36* : that the mission of Apollos was directed to the same persons as that of Paul, and that the church of Corinth consisted almost entirely of Gentile Christians (1 Cor. 12 2 compared with 7 18). In that case Acts 18 26*a* may he attributed to the same author to whom 18 28 (and 18 25*c* **266** *c* ?) must be ascribed.

Of the most recent attempts to deny the existence of the contradictions indicated above none can he pronounced successful. Blass (*Exp. Times*, 7, 1895-96, pp. 241 *ff.*, **564,** and *Philology of the Gospels*, **1898,** p. 30 *f.*) supposes Apollos to have derived his knowledge of Christianity from a book where, as in the second canonical gospel, the baptismal precept was wanting. Arthur Wright (*Exp. Times*, **9,** 1897-98, pp. **8-12,** 437 *f.*) replies, with reason (as it seems tn us), that such use of a hook could not have been intended by the word κατηχεῖσθαι. It is only of ἀκούειν that Blass has heen able to show that in some few cases it is practicnlly equivalent to 'learning by reading' (see the examples, in Stephanus, *Thes.* I., Paris, **1831,** p. 1268 A and B. They are not, however, all of them quite certain. Nor is Jn. **1234** a case in point; the meaning is 'Our teachers have read in the law, and have told us hy word of mouth that the Christ abideth for ever'). No single instance can be adduced in which κατηχεῖσθαι denotes acquisition of knowledge without intervention of a teacher. In particular, in Rom. 2 17 *f.* the meaning is, 'thou bearest the name of a Jew and . . . provest the things that differ, being instructed out of the law' [by frequenting the synagogue, or the instruction of the scribes]; and even in those cases where ἀκούειν has practically the sense of 'read,' the underlying idea is always that the book is read not by the 'hearer' himself, hut by some other person as, for example a slave, so that the primary sense of the word' has never entirdly disappeared. In the case of Apollos, however, the idea that he ised a Christian hook, not however reading it himself hut getting t read to him by some other person, is too far-fetched to he brought into requisition here. To the suggestion (referred to by Blass, **Acta** *Apostolorum, ed. philol.* 1895, ***ad*** *loc.*) that Apollos may have heen orally instructed **by** a man whose knowledge of Christianity in its turn was limited to the contents of a book from which the baptismal command **was** absent, it has to be replied that the supposition is irreconcilable with the ἀκριβῶς of Acts 17 25.[1] Wright himself, however, contributes nothing new to the solution of the question except the emendation of ἐλάλει into ἀπελάλει (so **D),** the verb being then taken as meaning 'to repeat by rote' or at least 'to glibly recite. Even if such a meaning could he established for the word, it would not nearly suffice to remove the difficulties of the passage. Lastly, Baldensperger (*Der Prolog des* **4** *Evangeliums*, **1868,** pp. 93-99) is constrained to take refuge in the view that what Apollos taught ἀκριβῶς consisted only of Messianic matters as enumerated in such passages as Heb. 6 1 *f.*; that the editor of the source of Acts here employed says τὰ περὶ του Ἰησοῦ only from a point of view of his own, meaning all the while not the historical Jesus but simply the Messiah in the larger sense, in whose coming the disciples of John also believed. If this be so. he could not possibly havd expressed his meaning in a **less** appropriate and more misleading way.

1 The reference to Acts **1824-28** occurs in § 11.

3. Other points.

Tit. 3 13, the' onlv other NT passage in which Apollos is named, cannot he used as a historical source; and there is no ground for the conjecture that what constituted the difference between Apollos and Paul lay in the value attached by the former to the administration of baptism with his own hands (1 Cor. 1 13-17), and that thereby he gave an impulse to the practice of baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15 29). Paul, indeed, regards the church of Corinth, although he has personally baptized hardly any of its members, as wholly his own (1 Cor. 4 15 and often). On the other hand, the hypothesis put forward by Luther (as having already been suggested somewhere) that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews is, at all events, preferable to any other that ventures to condescend on a name.

In the lists of 'the Seventy' (Lk. 10 1), dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, Apollos is enumerated, and has the diocese of Caesarea assigned to him (*Chron. Pasc.* Bonn ed., i. **442, ii. 126).** **P. W. S.**

APOLLYON (ΑΠΟΛΛΥΩΝ [Ti. WH], Rev. 9 11. See ABADDON.

1. 'The Twelve.'

APOSTLE (ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, 'a messenger')[2] **was** the title conferred by Jesus on the twelve disciples whom he sent forth, on a certain occasion, to preach and heal the sick. In the earliest Gospel tradition the disciples appear to be spoken of as apostles only in reference to this special mission **(Mk. 314** [ℵB] = Lk. 6 13, cp Mt. 10 2; and Mk. 6 **30** = Lk. 9 10); but the name soon became a customary designation, and is so employed in Lk. **(17** 5 **24** 10) and Acts (1 2, etc.). The number twelve was symbolical, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel; and when Judas fell from his 'apostolate' (Acts **125**) the number was restored by the election of Matthias.[3] It is used in this symbolical and representative sense in Rev,. 21 14.

Lists of the Twelve.—In the four lists (Mt. **10 2** Mk. **3** 16 Lk. **6** 14 Acts **1 13)** the names fall into three groups of four names, the first name in each group being constant, while the order of the rest changes. Thus :—

I.	Mk.	Peter	James	John	Andrew.
	Mt. Lk.	Peter	Andrew	James	John.
	Acts	Peter	John	James	Andrew.
II.	Mk. Lk.	Philip	Bartholomew	Matthew	Thomas.
	Mt.	Philip	Bartholomew	Thomas	Matthew.
	Acts	Philip	Thomas	Bartholomew	Matthew.
III.	Mk. Mt.	James of Alphæus	Thaddaeus	Simon the Cananaean	Judas Iscariot.
	Lk. (Acts)	James of Alphaeus	Simon Zelotes	Judas of James	Judas Iscariot.

Mark's order of the first group recurs in Mk. 13 3. It puts first the three who were selected **as** witnesses of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5 37), of the Transfiguration (9 2), and of the Agony **(14 33).** Their importance is further marked by surnames given by Jesus, Peter (= Cephas) and Boanerges. Mt. and Lk.

1 Blass now *(Phi.? of Gospels)* expressly rejects the idea.

2 ἀπόστολος, **a** stronger word than ἄγγελος, properly denotes not a mere messenger, hut rather the delegate of the person who sends him. It seems to have heen used among the Jews of the fourth century A.D., of persons sent on a mission of responsibility, especially for the collection of moneys for religious purposes.

3 On this subject, see MATTHIAS, 1.

drop the Aramaic surname Boanerges, and class the' brothers together ('Peter and Andrew his brother'). In Acts the order is accounted for by the prominence of Peter and John in the opening chapters. This seems to have had a reflex action on the writer's mind, for in Lk. 8_{51} 9_{28} we have 'Peter and John and James' though where Peter is not mentioned we have 'James and John,' 954.

The original signification of the term (delegate or missionary) is recalled by its application to Barnabas and Saul (Acts $14_{4\ 14}$), who had been selected under the direct guidance of the Spirit from among the prophets and teachers of the church of Antioch and sent forth on a missionary enterprise. Paul in his epistles defends his claim to he an apostle in the highest sense, as one directly commissioned by God; and in this connection he emphasises his personal acquaintance with the risen Christ (Gal. 1_1 2 Cor. 11_5 1 Cor. 9_1: 'Am I not an apostle, have I not seen Jesus our Lord?'). As 'apostle of the Gentiles' (Rom. 11_{13}) he received full recognition from the chief apostles in Jerusalem (Gal. 2_{7-9}).

2. Paul.

The stress laid by Paul on his own apostolate, as 'not a whit behind' that of the Twelve, was probably a main factor in the subsequent restriction of the title to the original apostles and himself. In the NT, however, it is certainly applied to Barnabas, as we have seen, and almost certainly to Silvanus (1 Thess. 2_6), Andronicus, and Junias (Rom. 16_7)—apart from its more limited reference in the case of the 'apostles of the churches' (2 Cor. 8_{23}) and Epaphroditus (Phil. 2_{25} 'your apostle'). Moreover. we see it claimed in the church of Ephesus by certain persons to whom it is clcnied only after they have been tested and 'found false' (Rev. 2_2).

3. Others.

Rules for deciding the validity of such claims are given in the early manual called *The Teaching of the* Apostles. This book, which shows ns a primitive type of Church life existing in the locality in which it was written confirms the view suggested by the NT of the extension of thk title of apostle beyond the limits of the Twelve and Paul. Apostles are here spoken of as teachers essentially itinerant; ranking above the prophets who may or may not be settled in one place, and in no specified relation to the bishops and deacons who are responsible for the ordinary local administration of the community. Even as the first apostles were sent forth 'without purse or scrip,' so these, 'according to the ordinance of the gospel,' move from place to place, and are not to remain in a settled church more than two days, nor to receive money or more than a day's rations. These wandering missionaries are referred to by Eusebius as 'holding the first rank of the succession of the apostles' (*HE* 3 37 5_{10}; he avoids the actual designation 'apostle,' perhaps in deference to later usage); and the strict regulations in the *Teaching* prove that there was danger lest the frequency of their visits should become burdensome to settled churches.

It is interesting to observe that the tradition of the application of the title to missionaries survives at the present day in the East. Among the Greeks the word for a missionary is ἱεραπόστολος, and the delegates of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Nestorians are regularly called apostles by the Syrians of Urmi.

Having thus clearly established the wider use of the term 'apostle,' we must return and consider the uniqueness of the position occupied by the Twelve and Paul, to whom par *excellence* the title belongs. The distinction of their office which first comes under notice is that they were witnesses of the Resurrection. This is emphasised at the election of the new apostle in Acts 1_{21} *f.* 'Of the men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, one of these must with us be a witness of his resurrection.' Their personal discipleship to Jesus, however, and the special training which he had bestowed upon them, had fitted them to be not only the preachers of faith and repentance to the multitudes, but also the authoritative instructor: of the 'brethren' (cp Acts 2_{42} 'the apostles' doctrine'). Their commission was derived directly from Christ, even as his was from the Father (Jn. 20_{21}, and cp 1 Clem. 45: 'Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ'). In performing cures they lay stress upon the fact that they are his representatives; their acts are in fact his (cp especially Acts 3_{16} 934). Certain functions are in the first instance

4. Apostolate.

xercised exclusively by the apostles: as the laying on f hands, to convey the Pentecostal gift to the baptized, and the appointment of local officers in the hurch. In the earliest stage, too, the contributions of vealthy believers are laid 'at the apostles' feet'; though t a later time it is 'the presbyters' who receive the offerngs made for 'the brethren in Judaea' (Acts 4_{34} *f.* 11_{30}).

The authority implied in their commission is nowhere ormally defined; but on two important occasions we re permitted to observe the niethod of its exercise. Thus, in the appointment of the Seven the apostles call n the whole body of believers to elect, and thereupon hemselves appoint the chosen persons to their work by solemn ordination. Again, when the question of the bligation of Gentile believers to observe the Mosaic itual arises in Antioch, it is referred to 'the apostles nd elders' in Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, ii.), and a letter s written in their joint names ('the apostles and elder brethren'). This letter is couched in terms of authoriative advice rather than of direct command; and the uthority which it implies, with regard to the distant ommunities whose interests are involved, is moral ather than formal.

In the churches of Paul's foundation we find that postle acting with a consciousness of the fullest uthority, in appointing presbyters, conveying the gift f the Spirit, and settling all kinds of controverted uestions (Acts 14_{23} 196 1 Cor. 7_{17}). His relation to he Twelve is marked by a firm sense of independence ogether with an earnest desire for concerted action. n the case of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus in Crete we see him delegating for a time during his own bsence his apostolic authority.

For the relation of the apostolate to other forms of he Christian ministry, *see* CHURCH, § 12.

Literature. Bishop Lightfoot's note 'on the name and office of an Apostle' (Comm. on Gal. 5th ed. 92-101) had, even before the recovery of the *Teaching*, destroyed the fiction of the limitation of the term in the first ge. It needs now to he supplemented by Harnack's important iscussion, *Lehre der Apostel*, 93-118. The whole subject as been freshly and vigorously treated by Hort in Ecclesia *passim*). J. A. R.

APOTHECARY (רֹקֵחַ **Ex.** $30_{25\ 35}$, רֹקֵחַ Eccl. 10_1). The Heb. word means 'perfumer.' See CONFECTION, PERFUME. 𝔊's term is μυρεψός, the medical or magical aspects (*see* φαρμακια, -κευειν, -κον in 𝔊) of whose trade may be seen in Ecclus. **388**, where his skill in compounding the medicines (*v.* 4 φαρμακα, *medicamenta*) that the Lord created out of the earth is referred to. In Neh. 38 is mentioned a guild of perfumers, one of the 'sons' or members of which was Hananiah (the idiom is effaced in RV, and misrepresented in AV, which gives 'son of one of the apothecaries').

APPAIM (אַפַּיִם, εφραιμ [B]; αφφ. [A]; ωφειμ [L]), a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2_{30} *f.*).

APPARITION (φαντασμα), Mt. 14_{26} RV. See DIVINATION, § 3 (3), SOUL.

APPEAL. On inferior and superior courts, or what might be called courts of review or of appellate jurisdiction in the Hebrew commonwealth, see GOVERNMENT, §§ 19, 31, and LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16. As regards Roman criminal procedure,—the appeal of Paul to Cæsar is best understood from the narrative of Festus to Agrippa (Acts 25_{14-21}). Accused by his compatriots in 'certain questions of their own superstition,' and asked whether he was willing to go to Jerusalem and there be judged, he had 'appealed' (ἐπικαλεσαμένου) to be reserved for the hearing (διάγνωσιν, *cognitionem*) of Caesar. The apostle as a Roman citizen was well within his rights when he invoked the authority of the emperor and thereby virtually declined the jurisdiction alike of the Jewish courts and of the Roman procurator; and his reasons for choosing to do so are not far to seek.—Under the republican procedure every Roman citizen had the right of *provocatio*

ad populum. From the time of Augustus the populus ceased to exercise sovereign criminal jurisdiction ; the .emperor himself took cognisance of criminal cases as a court of first instance, having co-ordinate jurisdiction with the senate. —The *quæstio* procedure continued as before to be the ordinary mode of trial.

APPHIA (απφια [Ti. WH], etc., *APPIA*, etc. Cp especially Lightf. Col. *and Philem.* **372** *ff.*), probably the wife of Philemon (Philem. 2),

APPHUS (cαφφουc [A]; cαπφ. [ℵV]), 1 Macc. 25. See JONATHAN, **18**, **MACCABEES**, § 5.

APPII FORUM, RV ' Market of Appius' (αππιου φορου [Ti. WH] ; modern ***Foro Appio***), a well-known halting-place on the *Via Appia*, where Paul was met by brethren from Rome (Acts **28** 15). The distance from Rome is given in the *Ztin. Anton.* **(107)** as **43** R. m. (and so perhaps *It. Hier.*—*e.g.*, Migne, *PL.* **8794**, but in other edd. [611 *f.*] as **37).**

For inscription on XLIII milestone, found near Foro Appio, see *CIL* x. pt. i. **686.** The road leading to Appii Forum from the south through the district of the Pontine Marshes was often abandoned in favour of **a** journey by boat (cp Horace, *Sat.* i. **5 1-26,** where Appii Forum is described (*l.* **4)** as being 'Differtum nautis, caoponibus atque malignis.' See also THREE TAVERNS.

APPLE (תַּפּוּחַ; Pr. **2511** Cant. 2 3 5 7 8 [9] 8 5 Joel 1 12†, see also FRUIT, § 12), by some understood as a generic name including various fruits, and by others supposed to mean not the apple but the quince, citron, or apricot.

1. Name.

The origin of the Hebrew name is not quite certain ; but there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the ,accepted derivation from נפח, to breathe ;[1] the name thus alludes to the perfume of the fruit. תפוח in post-biblical Hebrew, and the corresponding word *tuffāḥ*[2] in Arabic, ordinarily denote the 'apple'; and this rendering is, so far, supported by the ancient versions—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and the Targum. It must be admitted, however, that all the words used—*μῆλον*, *ḥazzōrā*,[3] חזור, *tuffāḥ*, *malum* (s. pornurn)—are capable, with or without the addition of an epithet, of being applied to other fruits ; *μῆλον*, indeed, originally meant 'large tree,' or fruit in general, and only gradually became confined to the apple;[4] cp the very wide use of *pomum*, *poma* in Latin. Still, an examination of the biblical passages where תפוח occurs seems to show that some particular fruit is intended ; and the question must be answered by considering (1) which kind of fruit possesses in the highest .degree the qualities of beauty of colour and form, of fragrance, and of efficacy in overcoming the feeling of sickness ; and (2) which fruit-tree was most likely, under the conditions of climate and of botanical history, to he found abundant in Palestine during biblical times. [Though all the six occurrences of תפוח are possibly, not to say certainly, post-exilic, the antiquity of the cultivation of the tree (or class of trees?) in Palestine is proved by the place-names Tappuah and Beth-Tappuah.]

2. Identification.

The following identifications have been proposed :—(1) apricot (Tristram, *FFP* 294) ; (2) apple (especially WRS, *J. Phil.* 13 65 *f.*) ; (3) citron or orange (Del. *Comm.* ***on Prov.***); (4) quince (Houghton, *PSBA* 12 42-48 [1889-90]).

[1] It seems doubtful whether there was, **as** postulated by Löw ***(Arum. Pflanzennamen,*** **156)** and Houghton *(PSBA* 12 47 [1889-90]), any word תפח to swell, even in Rabbinic Hebrew. It is at all events unknown to biblical Hebrew, to Syriac, and to Arabic. See, further, Lag. *Uebers.* 111, 129 ; and **F.** Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107, and in *ZDMG* **44546 ('90).**

[2] This must be **a** loan-word in Arabic (Frankel, ***Arum.*** *Fremdw.* 140), probably from Aramaic, though no trace of it has yet been found in Syriac.

[3] Lag. is inclined to derive this, the Aramaic equivalent of תפוח, from the Armenian word for apple (*ḥntsor*) and thus prove that the fruit came to Semite lands from Armenia (*Uebers. ll. cc.*); but Hommel shows the probability of the word being genuinely Semite, connecting it with an Arabic root *ḥanaza* (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107).

[4] Hehn and Stallybrass, *Wanderings of Plants* ***and Animals,*** **499.**

1. With regard to the first of these—the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*, L.)—it is to be remarked that it is not mentioned by Theophrastus, and does not appear to have been known to the Greeks or the Romans before the commencement of the Christian era (DeC. *Orig.*(2) **171).**

Its original home was **E.** Asia (probably China), whence it gradually spread westward to Armenia (*μῆλον Ἀρμενιακόν*, *malum armeniacum*); hut Tristram is certainly wrong in saying ***(Nut.*** *Hist.* **335)** that it is ***native*** there.

The present abundance of the' apricot in Palestine is almost certainly post-biblical.

2. The apple—*Pyrus Malus*, L.—is found without doubt in a wild state in Northern Asia Minor, especially about Trebizond, and occasionally forms small woods.

It extends eastwards to Transcaucasia, and apparently to Persia (cp Boissier, *Fl. Orient.* **2656).** Sir Joseph Hooker says that it is 'apparently wild' in NW. Himalaya and W. Thibet, but that everywhere **else** in India it is cultivated (*Fl. Brit. Ind.* **2373).** De Candolle (*Orig.* 180) thinks the apple was indigenous and cultivated in Europe in prehistoric times ; but Boissier (*l.c.*) restricts its natural occurrence to Macedonia and Eubcea.

In any case the original apple clearly required a cool climate. Under cultivation. there have been obtained varieties which will tolerate and even 'require a warmer one ;[1] but these are notoriously modern inventions, and it is absurd to take account of them in considering the ancient history of the fruit. In truth the original apple —and the apple of biblical times was presumably somewhat similar—cannot have been very attractive : it was in fact a 'crab' only about an inch in diameter.

Sir Joseph Hooker says (from his own knowledge) 'Palestine is too hot for apples.' With this agrees Tristram's account :

'Though the apple is cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, out of the boundaries of the Holy Land, yet it barely exists in the country itself. There are, indeed, **a** few trees in the gardens of Jaffa ; but they do not thrive, and have a wretched, woolly fruit. Perhaps there may be some at 'Askalān. What English and American writers have called the "apple," however, is really the quince. **The** climate is far ***too*** hot for our apple tree' (*NHB* 334 *f.*).

As there is no evidence of the apple ever having been found native in Syria, those who render *tappūaḥ* 'apple' have to show (1) that it was introduced from without (Pontus), and (2) that it became established when introduced. Both propositions are improbable. What is said above of the introduction of a few modern sorts into Syrian gardens is true ;[2] but it is impossible to infer from this fact that the biblical *tappūaḥ* was the apple.

The strongest argument for the apple is that *tuffāḥ* is used in modern Arabic for this fruit ; but, as we have seen above, the word may have wider significance, and it is exceedingly probable that in such passages as those quoted by Robertson Smith in an article (*Journ. Phil.* 65 *f.*) which, though short, appeared to him (prematurely?) to be almost decisive, it is really the quince that is meant. Even if 'apple' be the usual modern meaning of *tuffāḥ*, it **is** far from uncommon in botanical history for a name to pass from one to another of two plants so nearly allied as the quince and the apple.

[J. Neil *(Pal* Explored, '82, p. **186)** differs widely from Prof. G. Post of Beyrout (Hastings, *DB*, 'Apple'), who argues that the apple as grown in Palestine and Syria to-day alone fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuaḥ.*

Post remarks, 'almost **all** the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet (Cant. **2** 3). To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds. . . . Sick persons almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell.' This being so, it is needless to conjecture that 'such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds,' for, according to Post, the ordinary and (to **us)** disappointing Syrian apple can still, without poetic idealisation, he referred to in the language of Canticles. But was Canticles written for Syria?]

3. No citrus (orange or citron) will do.

The citron has its home in the sub-Himalayan tract of **N.**

[1] Thus the best American apples succeed in Great Britain only under glass.

[2] Similarly, in the Deccan four sorts of **apples are** now found ; but these **are all** introduced, two from England and two from Persia.

India. Thence it spread W. through Mesopotamia and Media, hence its current botanical name, *Citrus mēdica*, L.[1] It is first mentioned by Theophrastus (τὸ μῆλον τὸ μηδικὸν ἢ τὸ περσικόν; *Hist.* iv. 4 2); but he says that it is not eaten (οὐκ ἐσθίεται). It was probably, therefore, not much developed by cultivation.

The Romans did not know the citron. Their citron wood was the wood of *Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent., from N. Africa. The true citron was probably not introduced into Italy till the third or fourth century A. D.

[The claims of the citron[2] (to be the *tappuaḥ*) are so exceedipgly slight that its introduction into Palestine is chiefly interesting in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, at which, in the time of Jos., it was carried by the Jews (a custom which is continued to the present day: see 'The Citron of Commerce,' *Kew Bulletin*, June 1894). It was introduced at any rate during the period of their relations with Media and Persia, and we find it depicted upon Jewish coins (see Stade, *GVI* 2, facing p. 406).

The statement of Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 135) is, that according to the law of the Feast of Tabernacles branches of the palm and citron tree (θύρσους τῶν φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων) were to be borne hyevery one: elsewhere (*ib.* iii. 104) he specifies the myrtle, the willow, and boughs of palm-tree and of pome-citron (μῆλος τῆς περσέας). The Talmudic law particularly ordained that the fruit should he held in the left hand, and the branches (or לולב) in the right.[3] The priestly law, on the other hand, has not the precision which the translators and exegetes of a later age gave to it. In Lev. 23 39 *ff.* (H), among the requirements for the feast of ingathering, stands the 'fruit of goodly trees,' or (better) 'goodly tree-fruit' (פרי עץ הדר; cp 𝔊BAL, καρπὸν ξύλου ὡραῖον), which Targ., Pesh., and ancient Jewish tradition identified with the orange or citron.[4] This identification is open to question, and the expression may he connected preferably with the 'fair honghs' mentioned in the account of the Feast of Tabernacles, 2 Macc. 10 6 *ff.* (κλάδους ὡραίους; *ramos virides*; Pesh. om.). Nor is the citron specifically mentioned in the somewhat fuller and less vague list in Neh. 8 15 (the Pesh. apparently renders 'palm-trees' by 'citrons'), although commentators found an allusion to it in the עץ שמן, the fat *or* oily tree (AV 'pine,' RV 'wild-olive').]

The orange was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It was introduced into Mediterranean countries by the Arabs about the ninth century.

4. Whereas the development of the modern apple is most probably to be attributed to the northern races, the quince (*Pyrus Cydonia*, L. = *Cydonia Vulgaris*, Pers.) is a fruit characteristic of the Mediterranean basin and requires a warm temperate climate. A native of W. Asia, it extended to the Taurus, and thence spread through all Mediterranean countries.[5] The best sort came from Crete; hence μῆλον κυδώνιον and *Malum cotoneum*, and the various European names (*Codogno*, Ital.; *Coing*, Fr.; and *Quince*, Engl.). Hehn (*Kc.* 185) says: 'The golden apples of the Hesperides and of Atalanta were idealised quinces . . . Its colour, like that of the pomegranate, made a lively impression.' This would well accord with the reference in Prov. 25 11; whilst the well-known aroma of the quince (much stronger than that of the apple) would explain Cant. 2 5 7 8 [9]. It is true that the taste of the fruit, unsweetened, is harsh and bitter, and there is hence some difficulty in reconciling our theory with Cant. 2 3; but something must be there allowed for the idealisation of the picture, and undoubtedly the fruit could be prepared in such a way as to have a delicious taste. Moreover the whole classical history of the fruit is saturated with erotic suggestion, and this falls in with the repeated mention of it in Canticles. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

[1] Sir Joseph D. Hooker (*Fl. Brit. Ind.* 1 514) gives its range as Garwhal to Sikkim.

[2] אתרוג, from Pers. *turunj*. For the various traditions connected with it cp Levy, s.v. See Löw, 46.

[3] The Daphnephoria as depicted by Leighton is a familiar and popular illustration of this custom.

[4] Rashi referred to the annual beauty of the tree, and the Talmud supposed that הדר = הידר—*i.e.*, Glop—an allusion to the fact that the citron grows beside all waters (cp Field, *Hexapla*, *ad loc.*). See De Candolle (*Orig.*(2) 143 *f.*), who quotes Risso to show that the citron was not recognised by the translators of 𝔊. If חוור is really a genuine (and ancient) Semitic word (cp above, § 1, n. 3), it is tempting to read it here instead of הדר.

[5] De Candolle, 189, says: 'Avant l'époque de la guerre de Troie.'

APRONS. For חֲגֹרוֹת, the (fig-leaf) coverings of Gen. 3 7 (AV mg. 'things to gird about,' RV mg. 'girdles'; 𝔊BAL περιζώματα), see GIRDLE, 2. For מִטְפַּחַת (Ruth 3 15 AV mg.) see MANTLE, § 2, no. 3. The σιμικινθια [Ti. WH] of Acts 19 12† (used for healing purposes) are the *semicinctia* or aprons worn by servants and artisans.

AQUILA (ακυλας [Ti. WH]) is the Latin name by which alone we know one of the Jewish companions of Paul. A Jew, native of Pontus, he had removed to Rome and there carried on his calling as tent-maker; probably it was also in Rome that he married his wife Prisca or Priscilla, whose name is always associated with his—most commonly indeed placed before it. The banishment of the Jews from Rome by Claudius (*circa* A.D. 49) led to the settlement of Aquila and his wife in Corinth (Acts 18 2). Here, presumably, their acquaintance with Paul began and they were converted to Christianity. It was with them that the apostle, also a tent-maker, lodged on his first visit to Corinth. (Afterwards, looking back upon his relations with them at this time [Rom. 16 3] he applies to them the words: 'fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who, for my life, laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles.') From Corinth Aquila and Priscilla accompanied Paul to Ephesus (Acts 18 18), and here they remained behind while he went on to Jerusalem. At this time Apollos (*q.v.*) arrived in Ephesus, and the zealous pair undertook to 'expound unto him the way of God more perfectly' (*v.* 26). Writing to the Corinthian Church after his return to Ephesus, Paul encloses the message: 'Aquila and Prisca salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house' (1 Cor. 16 19). What is meant by this church is not quite clear; but the expression shows that they must have held a somewhat prominent and perhaps official position in the Ephesian community. That Ephesus continued (or was supposed to have continued) to be their home long after Paul left it is shown by the salutation addressed to them in 2 Tim. 4 19. That they are saluted in Rom. 16 3 shows (on the assumption that Rom. 16 3-20 is an integral part of the epistle in which it now occurs; see ROMANS) that at some period they must have returned to Rome for at least a season; but the occurrence of their names here is one of the facts that are held to make it probable that the salutations of Rom. 16 3-20 really belong to an Ephesian epistle.

Ecclesiastical tradition has little to say of either Aquila or Priscilla; in some late forms of the legend of Luke, Aquila and Priscus are represented as having been the disciples and lifelong companions of that evangelist, and as having had his Gospel entrusted to them by him. They are enumerated in the lists of the 'Seventy' (Lk. 10), dating from the fifth or sixth century, Priscas being sometimes read for Prisca. See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* i. 203 *ff.* 399 ii. 2 367.

AR, AR OF MOAB, is mentioned in the two ancient songs which celebrate Israel's passage across Moab:—Nu. 21 15, 'the slope of the valley that stretches to the seat' or site 'of Ar' (עָר, ηρ [BAL]); *v.* 28, a 'fire hath devoured Ar of Moab (עָר מוֹאָב; Μωαβ [L]; ἕως M. [BA],—*i.e.*, עד מ׳; so Sam. and some Heb. MSS) and consumed the high places of Arnon.' This 'Ar Moab is usually taken to be the same as the 'Ir Moab, 'city of Moab' (עיר מואב; πόλιν Μωαβ [BAL]), 'which is on the border of Arnon at the utmost part of the border' (Nu. 22 36), where Barak met Balaam when he came to Moab from the E.; and indeed עָר in those ancient songs may be the primitive spelling of עִיר. It is also the 'Ar Moab of Is. 15 1 (ἡ Μωαβεῖτις [BℵAQΓ]), there parallel to Kir Moab, another chief fortress of the country, the present Kerak. It may also be 'the city (עיר) in the midst of the valley'—*i.e.*, of Arnon (Deut. 2 36 Josh. 13 9 16 and 2 S. 24 5). In harmony with these passages, it is called the 'border of Moab' in Deut. 2 18 (𝔊AFL Αροηρ); but in *vv.* 9 (Αροηρ [A?(sup ras) FL]) and 29 (Αροηρ [BFL]; Αροηλ [A]) of the same chapter it seems

to mean a district rather than a town, and in this connection it is interesting that @* renders *'Ar Moab* in Is. 15 by Moabitis. Our present knowledge of the topography of Moab does not enable us to identify the site of 'Ar, the city.

We may he sure it was not the modern Rabba (so the *PEF* map), the Areopolis which in the fourth century of our era was the capital of Moab. Others have suggested the Meḥātet el-Ḥaj on the left hank of the Arnon opposite Aroer (see Burckhardt, ***Syr.*** 374).

More probably (cp Nu. 2236) it lay at the E. end of one or other of the Arnon valleys.

There Langer (***Reisebericht***, xvi.) has proposed Lejūn (Legio ?) described by Doughty *(Arab. Deserta*, 1 20) as a 'four-square, limestone-built, walled town in ruins, the walls and corner towers of dry block-building, at the midst of every wall a gate.' G. A. S.

ARA (אֲרָא ; αρα [BA] -αι [L]), in **a** genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, i. § **4),** I Ch. 7 38†. Perhaps ארא should he pronounced אֻרָא (Ura) for אוּרִיָּהוּ (Uriah). See ULLA.

ARAB (אֲרָב, αιρεμ [B], ερεβ [AL]), a site in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 52). If DUMAH (*q.v.*, **4)** is ed-Dōmeh, there may possibly be an echo of Arāb in *er-Rabīyeh*, the name of a site, with ruins, in the mountains of Judah, S. of Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 3 311 360).

ARABAH (הָעֲרָבָה, η αραβα [BAL], often translated by η rrpoc (εις, επι, κατα) δυςμας, sometimes by καθ' (προς) εςπεραν [BAL]), as a common noun, from a root probably meaning 'dry' (cp ARABIA, § 1), is used as a parallel (Is. 35 1 6, etc.) to מִדְבָּר, 'desert-steppe,' and to אֶרֶץ צִיָּה, 'parched ground,' with much the same force. **As** a proper name, with the article, it is generally confined to the great depression of the Dead Sea valley, 'the 'Ariibah.' So correctly in RV ; in AV it is more usually translated 'plain' (*q.v.*, *6)* or 'wilderness' (but in Josh. 18 18 ''Arabah,' 𝔊^BAL Βαιθαραβα, see BETH-ARABAH). Along with the hill-country, the slopes, the Shephēlah, and the Negeb, it is reckoned as one of the great parallel divisions of the land (Dt. 1 7 Josh. 11 16 12 8), and **it** is clear that the name was applied not only to the depression from the Lake of Galilee (Dt. *3 17* ; cp ARBATTIS) to Jericho (2 K. **254)** and the Dead Sea (which was called the Sea of the 'Arabah : Dt. **449**, etc., Josh. 316, etc.), but also to the rest of the same great hollow as far as the Gulf of 'Aḳabah (Dt. 1 *1)*.

Different parts of the Arābah were called 'Arbōth (construct plur. of 'Arābah) ; cp Josh. 5 10 Jer. 395, etc., EV 'plains of Jericho' ; Nu. 22 1 26 3, etc., 'plains of Moab.' See too AKBATTIS.

To-day the name *El-'Araba* is confined to the south of the line **of** cliffs that crosses the valley obliquely a few miles south of the southern end of the Dead Sea; and all N. **of** this is **known** as *El-Ghōr*, 'the depression' (Rob. ***BR*** **2490).**

The singular geological formation of the 'Arābah **is** indicated under PALESTINE (§ **3).** Here it is sufficient to explain how such a name was applied to the valley even N. of the Dead Sea. In spite bf the enormous possible fertility of the Jordan valley under proper irrigation, the vast stretches of jungle, marl, saline soil, and parched hillsides out of reach of the streams, along with the sparseness of cultivation in most ages (owing to the great heat, unhealthy climate, and wild beasts), fully justify the name 'Arābah. In the NT also the valley is called a wilderness (τῇ ἐρήμῳ Mk. **14**).

For the 'Arābah S. of the Dead Sea, see Rob. ***BR*** i. and ii., Hull *PEF Mem.*, 'Geology,' and for the part N. **of** the Dead Sea, 'Stanley, *SP* 7 ; Conder, ***Tent Work in*** *Pal.* **14** ; GASm. *HG* 22*J*. ***G.*** A. S.

ARABAR, BROOK OF THE, AV **River of** the **Wilderness** (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה), is in Am. 6 **14** the southern limit of the land of Israel in opposition to the northern Pass of Hamath. The name occurs nowhere else; but by some has been taken as another form of Brook of the 'Arābīm (הָעֲרָבִים ; EV BROOK OF THE WILLOWS [AV^mg. BROOK OF THE ARABIANS]—rather of the *Populus euphratica : ZDPV* 2 209), given in Is. 15 7 as the southern boundary of Moab. This may be the long Wādy el-HBsy (or Hessi, *PEF* Map) which Doughty (*Ar.* ***Des.*** 1 26) describes as dividing the uplands of Moab and Edom, and running into the S. end of the Dead Sea; by some thought to be also the Brook ZERED. It is doubtful, however, whether the Israelite kingdom could ever have been described as extending S. of the Arnon. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 115 ['83]) suggests that the Brook of the Arabah may have lain at the N. end of the Dead Sea. 𝔊's rendering, τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν δυσμῶν [BAQ], is no help. It is to be noted that N. Israel under Jeroboam II. in the time of Amos is stated in 2 K. 14 25 to have extended from 'the entering in of Hamath unto the Sea of the Arabah.' The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to whether Amos means to include Judah. G. A. S.

ARABATTINE (ακραβαττηνη [AK]), I Macc. 5 3† AV, RV AKRABATTINE.

ARABIA, ARABIANS (עֲרָב ; gentilic עֲרָבִי and in Neh. עֲרָבִי, pl. עֲרָבִים, also once עַרְבִיאִים, and once Kt. עַרְבִיִּים ; αραβ[ε]ια decl. and indecl. [BKAL, etc.], -Βιccα [BℵA], αραψ (-αβος) [BℵAL, etc.], αραβ[ε]ι [BℵA]).

The name *'Arab'* (ערב) seems originally to have meant nothing more than 'desert' : hence 'people of the desert.' So Isaiah[1] uses the word, 'In the forest in the desert (*'ărab ;* but 𝔊 ἑσπέρας) ye halt for the night' (Is. 21 13).

1. Earlier OT usage.

More usual in Hebrew is the fem. form *'ărābāh* (*e.g.*, Job 24 5 39 6), a word employed as a proper name to denote the desolate valley, in which the Dead Sea is situated, reaching to the north-eastern extremity of the Red Sea (see ARABAH, i.). In the OT the term *'Arab*, as the name of a particular nation and country, is confined to comparatively late writings ; it must therefore appear highly improbable that the Homeric 'Ερεμβοί (*Od.* **484)** are to be identified with the Arabs. The lists in Genesis, which specify various Arabian tribes, do not mention the name—a very significant indication of their antiquity. The word being certainly an appellative ('desert') in Is. **21** 13 (with EV cp Hab. 1 8 𝔊, Zeph. 33 𝔊), the heading מַשָּׂא בַּעְרָב, 'Oracle concerning the Arabs,' cannot be in accordance with the author's real meaning.[2] No certain instance of the use of *'Arab* as a proper name occurs before the time of Jeremiah. He speaks of 'all the kings of *'Arab'*[3] (ואת כל־מלכי ערב, Jer. 25 24). The words which follow in MT, ואת־כל מלכי הערב, are of course **a** dittography; in order to make sense the scribes pronounced הָעֶרֶב 'the mixed people,' a form which really occurs in *v.* 20, as well as in Ez. 305 and I K. 10 15 (where 𝔊 reads הָעֵבֶר for הערב). The Greek text of Jer. 25 **24** (*κ. πάντας τ. συμμίκτους* [BℵQ],[4] it may he noticed, does not presuppose a repetition, and moreover (followed by Co.) omits the word 'kings,' necessary though it is to the sense. The phrase, 'like a *'Arābī* in the desert' (Jer. *32*, κορώνη [BKA] ; Aq. αραψ [Q^mg.]), may be explained to mean either 'like an Arab' or 'like a Nomad'—the word has not yet acquired a strictly ethnographical signification. The same thing applies to a passage dating from the end of the Babylonian Exile, 'No *'Arābī* shall pitch his tent there, nor shall shepherds cause their flocks to lie down there' (Is. 13 20, Ἄραβες [BℵA^mg.]). In Ez. 27 21, however, *Arab* (עֲרָב ; Αραβ[ε]ια [BAQ], with the note εσπερα [Q^mg.]), appears as the name of a people, coupled with Kedar, a desert tribe very frequently mentioned at that period (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [2]).

[1] Isaiah's authorship, it is true, has heen disputed (see **ISAIAH,** § 9).

[2] 𝔊 omits **it ;** but Aq. Symm. Theod. all have it.

[3] Giesebr., however, while agreeing as to the dittography which follows, denies that 'and all the kings of *'Arab'* are the words of Jeremiah ; the closing words of the verse ('who dwell in the wilderness') alone are genuine ; they give the locality of those 'who have the comers of their hair polled' (*v.* 23). Cp. 926 [25], 'all that have, etc., who dwell in the wilderness.'

[4] 𝔊^A has κ. π. τ. σ. αὐτοῦ.

It would seem that the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrews at a time when the old names Ishmael, Midian, etc., were disappearing from ordinary speech. This change may be connected with the fact that during the period in question various tribes were advancing from the S. into the northern deserts and dispossessing the former inhabitants, who, in all probability, were closely akin to the Hebrews. Such shiftings of the population have occurred repeatedly in the course of ages. However unproductive the districts to the E. and to the S. of Palestine may appear *to* us, they are nevertheless, from the point of view of the Nomads, decidedly preferable to many parts of Arabia proper,

2. Other sources. From the ninth century B.C. and onwards, the name of the Arabs occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, where it presents a variety of forms[1] (*Arabi*, *Arubu*, *Aribi*, etc., the adjective being *Arbaya*).

The name *Urbi* (*KB* 284 *f.*), however, can scarcely be, as Delitzsch (*l.c.*) supposes, another form of the same word and the equivalent of the Arab ʿ*Urb* (which appears *to* be quite late) and of the Heb. עֲרָב. The Arabs mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions were probably all, or for the most part, natives of the Syrian desert, though we have no reason to assume that the name was applied to them exclusively as distinguished from the inhabitants of Arabia proper.

The inscriptions of the Persian King Darius (*e.g.*, Behistūn, 1. 15) mention *Arabāya* among the subject lands, always placing it after Babylonia and *Athura* (*i.e.*, Assyria. Mesopotamia proper, and possibly northern Syria) and before Egypt; here also the word must refer to the great deserts of Syria—perhaps also to those of Mesopotamia and the Sinaitic peninsula. Æschylus (*Pers.* 316), the first extant Greek writer in whose works the name occurs, speaks of a distinguished Arab in the army of Xerxes, and the contemporary authority whom Herodotus follows in his account of the Persian army makes mention of Arabs on the same occasion (Herod. 769). While the notions of Æschylus, however, about the geographical position of the Arabs, are altogether fantastic—he represents them as dwelling near the Caucasus (*Prom.* 422)—Herodotus shows himself much better informed. He applies the term Arabia to the whole peninsula (cp Herod. 2 11 3 107-113 4 39); but, as might have been expected, he refers in particular to those Arabs who inhabited the country between Syria and Egypt (2 12 30 3 4 7 *ff.* 8 80 91, etc.). It is also to be remarked that, in accordance with a peculiar classification, he gives the name of Arabia to that part of Egypt which lies to the E. of the Nile valley (2 8, etc.). Xenophon (*Anab.* vii. 8 25) speaks of a governor set by the Persian king over 'Phœnicia and Arabia,' by which is meant the S. of Syria, including Palestine and the neighbouring desert—a separate governor being set over 'Syria and Assyria.' Similarly in the *Cyropædia* he doubtless always means by Arabia the desert lands which were to some extent dependencies of the Persian Empire, not the peninsula itself; we must remember, further, that Xenophon had no definite ideas about these countries, through which he had not himself travelled. The name Arabia is used, in particular, for the desert of Mesopotamia (*Anab.* i. 5 1); it can hardly be an accident that this very district is called ʿ*Arab* by Syriac writers from the third century after Christ and onwards. Whilst, however, the term is regularly applied to that part of the desert which remained under Roman dominion till the Mohammedan conquest, the eastern portion, which belonged to Persia, is more commonly known as *Bēth ʿArabāyē* (or *Bā ʿArbāyā* in the Arabicised form)—*i.e.*, 'land of the Arabs.' Traces of this usage are found in late Greek authors also.

A strictly ethnographical sense belongs to the word 'Arab' in the writings of a contemporary of Herodotus,

3. Later OT writers. Nehemiah, who suffered much from the enmity of an Arab (Neh. 2 19 6 1 *6*) and enumerates 'the Arabs' as such in the list of his opponents (Neh. 4 7 [1]). The Arab in question bears a name which, according to the Massoretic vocalisation, is to be pronounced GESHEM (*q.v.*) or Gashmū, and appears in the Greek text as Γησάμ [BℵA], Γισαμ [L]; the correct form is probably *Gushamū*, a well-known Arabic name. It is very likely that at that time the great migration of the Nabataeans had already happened (see EDOM, § 9, NABATÆANS). The Chronicler too refers to 'the Arabians.' They brought tribute, he tells us, to the pious King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 11). He relates, also, how God punished the wicked Joram by means of the Philistines and 'the Arabians who were beside the Ethiopians' (2 Ch. 21 16, cp 22 1), and how he succoured the pious Uzziah in the war against 'the Arabians that dwelt in GUR-BAAL' [*q.v.*] and other nations (2 Ch. 26 7)—all this is written from the point of view of the author's own time (*circa* 200 B.C.), and has no claim to be regarded as historical.

By the beginning of the Maccabean period the kingdom of the NABATÆANS [*q.v.*] had long been firmly established. At that time various other Arabian tribes were also to be found in the great Syrian desert, and from among these certain families and persons rose to great power during the decline of the Seleucid Empire. In several Syrian towns we find Arabian sovereigns, and at Palmyra, at least, there was an Arabian aristocracy; elsewhere also Arabian chieftains occasionally played an important part in the politics of that period. 1 Macc. several times mentions Nabatæans and other Arabs (5 25 39 9 35 11 17 39 12 31; cp 2 Macc. 5 8 12 10 *f.*).

4. NT. The apostle Paul, after his conversion, retired into Arabia (Gal. 1 17)—probably some desert tract in the Nabatæan kingdom. When he speaks of Arabia he of course includes the Sinaitic peninsula (Gal. 4 25). Similarly, 'Arabs' (Arabian Jews or proselytes) in Acts 2 11 probably means natives of the Nabatæan kingdom (see NABATÆANS) or of the Roman province of Arabia which covered almost the whole extent of that kingdom. The province was constituted by A. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria (*circa* 105 A.D.).

5. Native Arabian usage. At what period certain tribes began to call themselves Arabs, and at what period the name was adopted by the whole nation, cannot be determined. The distinguished scholar, D. H. Müller,[1] has maintained that the name 'Arab' was unknown to the natives of Arabia till Mohammed introduced it as a national designation. This view, however, is scarcely tenable. The present writer does not happen *to* have made any notes on the occurrence of the name in the pre-Islamic poetry;[2] but the verse in Tabari, i. 1036 5, which dates from the beginning of the seventh century, is a sufficient proof of its occurrence—the poet, who can have known nothing of Mohammed, speaks of 3000 Arabs as opposed to 2000 foreigners. The events there described happened in the neighbourhood of the low-er Euphrates—that is to say, in a district where Arabs, Aramæans, and Persians frequently came into contact with one another, and where, for that very reason, a special term to denote the Arabian nationality and language was absolutely required. When we take into account the frequent communication between the Arabs of this district and those of the distant W. and S., and the great uniformity of the Arabian nation, it must appear highly probable that the name 'had long been generally used in Arabia itself.

1 See Del. *Par.* 295 304 *ff.*; and cp Schr. *KGF*, 100 *ff.*

1 *Neue Freie Presse*, 1894, 20th April.

2 He would not lay great stress on the words *ḳurā ʿarabīyātin*, 'villages of Arabian women,' or *ḳuran ʿarabīyātin*, 'Arabian villages,' in a verse ascribed to the old poet Imra'-al-ḳais (about 550 A.D.) 39 2 (Ahlwardt), the fragment being very obscure and the text not quite to be trusted. Nor could he affirm the genuineness of the verses ascribed to old poets in *Aġānī* ix. 10 second last line, x. 149 2 where the word 'Arab occurs.

Ḥassān and other poets contemporary with Mohammed make use of the word *'Arab* and its plural *A'rāb* as a term known to every one *(see* the Dīwān of Ḥassān, ed. Tunis 10 1 174 103 13, *Aǵānī* xii. 15628). It is also very likely that in the common phrase 'no *'Arīb* is to be found there,' the word *'Arīb* means simply) 'an Arab' and hence 'any human being.' Still more conclusive is the fact that the verb *'arraba* or *a'raba* which occurs in one of the oldest poets signifies 'to explain,' properly 'to speak in Arabic' (*i.e.*, 'distinctly'); hence this name for the language must have been current long before the Prophet. That *Arab* was already employed to denote the country and its inhabitants is shown, further, by the words *'irāb*, 'horses, or camels, of pure native breed,' and *mu'rib*, 'possessor, or connoisseur, of such horses,' both of which terms were commonly used in the early days of Islam.

The plural form *A'rāb*, 'Bedouins,' is presumably derived from the primitive sense 'desert.' In the Koran the *A'rāb* are several times distinguished from the inhabitants of the towns. When we find that a poem, composed shortly before Islam, mentions 'the nomadic and the settled A'rāb,'[1] the latter class must be understood to consist of the inhabitants of small oases, who retained, on the whole, the customs of the Bedouins, and differed widely from the people of the towns. Since, however, the Bedouins always formed the great bulk of the natives of Arabia, it is not strange that, from the earliest days of Islam, the name ***Am6*** was frequently used specially of them. So in the great Sabæan inscription of Abraha, the Abyssinian prince of Yemen, in **543** A.D., the name ערב (or, with the postpositive article, ערבן) seems to signify the Nomads.[2] T. N.

ARAD (עֲרָד; ἀραδ [BAL]; *ARAD;* for gentilic Aradite, see below). 1. A South Canaanitish town, with a king or chieftain of its own, conquered by the Israelites, Josh. 12 14 (α[ι]ραθ [B], αδερ [AL], *HERAD*). The reference to the 'king of Arad' in Nu. 21 1, and the abrupt notice **in** Nu. 33 40, are useless for historical purposes, the former all but certainly, and the latter certainly, having been inserted by a later editor (see Moore on Judg. 1 17, Di. on Nu. 33 40). This removes one of the chief difficulties connected with the notices of Arad (cp HORMAH, ZEPHATH). Another difficulty arises from the reference in Judg. **1 16** to 'the wilderness of Judah which is in the Negeb of Arad' (*i.e.*, in that part of the Negeb to which Arad belonged). The expressions appear to Prof. Moore to be self-contradictory, the Wilderness of Judah and the Negeb being distinct regions *(Judges*, 32). He points ont as an additional ground for scepticism that 𝔊^BA differs from MT in reading במורד instead of בנגב.[3] It would be unsafe, however, to assert that in usage the term 'wilderness of Judah' cannot have included the Negeb S. of Arad —*e.g.*, the *Wādy el-Milḥ* (see SALT, CITY OF; JUDAH) —and, as to 𝔊's reading, we may certainly disregard it, chiefly on the ground (suggested by Prof. Moore himself) that there is no steep pass (מורד, κατάβασις) in the neighbourhood of Arad.

The site was found by Robinson at *Tell 'Arid*, which is a round isolated hill **17** m. SE. of Hebron, and the details given by Eus. and Jer. (OS 214 55 87 22 88 2) are quite consistent with this identification. There are indeed no relics here of the ancient city, and only scanty remains of ancient bridges; but this does not prevent Guérin from pronouncing Robinson's view 'extremely probable, not to say certain' (*Judée*, **3** 185). The city of Arad, it may be noticed in conclusion, existed long after the 'age of Joshua,' for Shishak includes it in his list of conquered cities in Palestine (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 168). 'Aradite,' therefore, may well be restored in 2 S. 23 25*a* (see HARODITE). The connection of DAVID (*q.v.*, § 1, note on 'Bethlehem'; cp also ARDATH) with S. Judah throws a new light on the interest of narrators in the fortunes of Arnd and ZEPHATH.

2. (ωρηρ [B]; αρωδ [A]) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β) 1 Ch. 8 15. T. K. C.

ARADUS (ἀραδος [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 15 23†. See ARVAD.

ARAH (אָרַח [so in pause, cp Baer *ad* Ez. 2 5], § **70**, 'wayfarer'?).

1. b. Ulla, in genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4). 1 Ch. 7 39† (ορεχ [BA]); 𝔊^L omits Ulla and Arah, and ascribes the remaining names in *v.* 39 to Ithran (*v.* 38).

2. In the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8*c*); Ezra 2 5 (ηρα [B], apes [A], ωρεε [L]) = Neh. 7 10 (ηρα [BA], -μ [ℵ], ηιρα [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 10 ARES (αρες [BA], ηιρα [L]). His son Shechaniah [6] was the father-in-law of the Ammonite Tobiah, 4 (Neh. 6 18 ηραε [BℵA], ηιρα [L])

ARAM (אֲרָם; 𝔊^BAL ἀραμ, **συρια, ο** συρος, **οι συροι**; on Aramæans see below, § 7).

The EV commonly translates 'Syria' or 'Syrians' (cp however Hos. 12 12 RV 'Aram'), but occasionally (viz., Gen. 10 22 *f.* 22 21 Nu. **23** 7 1 Ch. **1** 17 2 23 7 34) retains the Hebrew form 'Aram' (on Mt. 1 3 *f.* AV, and Lk. 3 33 AV see RAM, 1, ARNI). The gentilic אֲרַמִּי, on the other hand, is always translated 'Syrian' (except Dt. 26 5, RVmg. **'Aramean'**; אֲרַמִּיָּה 1 Ch. 7 *14* EV 'Aramitess'). אֲרָמִית is rendered by 'Syrian language' (Is. 36 11 2 K. 18 26 EV Dan. 2 4 RV) or 'Syrian tongue' (Ezra 4 7 AV), 'Syriac' (Dan. 2 4 AV), and by 'Aramaic' (Dan. 2 4 Ezra **4** 7 both RVmg.).

Arain appears in Gen. 10 22 (Αραμων [A]) as one of the sons of Shem. This in itself does not prove anything as to the nationality and language of the people in question, for the classification adopted in the chapter is based, to a large extent, on geographical and political considerations. But there is no reason to doubt that Aram here stands for the whole, or at least for a portion, of those 'Semitic' tribes whose language is called 'Aramaic' in the OT (Ezra 4 7 Dan. 2 4) and is placed in the mouth of Laban the Aramæan, according to the ancient gloss in Gen. 31 47. In later times the name was still known, though often supplanted by 'Syrian,' which the Greeks employed, from a very early period, as the equivalent of the native *Aram* and its derivatives. *Aram* may perhaps be the source of the Homeric Ἔρεμβοί *(Od.* 484).

1. Name.

It has long been known that Aramaic was used as the official language in the western half of the Achæmenian empire. From 2 K. 18 26 (= Is. 36 11) we might have concluded that this language occupied a similar position under the Assyrian rule; moreover, if Friedr. Delitzsch be right ***(Par.* 258)**, an Assyrian and an Aramaic 'secretary' are mentioned together in a cuneiform inscription. The recent excavations at Zenjirli have proved that in that district, to the extreme N. of Syria, Aramaic served as a written language as early as the eighth century B.C., although the population was not purely Aramaean. On the other hand, the Aramaic inscriptions of Tēma, to the N. of Medina, bear witness to the existence of an Aramaean colony in the NW. of Arabia about 500 B.C. That Mesopotamia proper (*i.e.*, the country bounded by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the N. mountain-range, and the desert—hence exclusive of Babylonia) was inhabited by Aramaeans appears from the OT. Moreover, an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I., who is placed about 1220 B.C., mentions an Aramæan tribe in this district, in the neighbonrhood of Ḥarrān (Schr. *KB* 133). A similar statement is found in an inscription three centuries later (*ibid.* 1 165). Hence the Greeks, from the time of Alexander onwards, called this country Συρία ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, or, more shortly, ἡ Μεσοποταμία (see Arrian, *passim).* On the lower Tigris and Euphrates, near the confines of Susiana,—that is to say, in much the same region that was afterwards known as 'the land of the Aramaeans' (*Bēth Aramāyē*, in Persian *Sūristān*), and contained the royal cities,—there were nomadic (?) Aramæans according to an in-

[1] *Dīwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, 51, *l.* 9 = *Aghānī*, 14 126.

[2] See Ed. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mârib*, 33, etc.

[3] εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ νότῳ Ἰούδα, ἥ ἐστιν ἐπὶ καταβάσεως Ἀραδ [B]; ε. τ. ἔ. Ἰούδα τ. ο. ἐν τῷ νότῳ ἐπὶ καταβάσεως Ἀράδ [AL]. ἐν τῷ νότῳ is a duplicate rendering, and to be rejected. So far, van Doorninck, Bu., and Ki. (*Hist.* 1 268) are right. It is premature. however, to assume that במורד is the original reading; it is really a conjectural correction of a false reading (due to repetition) במדבר.

scription of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.), and an inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). (See Del. *l.c.* 238, Schr. *KAT* 116, *KB* 285). The name occurs also in a few other Assyrian inscriptions; but, owing to the imperfection of the writing, it may sometimes be doubted whether the word is really ארם, 'Aram,' and not some such form as ערם, הרם, or חרם. It is remarkable that the cuneiform inscriptions, at least according to the opinion of Del. and Schr., never give the name of 'Aramaeans' to the Aramaic-speaking populations W. of the Euphrates, whereas in the OT this is the Aramæan country *par excellence* (cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1).

2. Language. Though at several periods the whole, or the greater part, of the Aramaean nation has been subject to a single foreign power, the Aramaeans have never formed an independent political unity; in fact, so far as we know, there has never existed a state comprehending the Aramaeans of the main part of Syria or of Mesopotamia proper, to the exclusion of other races. From a very early time, however, the population of these countries must have been predominantly Aramaean, as is shown by the fact that all the other nationalities were gradually eliminated, so that, even before the Christian era, the various dialects of the Aramaic (or, as the Greeks say, Syrian) language prevailed almost exclusively in the cultivated lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Mountains of Armenia and Kuidistan. Aramaic was used by the neighbouring Arabs as the language of writing; it also took possession of the land of Israel (see § 5, end). It is indeed very unlikely that, as early as the time of Solomon, there was an important Aramæan element in Palestine, as W. Max Müller supposes (*As. u. Eur.* 171); the ending *ā* in many names of Palestinian cities in the list drawn up by the Egyptian king Šošenḳ is probably nothing more than the Hebrew ending ָה, expressing motion towards—the so-called *Hê locale*. Even in some books composed before the Exile, however, the influence of the language spoken by the neighbouring Aramaeans is occasionally perceptible. This influence became very much greater after the Exile (when those Israelites who remained, or founded settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, were at first feeble in numbers) and little by little the Aramaic tongue spread over the whole country. Though the language of such parts of the OT as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and several of the Psalms is Hebrew in form, its spirit is almost entirely Aramaic. The compiler of Ezra inserted into his book an extract from an Aramaic work composed, it would seem, about 300 B.C.; and half of the Book of Daniel (which was written in 167 or 166 B.C.) is in Aramaic. Moreover, a dialect of this language was spoken by Christ and the apostles, and in it the discourses reported in the Gospels were originally delivered. Nor did the Latin language (under the Roman rule) ever threaten to supplant the prevalent Aramaic. Greek, it is true, gained some footing in Syria, and, since it was the vehicle of intercourse and literary culture, exercised a great influence on the native dialects. It was the conquests of the Moslems, however, that suddenly brought to an end the ascendency of Aramaic after it had lasted for more than 1000 years. The Arabic language was diffused with surprising rapidity, and at the present day there are only a few outlying districts in which Aramaic dialects are spoken.

What group of tribes the author of Gen. 10$_{23}$ includes under the name of Aram, we are unable to say precisely.

3. In Pentateuch. Of the 'sons of Aram' enumerated there is unfortunately none that can be identified with tolerable certainty (see GEOGRAPHY, § 24). The position of 'Uz,' although it occurs several times in the OT, is unknown. It must, however, have been situated not far from Palestine. 'Mash' is usually supposed to be the country of the Μάσιον ὄρος (Strabo, 506, etc.), the source of the river Mashē (*n'hur Mashē*, in Arabic *Hirmās*), which flowed by Nisibis ([pseudo-]Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē, ed. Chabot, 71$_{8}$, and Thomas of Margā, ed. Budge, 346$_{19}$); this is, however, by no means certain. Other theories respecting the names in Gen. 10$_{23}$ might be mentioned; but they are all open to question.

A second list, in Gen. 22$_{21}$, represents Aram as a son of Kemuel, son of Nahor and brother of Uz, Kesed (EV Chesed; the eponym of the Chaldeans), Bethuel, and others. Bethuel is called an 'Aramaean' in Geu. 25$_{20}$ 28$_{5}$, as is also his son Laban in Gen. 25$_{20}$ 31$_{20\,24}$. The passages in question belong, it is true, to different sources; but they may have been harmonised by the redactor. All these statements seem to point to the district of Ḥarrān (HARAN, *q.v.*), where, as Hebrew tradition affirms with remarkable distinctness, the patriarchs (Abraham, Jacob), and the patriarchs' wives (Rebecca, Leah, Rachel), either were born or sojourned for a long time. Here, in remote antiquity, Hebrew tribes and Aramæan tribes (represented by Nahor) probably dwelt side by side.[1] Hence it is said in Dt. 26$_{5}$ 'a nomad Aramaean was my father.' In one of the sources of Genesis the country of Laban is called 'Aram of the two rivers,'[2] which seems to mean, as has long been held, the Aramaean land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, or between the Euphrates and the Chabōras (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.* 154). What is meant by Paddan Arām, however, the name given to the dwelling-place of Laban and his kinsmen in the other source (see PADAN), is not clear. In Aisyrian (?) and Aramaic *Paddan* signifies 'yoke,' and by a change of meaning, found also in other languages, it comes to denote a certain area of land, and finally 'corn-land,' but not a 'plain,' as is sometimes assumed by those who wrongly take the phrase 'field of Aram' (Hos. 12$_{13}$[12]) to be a translation of 'Paddan Aram.' This latter can scarcely be the name of a country. It may denote a *locality* situated in the land of Aram. We might, therefore, be tempted to identify Paddan Aram with a place near *Ḥarrān* called *Paddānā* (see Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* 1127*a*; Georg Hoffman, *Opusc. Nestor.* 129, 1 21), in Gr. φαδανâ (Sozom. 6$_{33}$), and io Ar. *Faddān*, in the neighbourhood of which *Tell Faddān* is situated (see Yāḳūt *s.v.*). It is, however, a somewhat suspicious consideration that several of the passages which have been cited mention the patriarchs in connection with the place. Hence the name may be due to a mere localisation of the biblical story on the part of the early Christians. According to the narrative of Balaam, 'Pethor' is in Aram (Nu. 32$_{5}$ 23$_{7}$; see PETHOR). If Schr. (*KAT* 155 *ff.* *KB* 1 133) be right in identifying it with the city of *Pitru*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, and situated on the river Sagur (Sājūr)—that is to say, not far from Mambij (Hierapolis)—the statement that Pethor is on the Euphrates itself cannot be quite correct. Such an inaccuracy, however, would not be surprising.

What historical foundation there may be for the account of the subjugation of Israel by Cushan Rishathaim (*q.v.*), 'king of Aram of the Two Rivers' (Judg. 3$_{8\text{-}10}$), is uncertain.

4. Damascus. Of all the Aramaean states, by far the most important from the point of view of the Israelites, during the kingly period, was Damascus, the inhabitants of which, from the time of David (*q.v.*, § 8*b*) onward, were often at war with their Israelite neighbours; but there must also have been much peaceable intercourse between the two nations. In most cases where the OT speaks of Aram the reference is to Damascus (even though the latter name be not expressly mentioned), the small Aramaean states of the neighbourhood being sometimes included. That

[1] On this point see ISRAEL § 1.

[2] It is not necessary to suppose with W. Max Müller (*l.c.* 252, 255) that the Dual *naharaim* is a mistake for the plural *nĕhārīm*. On this subject, however, cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1.

this mode of speaking was actually current in early times is proved by such passages as Am. 15 9 Is. 7 2 4 *f.* 8. Cp DAMASCUS.

Not far from Damascus lay the Aramaean districts of Maacah (*q.v.*, 2) and Geshur (*q.v.*, 1). That Maacah was Aramaean is not expressly stated—except in 1 Ch. 196, where the text is very doubtful;[1] but it seems to be indicated by Gen. 2224, where Maacah is represented as a son, or daughter, of Nahor by a concubine. Moreover, in 1 Ch. 716 Machir, the chief representative of the tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan, is the husband of Maacah, and in *v.* 14 of the same chapter he is a son of Manasseh by an Aramæan concnhine—whence we may infer that the Israelite tribe which had penetrated farthest to the NE. became mingled with the Aramaeans of Maacah. That the Maacathites were not included in Israel, though they dwelt among the Israelites, is stated in Josh. 1313. Their geographical situation is to some extent determined by the fact that Ābel, though regarded as an ancient Israelite city (2 S. 2019), is sometimes called Abel-bēth-Maacāh, 'Abel in the land of Maacah' (2 S. 20 14,[2] etc.), in order to distinguish it from other places bearing the name Abel. In accordance with the statements in 1 K. 1520 2 K. 1529 (to which must he added 2 S. 2018, a passage preserved in 𝔊 hut mutilated in MT), this Abel is now generally admitted to be identical with the northern Abil, near Hūnīn, on one of the brooks which unite to compose the Jordan (see ABEL-BETH-MAACAH). That this region, on the slopes of Hermon, was the home of the Maacathites appears from Dt. 314 Josh. 125 1311 13, where they are mentioned together with the Geshurites, another foreign people who continued to dwell among the Israelites (Josh. 1313), and belonged to Aram (2 S. 158; cp also 1 Ch. 223, where the text, it must be admitted. is obscure and seems to he corrupt). Not far off was the territory of Rehob or Beth Rehob, which included the city of Dan (Judg. 1828), often mentioned as the northern limit of Israel, the modern Tell el-ķādi, a few miles east of the aforesaid Ābil. In Josh. 1928 Rehob, it is true, is reckoned as belonging to the Israelite tribe of Asher; but, according to 2 S. 106, its inhabitants were Aramaeans. Thus it appears fairly certain that several Aramzean tribes were settled near, or within, the borders of the northern tribes of Israel (Naphtali, Asher, and Eastern Manasseh). In these parts the Aramaean population seems to have extended, with scarcely any interruption, as far as Damascus. The Aramaeans of Maacah and Rehob fought on the side of the Ammonites against David (2 S. 106 = 1 Ch. 196). David married a daughter of the king of the Geshurites,[3] and she became the mother of Absalom. It is remarkable that she bore the name of Maacah (2 S. 33 = 1 Ch. 32), which, as we have seen, occurs often in connection with Geshur; and the same name was given by Absalom to his daughter,[4] afterwards the mother of two kings of Jndah (1 K. 152 10 13 2 Ch. 1120 *ff.*). After he hnd murdered his brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his grandfather the king of Geshur, and remained there for a considerable time (2 S. 1338 1423 32). The king of Geshur must, therefore, have been to some extent independent of David. Of all these Aramaean tribes we hear nothing more in later times; but one of them has left a trace in 'the Maacathite' (see MAACAH, 1), an appellation borne by the father of Jaazaniah, a contemporary of Jeremiah the prophet (2 K. 2523 = Jer. 408).

5. Maacah, Geshur, Rehob.

These Aramaeans, who were so closely connected with the Israelites, probably played an important part in the diffusion of the Aramaic language over Palestine.

Another state, also described as Aramæan, was that of ZOBAH (*q.v.*) (2 S. 1068; cp 1 Ch. 196 Ps. 60 [title]), which seems to have been for a while of greater consequence. In it was situated the city of BEROTHAI (2 S. 108), no doubt identical with BEROTHAH (*q.v.*), which in Ez. 4716 is placed between Hamath and Damascus. With this it agrees that; according to the statements of the historical books, Zobah had relations with Hamath on the one side, and with Damascus on the other. Its site must, therefore. be approximately in the neighhourhood of Emesa; and we may hope that archæological researches will throw further light upon the subject.[1]

6. Zobah.

The statement about Saul's wars with 'the kings of Zobah' (1 S. 1447) is open to grave suspicion; it is, in fact, doubtful whether the warlike operations of Saul ever extended so far (see SAUL, § *3*). A little later, however, we find Zobah and Damascus assisting the Ammonites in their war against David (see DAVID, § 86). At length Hadad'ezer, king of Zobah, even brought to his help Aramæans from beyond the Euphrates, hut was utterly defeated, together with the king of the Ammonites, and David carried off a rich booty. Upon this the king of Hamath, who had been at war with the king of Zobah. sent an embassy to the Judæan king, expressing great satisfaction (2 S. 810). According to 2 S. 2336, one of David's heroes (among whom were several non-Israelites) came from Zobah; in 1 Ch. 1138, however, the reading is quite different (see ZOBAH). A servant of the above-mentioned Hadad'ezer, named Rezon, fled from his master, became the chief of a hand of robbers, and after David's death founded a kingdom at Damascus (1 K. 1123 *ff.*; see DAMASCUS, § 3). It is not easy to extract a satisfactory sense from the passage which describes the capture of 'Hamath of Zobah' by Solomon (2 Ch. 83), and there is reason to suspect the integrity of the text. After the time of Solomon we find no mention of Zobah in the OT; but Assyrian monuments bear witness to the existence of this city in the seventh century B.C.—if, as seems likely, the same place he meant.

In the account of the wars of David against the Ammonites and their allies, these latter are classed together under the name of 'Aramæans' (2 S. 108 *ff.* 14 *ff.*); but this is perhaps nothing more than a classification *a potiori*. It is of more importance to notice that the army of Nebuchadrezzar is called by a contemporary 'the army of the Chaldeans and of the Aramaeans' (Jer. 3511). That the great mass of the Babylonian army was composed of Aramaeans might have been naturally inferred, even if we had not this explicit statement on the subject.

7. 'Aramæans.'

Cp Nöldeke, 'Die Namen der Aram. Nation u. Sprache,' in *ZDMG* 25113 *ff.*; Ἀσσυριος Συριος Συρος in *Hermes*, 5443 *ff.*; and the section on the Aramaic dialects in Art. 'Semitic Languages,' *EB*(9), published separately in German, *Die Sent. Sprachen*, Leipsic, 1887, p. 27 *ff.*, 2nd ed., 1899.

2. An Asherite (1 Ch. 734t; [ακ]αραν [Bl, αραμ [AL]). *See* also RAM, 1, and ARNI. **T.** N.

ARAMAIC **LANGUAGE.**[2] Aramaic is nearly related to Hebrzeo-Phcenician: there is. nevertheless. a sharp line of demarcation. Of its original home nothing certain is known. In the OT 'Aram' appears at an early period as a designation of certain districts in Syria (see ARAM, § 1) and in Mesopotamia. The language of the Aramaeans gradually spread far and wide. It occupied all Syria—both those regions which had been in the possession of non-Semitic peoples, and

1. Geographical extent.

[1] Instead of ארם מעכה, the 'Aramæans of Maacah,' the parallel passage 2 S. 106 has מלך מעכה, 'the king of Maacah,' for which 𝔊B reads βασιλέα Ἀμαλήκ. Here the word Ἀμαλήκ is certainly due to a mistake (𝔊AL have μααχα); but βασιλέα [BAL] supports the Massoretic reading מלך.

[2] In this verse we should no doubt read אבלה בית מעכה with Ew., Wellh., and others.

[3] See, however, GESHUR, 2, where the view is proposed that David's wife was from the Southern Geshur.

[4] On this see, however, MAACAH, ii.

[1] It would appear that the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes mention this place as *Subutu* or *Subiti* (see Del. *Par.* 279 *ff.*; Schrader, *KGF* 122, *KAT* *182 ff.*); but they have not enabled us to fix the site.

[2] Revised and adapted by the author from art. 'Semitic Languages' (Aramaic section) in *EB*(9) 21.

those which were most likely inhabited by Canaanite tribes. Last of all, Palestine became Aramaised (*ib.* § 2). Towards the E. this language was spoken on the Euphrates, and throughout the districts of the Tigris S. and W. of the Armenian and Kurdish mountains; the province in which the capitals of the Arsacides and the Sasanians were situated was called 'the country of the Aramaeans.' In Babylonia and Assyria a large, or perhaps the larger, portion of the population were most probably Aramaeans, even at a very early date, whilst Assyrian was the language of the government.

2. Earlier history.

Some short Aramaic inscriptions of the Assyrian period, principally on weights, have long been known. To these have recently been added longer ones from the most northern part of Syria (Zenjirli, about 37° N.). In these, as in the weight inscriptions, the language differs markedly from later Aramaic, especially by its close approximation to Hebrew-Canaanite or, perhaps, to Assyrian; hut Aramaic it undoubtedly is. It is to be hoped that more of these inscriptions, important alike for their language and for their contents, may yet be discovered.[1]

In the Persian period Aramaic was the official language of the provinces W. of the Euphrates; and this explains the fact that some inscriptions of Cilicia and many coins which were struck by governors and vassal princes in Asia Minor (of which the stamp was in some cases the work of skilled Greek artists) bear Aramaic inscriptions, whilst those of other coins are Greek. This, of course, does not prove that Aramaic was ever spoken in Asia Minor, and as far north as Sinope and the Hellespont. In Egypt Aramaic inscriptions have been found of the Persian period, one bearing the date of the fourth year of Xerxes (482 B.C.);[2] we have also official documents on papyrus, unfortunately in a very tattered condition for the most part, which prove that the Persians preferred using this convenient language to mastering the difficulties of the Egyptian systems of writing. It is further possible that at that time there were many Aramaeans in Egypt, just as there were many Phœnicians, Greeks, and Jews.

This preference for Aramaic, however, probably originated under the Assyrian Empire, in which a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic: in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians. Thus we understand why it was taken for granted that a great Assyrian officer could speak Aramaic (2 K. 18 26 = Is. 36 11), and why the dignitaries of Judah appear to have learned the language (*ibid.*): namely, in order to communicate with the Assyrians. The short dominion of the Chaldeans probably strengthened this preponderance of Aramaic.

A few ancient Aramaic inscriptions have been discovered far within the limits of Arabia, in the palm oasis of Teima (in the north of the Ḥijāz); the oldest and by far the most important of these was perhaps made somewhat *before* the Persian period? We may presume that Aramaic was introduced into the district by a mercantile colony, which settled in the ancient seat of commerce; and, in consequence, Aramaic may have remained for some time the literary language of the neighbouring Arabs. Those Aramaic monuments, which we may with more or less certainty ascribe to the Persian period, exhibit a language which is almost absolutely uniform. The Egyptian monuments bear marks of Hebrew, or (better) Phoenician, influence.

Intercourse with Aramaeans' caused some Aramaic words to be imported into Hebrew at a comparatively early date.

3. Biblical Aramaic.

This influence of Aramaic on Hebrew steadily grew, and shows itself so strongly in the language of Ecclesiastes, for example, as almost to compel the inference that Aramaic was the writer's mother-tongue, and Hebrew one subsequently acquired, without complete mastery.

Certain portions of the OT (Ezra 4 8-6 18 7 12-26 Dan. 2 4-8 28; also the ancient gloss in Jer. 10 11) are written in Aramaic. The free and arbitrary interchange between Aramaic and Hebrew, between the current popular speech and the old sacred and learned language, is peculiarly characteristic in Daniel (167 or 166 B.C.); see DANIEL, ii. § 11 *f.* Isolated passages in Ezra perhaps belong to the Persian period, but have certainly been remodelled by a later writer.[1] Still in Ezra we find a few antique forms which do not occur in Daniel.

The Aramaic pieces contained in the OT have the great advantage of being furnished with vowels and other orthographical signs. These were not inserted until long after the composition of the hooks (they are sometimes at variance with the text itself); but Aramaic was still a living language when the punctuation came into use, and the lapse of time was not so very great. The tradition ran less risk of corruption, therefore, than in the case of Hebrew. Its general correctness is further attested by the innumerable points of resemblance between this language and Syriac, with which we are accurately acquainted. The Aramaic of the OT exhibits various antique characteristics which afterwards disappeared—for example, the formation of the passive by means of internal vowel-change, and of the causative with ha instead of with *a*—phenomena which have been falsely explained as Hebraisms.

4. Nabatæan, etc.

Biblical Aramaic agrees in all essential respects with the language used in the many inscriptions of Palmyra (beginning soon before the Christian era and extending to about the end of the third century), and on the Nabataean coins and stone monuments (concluding about the year 100 A.D.). Aramaic was the language of Palmyra, the aristocracy of which were largely of Arabian extraction. In the northern portion of the Nabataean kingdom (not far from Damascus) there was probably a large Aramaic population; but Arabic was spoken farther south. At that time, however, Aramaic was highly esteemed as a cultivated language, for which reason the Arabs in question made use of it, as their own language was not reduced to writing, just as in those ages Greek inscriptions were set up in many districts where no one spoke Greek. The great inscriptions cease with the overthrow of the Nabataean kingdom by Trajan (105 A.D.); hut, down to a later period, the Arabian nomads in those countries, especially in the Sinaitic peninsula, often scratched their names on the rocks, adding some benedictory formula in Aramaic. These inscriptions having now been deciphered with completeness and certainty, there is no longer room for discussion of their Israelitic origin, or of any similar fantastic theories concerning them. That several centuries afterwards the name of 'Nabataean' was used by the Arabs as synonymous with 'Aramaean' was probably due to the gradual spread of Aramaic over a great part of what had once been the country of the Nabataeans. In any case, Aramaic then exercised an immense influence. This is proved by the place which it occupies in the strange Pahlavî writing, various branches of which date from the time of the Parthian empire. Biblical Aramaic, as also the language of the Palmyrene and the Nabatæan inscriptions, may he described as an older form of Western Aramaic. The opinion that the Palestinian Jews brought their Aramaic dialect directly from Babylon—whence the incorrect name 'Chaldee'—is untenable.

[1] Cp *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Sachau, *Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, Mittheil. aus den or. Samml.* 1893; also D. H. Muller, *altsem. Inschrift. v. Sendschirli*, Vienna, 1893; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, Paris, 1894, and on the language, Nöld. *ZDMG* 47 99; D. H. Muller, 'Die Bauinschrift des Barrekub,' *ZKMW* 10; Wi. in *MVG*, 1896; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.* 1897; G. Hoffmann, *ZA*, 1897, 317 *ff.* Two old Aram. inscriptions from Nerah (near Aleppo) have since heen brought to light; cp Hoffmann, *ib.* 207 *ff.*

[2] See the Palæographical Society's *Oriental Series*, plate lxiii., and *CIS* 2, no. 122.

[3] See *CIS* 2, nos. 113-121.

[1] The decree which is said to have been sent hy Artaxerxes (Ezra 7 12-26) is in its present form a comparatively late production (cp EZRA, ii. § 10).

By the time of Christ Aramaic had long been the current popular speech of the Jews in Palestine, and the use, spoken and written, of Hebrew (in a greatly modified form) was confined to scholars. Christ and the apostles spoke Aramaic, and the original preaching of Christianity, the Εὐαγγέλιον, was in the same language. And this, too, not in the dialect current in Jerusalem, which roughly coincided with the literary language of the period, but in that of Galilee, which, it would seem, had developed more rapidly, or, as is now often but erroneously said, had become corrupted. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to know the Galilean dialect of that period with accuracy. The attempts made in our days to reduce the words of Jesus from Greek to their original language have, therefore, failed.

5. NT.

In general, few of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the Palestinian dialect of that period can be implicitly trusted. In the synagogues it was necessary that the reading of the OT should be followed by an oral 'targūm'—a translation, or rather a paraphrase into Aramaic, the language of the people—which was at a later period fixed in writing; but the officially sanctioned form of the Targum to the Pentateuch (the so-called Targum of Onkelos) and of that to the prophets (the so-called Jonathan) was not finally settled till the fourth or fifth century, and not in Palestine but in Babylonia. The redactors of the Targum preserved, on the whole, the older Palestinian dialect; yet that of Babylon, which differed considerably from the former, exercised a vitiating influence. The punctuation, which was added later (first in Babylonia) is not so trustworthy as that of the Aramaic passages in the OT. The manuscripts which have the Babylonian superlinear punctuation may, nevertheless, be relied upon to a great extent. The language of Onkelos and Jonathan differs but little from biblical Aramaic. The language spoken some time afterwards by the Palestinian Jews, especially in Galilee, is exhibited in a series of rabbinical works—the so-called Jerusalem Targums, a few Midrashic works, and the Jerusalem Talmud. Of the Jerusalem Targums, at least that to the Pentateuch contains remains that go back to a very early date, and, to a considerable extent, presents a much more ancient aspect than that of Onkelos, which has been heavily revised throughout;[1] but the language, as we now have it, belongs to the later time. The Targums to the Hagiographa are, in part, very late indeed. All these books, of which the Midrashím and the Talmud contain much Hebrew as well as Aramaic, have been handed down without care, and require to be used with great caution for linguistic purposes. Moreover, the influence of the older language and orthography has, in part, obscured the characteristics of these popular dialects: for example, various gutturals we still written, although they are no longer pronounced. The adaptation of the spelling to the real pronunciation is carried furthest in the Jerusalem Talmud, but not in a consistent manner. All these books are without vowel-points; but the frequent use of vowel-letters in the later Jewish works renders this defect less noticeable (cp TEXT, § 64).

6. Targums.

Not only the Jews but also the Christians of Palestine retained their native dialect for some time as an ecclesiastical and literary language. We possess translations of great portions of the Bible (especially of the Gospels) and fragments of other works in this dialect by the Palestinian Christians dating from about the fifth century, partly accompanied by a punctuation which was not added till some time later. This dialect, the native country of which was apparently not Galilee, but Judæa, closely resembles that of the Palestinian Jews, as was to be expected from the fact that those who spoke it were of Jewish origin.

7. Christian Palestinian.

Finally, the Samaritans, among the inhabitants of Palestine, translated their sacred book, the Pentateuch, into their own dialect: see TEXT, § 48. The critical study of this translation proves that the language which ies at its base was very much the same as that of the ieighbouring Jews. Perhaps, indeed, the Samaritans may have carried the softening of the gutturals a little farther than the Jews of Galilee. Their absurd attempt to embellish the language of the translation by arbitrarily introducing forms borrowed from the Hebrew original has given rise to the false notion that Samaritan is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. The introduction of Hebrew and even of Arabic words and forms was practised in Samaria on a still larger scale by copyists who lived after Aramaic had become extinct. The later works written in the Samaritan dialect are, from a Linguistic point of view, as worthless as the compositions of Samaritans in Hebrew: the writers, who spoke Arabic, endeavoured to write in a language with which they were but half acquainted.

8. Samaritan dialect.

All these Western Aramaic dialects, including that of the oldest inscriptions, have this characteristic among others in common, that they form the third person singular masculine and the third person plural masculine and feminine in the imperfect by prefixing?, as do the other Semitic langnages. And in these dialects the termination *ā* (the so-called *status emphaticus*) still retained the meaning of a definite article down to a tolerably late period.

9. Western dialects.

As early as the seventh century the conquests of the Moslems greatly circumscribed the domain of Aramaic, and a few centuries later it was almost completely supplanted in the W. by Arabic. For the Christians of those countries, who, like every one else, spoke Arabic, the Palestinian dialect was no longer of importance. They adopted as their ecclesiastical language the dialect of the other Aramæan Christians, the Syriac (Edessan; see § 11 *ff.*). The only localities where a W. Aramaic dialect still survives are a few villages in Anti-Libanus.[1]

The popular Aramaic dialect of Babylonia, from the fourth to the sixth century of our era, is exhibited in the Babylonian Talmud, in which, however, as in the Jerusalem Talmud, there is a constant mingling of Aramaic and Hebrew passages. To a somewhat later period, and probably to a somewhat different district of Babylonia, belong the writings of the Mandaeans, a strange sect, half Christian and half heathen, who, from a linguistic point of view, possess the peculiar advantage of having remained almost entirely free from the influence of Hebrew, which is so perceptible in the Aramaic writings of Jews as well as in those of Christians. The orthography of the Mandæans comes nearer than that of the Talmud to the real pronunciation, and in it the softening of the gutturals is most clearly seen. In other respects there is a close resemblance between Mandæan and the language of the Babylonian Talmud. The forms of the imperfect which we have enumerated above take in these dialects *n* or *l*. In Babylonia, as in Syria, the language of the Arabic conquerors rapidly drove out that of the country. The latter has long been extinct—unless, which is possible, a few surviving Mandaeans still speak among themselves a more modern form of their dialect.

10. Babylonian and Mandæan.

At Edessa, in the W. of Mesopotamia, the native dialect had already been used for some time as a literary language, and had been reduced to rule through the influence of the schools (as is proved by the fixity of the grammar and the orthography) even before Christianity

11. Syriac or Edessan Aramaic.

[1] This in opposition to Dalman's *Gramm. d. jüd. pal. Aram.* (Leipsic, 94)—a book highly to be commended for the fulness and accuracy of its facts, but less so for its theories.

[1] On this subject we have **now** very valuable information in a series of articles by **M.** Parisot (*Journ. As.*, 1898); moreover it is hoped that Professors Prym and Socin will soon be able to furnish more ample details.

acquired power in the country, in the second century. At an earlyperiod the Old and the New Testaments werehere translated, with the help of Jewish tradition (see TEXT, § 59). This version (theso-called Peshíṭta or Peshito) became the Bible of Aramaean Christendom, and Edessa became its capital. Thus the Aramaean Christians of the neighbouring countries, even those who were subjects of the Persian empire, adopted the Edessan dialect as the language of the church, of literature, and of cultivated intercourse. Since the ancient name of the inhabitants, 'Aramaeans,' just like that of Ἕλληνες, had acquired in the minds of Jews and Christians the unpleasant signification of 'heathens,' it was generally avoided, and in its place the Greek terms 'Syrians' and 'Syriac' were used. 'Syriac,' however, was also the name given by the Jews and the Christians of Palestine *to* their own language, and 'Syrians' was applied by both Greeks and Persians to the Aramæans of Babylonia. It is, therefore, incorrect to employ the word 'Syriac' as meaning the language of Edessa alone; but, since it was the most important of these dialects, it has the best claim to this generally received appellation. It has, as we have said, a form very definitely fixed; and in it the above-mentioned forms of the imperfect take an *n*. **As** in the Babylonian dialects, the termination *â* has become so completely a part of the substantive to which it is added that it has wholly lost the meaning of the definite article; whereby the clearness of the language is 'perceptibly impaired. The influence exercised by Greek is very apparent in Syriac.

12. Its history. From the third to the seventh century **an** extensive literature was produced in this language, consisting chiefly, but not entirely, of ecclesiastical works. In the development of this literature the Syrians of the Persian empire took an eager part. In the Eastern Roman empire Syriac was, after Greek, by far the most important language; and under the Persian kings it virtually occupied a more prominent position as an organ of culture than the Persian language itself. The conquests of the Arabs totally changed this state of things. Meanwhile, even in Edessa, a considerable difference had arisen between the written language and the popular speech, in which the process of modification was still going on. About the year 700 it became a matter of absolute necessity *to* systematise the grammar of the language and to introduce some means of clearly expressing the vowels. The chief object aimed at was that the text of the Syriac Bible should be recited in a correct manner. It happened, however, that the eastern pronunciation differed in manyrespects from that of the W. The local dialects had, to some extent, exercised an influence over the pronunciation of the literary tongue; and, on the other hand, the political separation between Rome and Persia, and yet more the ecclesiastical schism—since the Syrians of the E. were mostly Nestorians, those of the W. Monophysites and Catholics—had prodnced divergences between the traditions of the various schools. Starting, therefore, from a common source, two distinct systems of punctuation were formed, of which the western is the more convenient, but the eastern the more exact, and generally more in accordance with the ancient pronunciation: it has, for example, *ā* in place of the western 6, and 6 in many cases where the western Syrians pronounce *ū*. In later times the two systems have been intermingled in various ways.

Arabic everywhere put' a speedy end to the predominance of Aramaic—a predominance which had lasted for more than a thousand years—and soon began to drive Syriac out of use. Nevertheless, up to the present day Syriac has remained in use for literary and ecclesiastical purposes, and may perhaps be even spoken in some monasteries and schools; but it has long been a dead language. When Syriac became extinct in Edessa and its neighbourhood is not known with certainty. It is very desirable that theologians who interest themselves scientifically in the history of the first centuries of Christianity should *barn some Syriac.* The task is not very difficult for those who know Hebrew.

13. Neo-Syriac dialects. In somedistricts of northern Mesopotamia, of the Mōṣul territory, of Kurdistan, and on Lake Urmia, Aramaic dialects are spoken by Christians and occasionally by Jews. Among these that of Urmia has become the most important, since American missionaries have formed a new literary language of it. Moreover, the Roman Propaganda has printed books in two of the Neo-Syriac dialects.

14. Literature. On the Aramaic dialects in general, see Nljldeke, 'Die Namen d. Aram. Nation u. Sprache, in **ZDMG** 25 113 *ff.* ('71); Wright, *Comp. Gramm. Sem. 14 ff.*, Kau. *Gramm. d. Bibl.-Aram. 6 ff.* The Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt are found in the second part of the *CIS* (the Sinaitic and Palmyrene inscriptions have not yet appeared). For the Nabatæan the most important publication is Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften* Berlin, 1885. Othersare to be found in various journals. Of thkse the most considerable is the great inscription of Petra, first edited by De Vogüé, *J.As.*, **1896,** 8 304 *ff.* Many Sinaitic are contained in Euting's *Sinaitische Inschr.* ('91), and of the Palmyrene the (comparatively small) collection in De Vogue's **La** *Syrie Centrale* (1868-77) is the most convenient for use. Many others are to be found scattered through journals devoted to Oriental subjects, the most important being the great Fiscal Inscription in Palmyrene and Greek: see **ZDMG** 42 370 *ff.* **('88)** where the literature is cited. **A** few Palmyrene inscriptions: annotated, are appended to Bevan's ***Commentary*** *on* ***Daniel.***

The most complete Syriac grammar is Nöldeke's *Syrische* ***Grammatik*** (Leipsic, **'80**; 2nd ed., **'98).** Duval's (Paris, '81) is useful for comparison with the other Aramaic dialects, and Nestle's, in the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* (2nd ed., Berlin, '88), is an introductory handbook. To theologians wishing to learn Syriac, Roediger's *Chrestomathia syriaca* (3rd ed., Halle, '92) may be highly recommended. Articles on the Nabatæan, the Palmyrene, and the Christian-Palestinian dialects by Nöldeke are to be found in the ***ZDMG*** 17 703 *ff.* 19 637 *f.* 24 85 *ff.* ['63, **'65,** '70]. Of Syriac dictionaries, Castell's for a long time was the only one of general utility. Recently three have appeared, Payne Smith's great ***Thesaurus*** (unfortunately not yet finished), Brockelmann's and Brun's. Of glossaries to the Aramaic inscriptions, we **must** now add to Ledrain's ***Dict. des noms*** *propres Palmyréniens* **('87)** the glossary of Stanley **A.** Cook (Cambridge, '98) and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch* ***der nordsemitischen*** *Epigraphik* ('98).

For the various dialects used in early Jewish literature, including the Hebrew parts of it, we have, besides the old Huxtorf (Basel, **1639),** Jacob Levi's *Neuheb. u. Chald. Wörterb.* (Leipsic, 1876-89), and the shorter one of J. Dalman (part I, Leipsic, **'97).** Levy had previously edited a *Chald. Wörterb. über* **die** *Targumim* (Leipsic, **'67).**

On the biblical Aramaic there are, besides the grammar of Kautzsch ('84), the little books of Strack (2nd ed., Leipsic, **'97)** and of Marti (Leipsic, '96). For the Targum dialects there is no grammar that meets the requirements of modern science. Nor is there yet an adequate grammar of the Aramaic dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, although the little tract of S. D. Luzzatto, ***Elementi grammaticali*** *di Caldeo biblico* **e** *del dialetto Talmudico Babilonese* (Padua, '65), is a very useful work. For fhe Palestine Jewish dialects see Dalman's Grammar (Leipsic, **94);** for the Samaritan, the grammar of Uhlemann (Leipsic, '37) and Petermann (Berlin, '73). Neither of these, naturally, represents the results of modern scholarship. For the Mandaic, see that of Niildeke (Halle, '75), for the Neo-Syriac that of the same author (Leipsic, '68), and especially the most valuable grammar **of** A. **T.** Maclean (Cambridge, '95). T. N.

ARAMAIC VERSIONS. See TEXT, §§ 59 *f.*, 64.

ARAMEAN (אֲרַמִּי), **Dt.** 26 5 RV$^{mg.}$, and **Aramitess** (אֲרַמִּית), 1 Ch. 7 14 EV. See ARAM (beginning).

ARAM-MAACAH (אֲרַם מַעֲכָה), 1 Ch. 19 6 RV. See MAACAH, 1.

ARAM-NAHARAIM (אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם). EV preserves the form Aram-naharaim only in Ps. **60** (title: μεσοποταμίαν συρίας [BℵT], *p.* συρίαν [R]) and in Dt. **23 5 [4]** RV$^{mg.}$; else-

1. OT expression. where the phrase is invariably rendered MESOPOTAMIA, even in Judg. 8 10 (so **B** **συρίας ποταμῶν**) where MT has simply Aram (ארם; συρίας **[A;** L om. altogether]). The other 𝔊 forms are: Judg. 3 8, **ποταμῶν** συρίας [B], συρίας μεσοποταμίας **ποταμῶν** [AL]; 1 Ch. 19 6 συρίας μεσοποταμίας [BℵAL].

Apart from Judg. 3 8, where its genuineness is more than doubtful (see CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM), and the confused editorial data of 1 Ch. 19 6 and Ps. 60 2 (title in

EV), which are, of course, too late to be anything but antiquarian lore,[1] the phrase Aram-nahar(a)im occurs in MT only twice—once in J, defining the position of the 'city of Nahor' (or perhaps rather 'of Ḫarrān'; see NAHOR), Gen. 24 10, and once in D, defining the position of PETHOR on the ***west*** bank of the Euphrates (Dt. 23 5 [4]). Whilst the two towns in question are Aramaean cities known in later[2] as well as in earlier[3] periods of history, the stories connected with them in the passages citecl are legends. of prehistorical times, whose interpretation is necessarily more or less conjectural (see NAHOR, BALAAM). We have no other evidence for the actual currency of **a** compound geographical expression Aram-nahar(a)im. Indeed, Aram is properly a race-name rather than the name of **a** district : apart from the passages cited, there does not appear to be any unambiguous case of its use, whether alone or in combination, as **a** geographical expression. Naharim, or Naharin (see below; § 2), on the other hand, is well known as an ancient name for Northern Syria and the country stretching eastwards from it. Aram-Naharaim, or (better) Aram-Naharim, might then be, like Aram-Zobah, etc., properly the name of **a** people rather than of a territory —unless, indeed, Aram be perhaps a simple gloss explaining Nahar(a)im (cp the converse case of Yahwè-elohim in Gen. 2). That Nahar(a)im is a dual ('the two rivers') is extremely doubtful (cp Moore on Judg. **38**) —the word, as already hinted, should probably be pronounced Naharim (see § 2).

The term MESOPOTAMIA (*q.v.*, § 1) is explained by the Greek geographers as meaning 'between the rivers'; hut they need not have been right in assuming that the rivers referred to were two. It seems not improbable that the Greek name is really connected with the ancient name.[4]

2. The name Naharīn. The form Naharin (the spelling varies : on this pronunciation see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 251, 252 n. 3 [*-în* can, of course, also be read *-ên.*—WMM]) **is** attested by the Egyptian records of the New Empire, when this name seems to take the place of the earlier phrase Upper Ruṭenu (*ib.* 249). W. M. Miiller regards the form as plural[5] (252); but it may also be **a** locative like Ephraim, etc. (see NAMES, § **107**).

In Assyrian or Babylonian inscriptions the name has not yet been met with (see § **3**); but in the Amarna letters it occurs repeatedly as *mātu* Naḫrima or Narima, from which we learn the valuable fact that in Phcenicia (Gebal) and Palestine (Jerusalem) the form with *m* was usual.

3. Extent. Naharin (Naḫrima) was, as the meaning of the name ('river-land') would suggest, a term of physical rather than of political geography. It need not, therefore, have been used with a very great definiteness (cp the ancient names Παραποταμία, Polyb. v. 69; and the mod. Riviera); and the inscriptions, in fact, bear this out.

It seems to have extended from the valley of the Orontes, across the Euphrates, somewhat indefinitely eastwards (*As. u. Eur.* 249). Explanations, based on the view that *aim* is dual, like those of Dillmann (the territory between the Chabōras and the Euphrates), of Schrader in *KAT*[(2)] (between the middle Euphrates and the Baliḫ), and of Halévy in *Rev. Sém.* July 1894 (the neighbourhood of Damascus, watered by the so-called Abana and the Pharpar) seem less satisfactory. In its widest application, the whole water-system draining into the Persian Gulf could be called 'the waters' or 'the great water system' of Naharin' (*As. u. Eur.* 253-255). In its stricter (narrower) application it probably, at one time, included or formed part of Hanigalbat (Ḫani-rabbat). On the history of this whole district see MESOPOTAMIA. H. W. H.

[1] The passages in which the phrase has been inserted are obviously borrowed from 2 S.

[2] Pethor mentioned by Shalmaneser II.

[3] Pethor mentioned by Thotmes III.

[4] It is at least worth considering whether Mesopotamia may not be a translation of the Aramaean expression ܒܝܬ ܢܗܪܝܢ 'district of rivers,' a natural rendering (cp the Syriac Beth 'Arbāyē for Xenophon's 'Αραβια) of Naharim ('riverland'), afterwards—by an easy misunderstanding (of which there are examples)—due to the two like-sounding words *beth*—supposed to mean *between* rivers.'

[5] If the suggestion made in the preceding footnote he adopted, ποταμῶν implied in Mesopotamia will he plural.

ARAM-ZOBAH (אֲרַם צוֹבָה). See ARAM, § 6, DAVID, § 9, and ZOBAH.

ARAN (אֲרָן, perhaps 'mountain goat'—cp EPHER—but Nold. and Di. question this; αρραν [BAL]), a 'son' of Dishan the Horite; Gen. 36 28 (ארן [Sam.]; αραμ [AE]) = 1 Ch. 1 42 (αραν [L]). C. Niebuhr (influenced by the preceding name Uz) prefers the reading Aram, which is supported by some Heb. MSS, Targ. Jon., 𝔊[A] Vg. and *Onk.* (cp *Gesch.* 1 29). The MT is, however, probably correct (cp OREN,[1] 1 Ch. 2 25), though if Oren is the right pronunciation of ארן in 1 Ch. 2 25, it is probably correct also in 1 Ch. **1 42**, and ***vice versa*** (see We. *De gent.* 39).

ARARAT (אֲרָרָט; αραρατ [BAL]). **1.** Ararat is mentioned in the OT as a country; 2 K. 19 37 (αραραθ [B], αραδαδ [A]) = Is. 37 38 (αρμεν[ε]ια [BℵAOQ]); cp Tob. 1 21 (*αραραθ* [B]) AV **Ararath**, Jer. 51 27 (αρατε παρ' εμου [Bℵ]; *αραρεθ* [A]; *αραρετ* (Q).

1. Country: biblical allusions. The first two passages referred to are parallel; they relate that the two sons of Sennacherib (Sin-aḫi-irba), after having slain their father, 'escaped into the land of Ararat' (so RV). A collateral confirmation of this report is given by an inscription of Esar-haddon[2] (Ašur-aḫ-iddina) which states that on the news of the murder of his father he quickly collected the forces (with which he was probably carrying on **a** campaign in Cappadocia or Cilicia), marched against Nineveh, and defeated the army of the murderers at Hanirabbat (Hanigalmit? Schrader). This district lies in the neighbourhood of Melitēne, just where, at **a** later time, the Romans entered Armenia (*i.e.*, Ararat). In Jer. *l.c.* the prophetic writer summons the kingdoms (or, as 𝔊[Bℵ], the kings) of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz to fight against Babylon. This too agrees with the representations of the inscriptions, which constantly distinguish between the land of Mannu and Urarṭu or Ararat. Mannu (which lay to the S. or SE. of Lake Urŭmĭa) was generally subject to the Assyrians, but at least once was conquered from them by Argištis son of Menuaš (see Tiele, *BAG* 208, **215**). See further MINNI, ASHKENAZ.

2. Assyrian texts, etc. The name Urarṭi appears in the Assyrian texts from the ninth century onwards. It appears to be interchangeable with Naïri (*i.e.*, the streams), the old Semitic name of the country, which it bore, for example, under Tiglath-pileser **I.** (*circa* 1108 B.C.) and, as appears from the notices in the Egyptian inscriptions of the eighteenth dynasty, at **a** much earlier date (*circa* 1400 B.C.). The kings, who are called by the Assyrians Urarṭians, never apply this name to themselves. Sarduris I., the first king whose inscriptions, written in Assyrian (*circa* ***830*** B.C.), have come down to us, calls himself king of Naïri, **a** title which the Assyrians naturally did not grant him, because they themselves laid claim to his country. His successors, who use their own language, call their land Biaina, out of which the later name Van has arisen, a name which must at that time have been transferred from the district where the kings resided to the whole kingdom.

Next, as to the extent of the kingdom of Urarṭu or Naïri. The greater part of the later Armenia was, sometimes at any rate, included within its limits; for Vannic inscriptions have been found even in Malaṭīyah, near Palu on the Upper Euphrates, and as far away as the Russian province Erivan. It would appear that originally Naïri denoted **a** more southerly region, where

[1] On Ornan see ARAUNAH. [2] 3 R. 15, col. i. 17.

the Tigris and the Euphrates rise, whilst Ararat proper (Urarti) lay to the N., in the plain of the Araxes; but that between the eleventh century and the ninth, the Urarṭians (whom their language shows to have been a non-Semitic people) conquered the more southerly region, and established there the chief seat of their dominion—a conquest which they were enabled to make by the great decline of Assyria at that time. Afterwards, both names, Naïri and Urarṭu, were used for the whole country. The Assyrian king Sargon broke the power of Urarṭu for a long time; but his successors did not succeed in their endeavours to destroy it, and so it is not unnatural that Assyriologists have sometimes defended the pre-exilic origin of the long prophecy against Babylon at the end of the Book of Jeremiah, on this ground among others, that the kingdoms of Ararat and Minni are still well known to the Israelites, and considered to be formidable powers.[1] Kuenen, however (*Ond.*(2) 2 242 = *Einl.* 2 232 *f.*), has sufficiently shown that these arguments are not conclusive. Proper names like Ararat and Minni simply prove the literary and antiquarian research of the author, and the phenomena of the prophecy as a whole appear to both the present writers to presuppose a period later than that of Jeremiah. (See JEREMIAH, ii.).

2. Ararat is mentioned also in the post-exilic version of the Deluge-story. The statement runs thus: 'And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat' (Gen. 8 4 RV; Samar. text הרדט).

3. Deluge-story. This is precisely parallel to the statement of the cognate Babylonian story (see DELUGE, § 1): 'The mountain of the land of Niṣir stopped the ship,' or, as the following lines give it, 'The mountain Niṣir stopped the ship.' That Niṣir (protection? deliverance?) is properly the name of a mountain or mountain range seems to he clear from Ašur-nāṣir-pal's inscription (see *KB* 1 77), and Ararat too, in the intention of the Hebrew writer, will he the name of a mountain or mountain range. The situation of Niṣir is clear from the inscription just referred to. It was in Media, E. of the Lower Zāb, and S. of the Caspian Sea. There lies Elburz, the Hara berezaiti, or Hara haraiti bares, thus named by the N. Iranians after their mythic sky-mountain. Now, it is remarkable that Nicolaus Damascenus (in Jos. Ant. i. 36, cp also *OS*(2) 20948) names the mountain of the ark Baris, and places it 'above Minyas'—*i.e.*, Minni (Mannu). Báris (*bares* = high) appears to be a fragment of the Iranian name of Elburz, which this writer took for the whole name.[2] It may be conjectured that this was the mountain which the Hebrew writer, in accordance with the Babylonian tradition, had in view. If so, he gave it the name which it bore in his own time, Hara haraiti, shortening it into Ararat, not perhaps without confusing it involuntarily with the land of Urarṭi, which latter name may have had a different origin.

It was natural enough that the most widely spread tradition accepted the identity of the Ararat of the Hebrew Deluge-story with the kingdom of Ararat spoken of above. There (*i.e.*, in the plain of the Arases) a lofty mountain rises, worthy, so it may have appeared, to he the scene of such a great event as the stranding of the ark. 'Of its two conical peaks, one is crowned with perpetual snow, and rises 17,000 ft. above the sea-level; the other is 4000 ft. lower. That the Hebrew writer thought of these mountains is in the highest degree improbable (see Di. *Genesis,* 131). Another tradition identified Ararat with the land of Cardu (so Pesh., Targ.)—*i.e.*, the ancient Korduene or Karduchia on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, and the mountain of the ark with the Jebel Jūdi, SW. of Lake Van, which has become the traditional site with the Moslems.

In the Table of Nations (Gen. 10) the name of Ararat does not occur; hut Ashkenaz, Riphath (or Diphath), and Togarmah (see special articles) probably denote districts of W. and NW. Armenia.

For the geography of Urarṭu cp especially Sayce, 'Cuneiform Inscr. of Van,' *JRAS* xiv. pt. ii. 388 *ff.*, where, however, the Armenians, who entered the country from the W., and are related to the Aryan races of Asia Minor, are regarded as Iranians. It is against this view that, shortly after the first mention of the name Urarṭu by Ašur-nāṣir-pal, names of an Aryan sound occur in an inscription of his son Shalmaneser II. (Artasari and Data). C. P. T.—W. H. K.

[1] Sayce, *Crit. Man.* 485 *f.* Prof. Sayce is uncertain whether Jeremiah 'has made use of some earlier prophecy of which Nineveh was the burden, or whether 'the prophecy belongs to a time when Babylon had already taken the place of Nineveh, but when in other respects the political condition of W. Asia still remained what it was in the closing days of the Assyrian Empire.' 'In any case the prophecy must he earlier than the age of the second Isaiah, to which modern criticism has so often referred it.' This was printed in 1894, five years after the appearance of vol. ii. of the most authoritative summary of 'modern criticism,' Kuenen's *Onderzoek*(2), and two years after that of the German translation. Prof. Tiele, who, in 1886 (SAG 480), from an incomplete view of the critical arguments maintained Jer. 50 *f.* to have been written before Cyrus among the exiles in Babylon, now accepts Kuenen's main conclusions as expressed in the work referred to.

[2] Whether Luhar, the name of the mountain of the ark in *Jubilees,* chaps. 5 and 10, has any connection with Baris, it is unimportant to decide.

ARARATH, AV$^{mg.}$ 4 Esd. 13 45; RV ARZARETH.

ARARITE (הָֽאֲרָרִי), 2 S. 23 33 *b* RV; AV HARARITE, 3.

ARATHES (ΑΡΑΘΗϹ [VA]), 1 Macc. 15 22 RV, AV ARIARATHES (*q.v.*).

ARAUNAH (אֲרַוְנָה, so Kr. everywhere in 2 S. 24, but Rt. האורנה *v.* 16, ארניה *v.* 18, ארונה *vv.* 22-24), or ORNAN (אָרְנָן in Ch.), a Jebusite, whose threshing-floor, consecrated by the presence of the angel of Yahwè, David purchased as a site for an altar (cp MORIAH). The story is told in two forms, which agree in essentials. On 1 Ch. 21 20 see note to Kittel's translation in *SBOT* (2 S. 24 16 *ff.* 1 Ch. 21 15 *ff.* 2 Ch. 3 1, *ορνα* [BAL]; cp *ορονα* Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3 3, *οροννα ib.* 13 4). The real name, however, was not Araunah, which is thoroughly un-Hebraic, and presumably un-Canaanitish. The critics have in this case not been critical enough. Even Budde (*SBOT,* Heb. ed., note on 2 S. 24 16) admits, rather doubtfully, the form Arannah. Klost. prefers 𝔊's form Orna, which, however, is no better than the Ornan of the Chronicler. One has a right to require a definitely Hebrew name, and such a name for this Jebusite MT actually gives us in 2 S. 24 18—viz., ארניה = אדניה Adonijah (cp Ορνια[ς] [AL] = Adonijah in 2 S. 3 4, and in 𝔊^{L} of 1 Ch. 3 2, and in 1 K. 1 *f.*). It is proposed, therefore, to correct 'Araunah' into 'Adonijah' throughout, except in *v.* 23 (on which see below); cp 'Adonibezek,' miswritten in Judg. 1 for 'ADONIZEDEC' (*q.v.*).

The critics have been very near making this correction. They have rightly rejected the pretty romance based on the phrase 'Araunah the king' in 2 S. 24 23 (MT), from which Ewald (*Hist.* 3163) inferred that Araunah was the old dethroned king of Jebus. They have also rejected the makeshift rendering of RV, 'All this, O king, doth Araunah give unto the king,' because a subject speaking to his sovereign was bound to call himself humbly 'the king's servant' (cp 1 S. 26 19 1 K. 1 26). As Wellhausen first saw, the sense required is, 'All this doth the servant of my lord the king give unto the king.' This means correcting ארונה into ארני, and prefixing my—a capital correction which only needs to be supplemented by the emendation of ארונה elsewhere into ארניה (see above).

An additional argument has thus been gained for the substitution of 'Adonijah' for 'Araunah.' The correction is certain, and it is of the highest interest. The Israelite king and his Jebusite subject worship the same god—the god of the land of Canaan. Adonijah too was not an ex-king, but simply a member of the Jebusite community, which continued to exist even after the conquest of Jerusalem. 𝔊^{L} (2 S. 6 6 'Ορνά, Heb. נָכוֹן)

apparently identified the place with the threshing-floor at Perez-Uzzah (see NACHON). T. K. C.

ARBA (אַרְבַּע; αρΓοΒ [B], αρΒο [A] -Βε [L]), 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Josh. 14 15). See ANAK, and HEBRON, 1.

ARBAH (אַרְבַּע) Gen. 35 27 AV. See HEBRON, 1.

ARBATHITE (הָעַרְבָתִי)—*i.e.*, a man of Beth-arābah (2 S. 23 31 1 Ch. 11 32). See ABI-ALBON.

ARBATTIS AV, or rather **Arbatta** RV (εΝ αρΒακτοις [Aℵ[c.a]]; -Βανοις [ℵ*], -Βατν. [V*], -ταν. [V[a]]; Vg. *in Arbatis;* the Syriac gives the strange form *Ardbat*, [Syriac]), 1 Macc. 5 23.† Simon the Maccabee, after his successes in Galilee against the Gentiles, brought back to Judæa 'those [Jews] that were of (reading ἐκ for ἐν) Galilee and in Arbatta.' A district rather than a town is obviously to be understood. Ewald *(Hist.* 5 314) thinks of the plain called el-Baṭīḥa on the NE. shore of the Sea of Galilee (cp the Syriac form); more probably the Arabah or Araboth (עֲרָבוֹת) of Jordan is intended. See ARABAH, 1.

ARBELA (ΕΝ, αρΒΗλοις [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 9 2. Bacchides and Alcimus, in their second expedition into Judzea, 'went forth by the way that leadeth to Galgala (γαλααδ [codd. 64, 93]), and pitched their tents before Masaloth (RV Mesaloth; μεσσαλωθ [A], μαισα. [ℵV]), which is in Arbela.' There are four alternative explanations (but see CHISLOTH-TABOR).

1. In Galilee? *First:* Josephus *(Ant.*xii. 11 1) seems to have read for 'Galgala,' 'Galilee,' which Wellhausen (*IJG*[(3)] 261, n. 2, where he quotes the parallel case, Jos. xii. 23 𝔊[B] τῆς Γαλειλαίας) adopts, and, without explaining Masaloth, takes Arbela to be the well-laown spot at the head of the cliffs overhanging the western border of the plain of Ḥaṭṭīn, the modern Irbid. The interchangeableness of the two forms Arbed and Arbel is proved by the Arab geographers. Nāsir-i-Khusrau, 1047 A.D., calls it Irbil; Yāḳūt in 1235 A.D., and others, call it Irbid. The limestone caverns near Irbid were the haunts of bandits, who were only with difficulty dispossessed by Herod the Great; the methods he employed are graphically described by Josephus *(Ant.*xiv. 15 4 *BJ* i. 16 2 *ff.*). Robinson, who, with most moderns, accepts this identification, conjectures that Mesaloth 'which is in Arbela' represents the Heb. מְסִלּוֹת in the sense of *steps, storeys, terraces,* and describes the fortress on the face of the almost perpendicular cliff (3 289). With more reason Tuch *(Quest. de Flav. Jos. Libb. Hist.*), followed by Wellhausen (*l.c.*), proposes to read Μεσαδωθ (cp HP 93, Μασσαδωθ) as if for מְצוּדוֹת 'strongholds.' The objections to this identification are that Josephus is the only authority for the reading Γαλιλαίαν, and that, by all we can learn from him, the task of reducing Arbela would have cost Bacchides more time than in the circumstances he was likely to be willing to spend. The direction through Galilee by Arbela would, however, be a natural one for the Syrians to take.

2. By Aijalon? *Second;* As natural a line of march for the Syrian army lay along the coast down to the mouth of the valley of Aijalon, and up that valley or one of the parallel defiles farther S. On this line there was a Γαλγαλα, the present Jiljūliyeh, a little more than 13 m. NE. of Joppa, on a site so important that the main road might well be described as ὁδὸν τὴν εἰς Γαλγαλα. There is, however, no trace along it of a Μαισαλώθ or an Ἀρβηλα.

3. In Samaria? *Third;* If Bacchides wished to avoid the road by the coast and up Aijalon, which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon S. through Samaria, which Holofernes is represented in Judith as taking—the road which this book (4 7) expressly calls 'The *anabaseis* of the hill-country,' 'the entrance into Judaea.' Upon it there stand two Gilgals, one near Shechem, and one 5 m. N. of Gophna, which Ewald *(Hist.* Eng. ed. 5 323) takes to be the Galgala of the narrative (but see GILGAL). On this route Masaloth might be Meselîeh or Meithaliin, respectively 5 and 8 m. S. of Jenin, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*OS*[(2)] Ἀρβηλά) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 9 R. m. from Lejjūn, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Meselîeh and Meithaliin are 9½ R. m. from Lejjūn. It is therefore possible that the name Ἀρβηλά covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the N., which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jiljūliyeh, a Meselîeh, and a Meithalfin.

4. In Gilead? *Fourth:* There is some MS authority[1] for reading γαλααδ instead of γαλγαλα; and if the march of Bacchides be conceived as having been through Gilead, the Arbela of 1 Macc. 9 2 may be the Ἀρβηλά (mod. Irbid) which Eusebius (OS 214 73) vaguely defines as a certain village beyond Jordan on the confines of Pella. This Irbid, however, lies very far E. and not in a direct line from the N. Even from Damascus, it would be a roundabout way for the Syrian troops marching with speed on Jerusalem. (We can hardly compare the advance of Antiochus III. upon Ptolemy IV. [Polyb. 5 6], in the course of which Antiochus, after taking Tabor and Bethshean, crossed Jordan and overran Gilead from Arbela to Rabbath-ammon).

Of these four alternatives the first and third seem the most probable. The difficulties of all, horn-ever, are so great that most historians (*e.g.* Schurer and Stade) shirk discussion of the line of march, and bring Bacchides without delay to the walls of Jerusalem. G. A. S.

ARBITE, THE (הָאַרְבִּי), 2 S. 23 35, probably an error for Archite. See PAARAI.

ARBONAI (αΒρωνα [BA], χεΒρων [ℵ]; [Syriac] 'Jabbok' [Syr.]; *mambre*). In Judith 2 24 it is stated that Nebuchadrezzar 'went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river (χείμαρρος) Arbonai till ye come to the sea.' Various commentators, following Grotius, have taken the Chabōras to be meant. There is much plausibility, however, in the suggestion of Movers that the proper name may have arisen out of a failure to understand the original, which he conjectures to have been בעבר הנהר '(the cities which were) beyond the river,' עבר having been taken for a proper name and supplied with a Greek ending.

ARCHANGEL (αρχαΓΓελος [Ti. WH]), Jude 9. See ANGEL, § 4.

ARCHELAUS (αρχελαος [Ti.WH], Mt. 2 22†), son of Herod the Great by Malthakè, and elder brother of Herod Antipas. By his father's will he was macle ruler over Jndzea and Samaria, and his visit to Augustus for the confirmation of this inheritance doubtless suggested a point in the parable Lk. 19 12 *ff.* Upon his coins he bears the family name of Herod and is called 'Ethnarch,' for 'king' he never was, in spite of his assumptions (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 4 5). He may, however, have been *popularly* called 'king.' (Cp Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 3, and the use of βασιλεύει in Mt. 2 22. See further HERODIAN FAMILY, 3.)

ARCHER. See WAR, WEAPONS.

ARCHES is the rendering in the EV of אֵילַמּוֹת, etc., in Ez. 40 16 *ff.* The word אילם or אלם occurs in MT only in this chapter; but 𝔊[BAL] transliterates αιλαμ also where MT has אֻלָם, אולם. Whatever explanation be adopted of the variation of form, the meaning is

[1] HP οδον εις γην γαλααδ [cod. 64], ο. την εις γαλααδ [cod. 93].

doubtless the same throughout—viz., 'porch.' See PORCH, PALACE, TEMPLE.

That the principle of the arch early became known to Israel is a probable inference from the shape of their TOMBS.

ARCHEVITES (Kt. אַרְכְּוָי, cp Kau. *Gram. d. bibl. Aram.* § 61 6; Kr. אַרְכְּוָיֵא; 𝔊 Swete, αρχογοι; αρχογςι [B]; αχγαιοι [A]; αρχ. [L]), mentioned in Ezra 4 9† as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASNAPPER (*q.v.*). The word is not to be regarded as meaning inhabitants of Erech (Ryssel, Ryle), or as equivalent to ἄρχοντες (Jensen, *TLZ*, 1895, n. 20), but rather as miswritten for (י)דִּ, כּוּ(תָ)יֵא, 'who are Cuthæans' (see 2 K. 17 24 'from Babylon and from Cuthah,' etc.). So Marq. *Fund.* 64 *f.*

ARCHI (הָאַרְכִּי), Josh. 16 2 AV, RV ARCHITES.

ARCHIPPUS (αρχιππος [Ti. WH]) is included as a 'fellow-soldier' of Paul and Timothy in the address of the epistle to Philemon (Philem. 2), and in that to the Colossians (4 17) he received this massage : 'Take heed to the ministry (διακονίαν) which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.' Most probably he had recently become the minister (more than 'deacon' in the narrower sense) of the church at Colossæ, perhaps in succession to Epaphras, who was now with the apostle. In *Ap. Const.* (7 46) he is said to have been apostolically ordained bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia.

ARCHITES, AV ARCHI (הָאַרְכִּי; TOY αρχι [L]; 𝔊BA combine the word with the following Ataroth, χαταρωθει [B], αρχιαταρωθ [A]), a clan mentioned in the difficult phrase גְּבוּל הארכי עטרות (Josh. 16 2) in the delimitation of the southern frontier of Joseph. Probably we should reverse the order of the last two words and read 'the border of Ataroth-of-the-Archites.' Indeed, we might plausibly go a step further and change הארכי to האדרי (or הארדי), 'Addarites' (or 'Ardites'). See ATAROTH, 2. That the name Archi lingers in that of the village *'Ain 'Arīk*, 5 m. WSW. of Beitīn (*PEF Mem.* 3 7), is at best a hazardous hypothesis (cp Otth, and Buhl *Pal* 170 *f.*). The home of the clan of Archites to which HUSHAI and, according to 𝔊 (2 S. 23 11 הָרָרִי, 6 Ἀρουχαῖος [BA], 6 Αραχι [L]; and *v.* 35 הָאַרְבִּי, [του Ουραι] οερχει [B], 6 Αραχειεις [A], 6 Αφαρει [L]), SHAMMAH [*q.v.*, 3 and 4] and PAARAI, two of David's heroes, belonged, may have been farther S.

ARCHITECTURE. See CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS, FORTRESS, HOUSE, PALACE, TEMPLE, TOMB.

ARCHIVES, See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

ARCTURUS, AV's rendering of עָשׁ (Job 9 9) and עַיִשׁ (Job 38 32); RV BEAR. Most probably, however, עש in Job 9 9 has arisen from dittography of עשה which precedes, for כסיל follows without ו. The whole verse seems to be an unmetrical interpolation (see Bickell); Duhm. agrees as to עש, and goes so far as to excise *vv.* 8-10 (so also Beer). Observe that Am. 5 8, which is certainly (see AMOS, § 12) an interpolation, and very possibly alludes to Job 9 9 (as Am. 4 13, also interpolated, may allude to Job 9 8), does not include עש among the constellations. We have, therefore, only to explain the עיש (עַיִשׁ?) of Job 38 32. That the Pleiades are meant is not unlikely (see STARS, § 3 (a), cp Tg. (38 32) ונהא על אפרחהא, 'the hen with her chickens'). Cheyne, however, prefers 'the Lion with his sons' (on Job 38 31, etc.' *JBL*, 1898, 103 *ff.*). Epping's list of 'stations' for Venus and Mars, obtained from Seleucidean tablets, gives as the tenth 'the fourth son behind the king' (ρ Leonis). The 'king' is Regulus (α Leonis); he is preceded by *rîs arî* 'Lion's head' (ε Leonis).

(ἕσπερον [B*A]; *kīyūthā* [Pesh.]; *arcturum* [Vg. 9 9], *vesperum* [*ib.* 38 32]. In 9 9 𝔊, Pesh., presuppose the order כסיל עש, כימה.) Cp MAZZAROTH, ORION, PLEIADES.
C. F. B.—T. K. C.

ARD (אַרְדְּ, Gen. 46 21 Nu. 26 40† cp ARDON, AKOD), perhaps a better form than ADDAR (אַדָּר) of ‖ 1 Ch. 8 3† (Gen. αραδ [ADL; B lacking; Jos. σαρολος]; Nu. αδαρ [B], αδερ [AFL]; 1 Ch. αδει [B], αρεδ [A], αδαρ [L]) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9; ii. β); variously designated son of Benjamin (Gen. MT), son of Bela (Nu. and 1 Ch.), son of Gera b. Bela (Gen. [ADL; B lacking]). Gentilic ARDITE (אַרְדִּי; 𝔊BA om., ὁ Αδερι [L *q.v.*]).

ARDATH, RV **Ardat,** the name of a field mentioned only in 4 Esd. 9 26 as the scene of a vision of Esdras.

The Eth. and Syr. read *Arphad*, which Fritzsche and Hilgf. follow. The Lat. Vss. vary :—*ardath* [Vg.], *adar* [S*], *ardad* [A], etc.; cp Bensly *ad loc.* Supported by the description in *v.* 24 ('a field . . . where no house is builded'), Volkmar would emend to *Arba*, 'desert' (more correctly *Araba*). Similarly Rendel Harris, who, however, connects Arba with Kirjath-arba (*Rest of Words of Baruch*, Camb. 1889), in which case the 'oak' in 14 1 will be Abraham's oak of Hebron. On the other hand, we should then expect rather the usual name Hebron, or, at least, the fuller form, Kirjath-Arba. If Ardat is indeed to be sought for in this district (in 31 Esdras is in Babylon) we might follow T. Rec. more closely and identify it with the well-known Arad, which also was situated in a desert. See ARAD, 1.

ARDITES (הָאַרְדִּי), Nu. 26 40. See ARD.

ARDON (אַרְדּוֹן; ορνα [BA], αβδων [L]), b. Azubah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2 18†). See AZUBAH, 1.

ARELI (אַרְאֵלִי; Gen. 46 16; αριηλις [*D*], αροηλεις [A], απηλεις [L]; Gen. *l.c.*, also τω αριηλ [BFL], om. A; see ARIEL), b. Gad. In Nu. 26 17*b* the name is used also collectively with the art. (EV 'the **Arelites**'; ο αριηλ[ε]ι [BFL]), with consciousness that 'son of Gad' = Gadite clan. Doubtless *v.* 17*b* should be corrected to 'Of Ariel (לְאַרְאֵל), the family of the Arielites (הָאַרְאֵלִי),' and it is possible that the names should rather be Uriel, Urielites (see NAMES, § 35).
T. K. C.

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE (Acts 17 19 επι τον αρ[ε]ιον παγον [Ti. WH] EV 'unto [the] Areopagus'; *v.* 22, AV 'Mars' Hill,' RV 'Areopagus'; hence the title Areopagite, Acts 17 34†, αρεοπαγειτης [Ti.], -γι- [WH]). Difficulty is caused by the fact that the name signifies both a hill and a court.

1. The hill. The hill is that formless mass of rock which lies towards the NW. below the Acropolis, separated from it by a depression now largely filled with earth (Herod. 8 52; Luc. *Pisc.* 42). The NE. corner of the hill is a precipice, to the top of which we ascend by means of sixteen ruined steps, cut in the rock at the SE. angle. At the head of the stair are the remains of an altar. The deep chasm at the foot of the precipice was connected with the worship of the Semnai (Eumenides or Furies). 'The whole place was sacred to the most awful associations. Mythology had here lent to the majesty of the law a most solemn background.'

2. The Court. As a Court, the Areopagus was, before the development of the democratic spirit, the supreme authority in Athens. Its powers were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. 'The definite powers were :—(1) a limited criminal jurisdiction; (2) the supreme direction of religious worship especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were :—a general supervision or guardianship (1) of all magistrates and law courts; (2) of the laws; (3) of the education of the young; and (4) of public morals—in addition to which there was (5) the competence to assume in political and national emergencies a dictatorial authority.'

During the earlier history of the city the court held its sittings, for the trial of blood-guiltiness, upon the hill itself. For the hill was the Hill of the Aræ, the Curses or Imprecations—'the place for the solemn irrevocable oath, the natural court for the trial of terrible offences of blood-shedding that might not be tried under a roof.' Moreover, to the early city, the Areopagus was the

place *without* the gates, a place to condemn the criminal, to erect a monument for the outcast tyrant, to bury the stranger (Robert, *Aus Kydathen,* 101). It was during the earlier and the later periods of Athenian history that the Court of the Areopagus (ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή) enjoyed its powers to the full. In the interval Ephialtes, aided perhaps by Themistocles (Arist. *Const. Ath.* 25; 462 B.C.), abolished most of its indefinite functions, and thus deprived it of its strongest influence; it became merely a 'criminal court of narrow competence.' Thenceforth, as in Aristotle's time, it dealt only with cases of wilful homicide, of poisoning, and of arson (*Const. Ath.* 57), while the superintendence of religion was in the hands of the King Archon. As indictments for impiety (ἐνδείξεις ἀσεβείας) came, in their preliminary stages, before the latter, cases which once would have gone before the Areopagus were now tried before the popular jury-courts. It was in this way, therefore, that Socrates, accused like Paul of not worshipping the gods of the city and of introducing new divinities,[1] was tried. As the regular place of business of the King Archon was the Stoa Basileios—the associations of which were, in later days, exclusively religious—it was within that portico that the charge of impiety was brought against the philosopher. It is probable, however, that the Areopagus also always met within the Stoa (Dem. *in Aristog.* 776) when ritual did not demand a midnight-sitting on the open rock—in other words, in all cases other than those of murder. When, with the advent of the Romans, the Areopagus reappeared, after its long eclipse, as once more the supreme authority of the city (cp Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xiii. 1 5; *Nat. Deor.* 2 74), and the specific control of religion fell again within its competence, it would naturally continue to meet there.

There it was, therefore, and before that body, that Paul was summoned. To speak of him as 'perhaps standing on the very stone where had once stood the ugly Greek who was answering the very same charge' (Farrar, *St. Paul,* 390) is to sacrifice historical truth to sentiment. We must relinquish the fond idea that Athens has the interesting distinction of being the one city of the world where we can tread in the very footsteps of the apostle. The view now generally taken errs in a double manner. It maintains, first, that the proceedings were in no sense legal or magisterial; and secondly, that they were upon the hill. The marginal rendering (AV *v.* 22) is no doubt right in representing that it was before the court that Paul was brought. Can we believe that a crowd of idlers, parodying the judicial procedure of the court, could have been allowed to defile the neighbourhood of 'that temple of the awful goddesses whose presence was specially supposed to overshadow this solemn spot, and the dread of whose name was sufficient to prevent Nero, stained as he was with the guilt of matricide, from setting foot within the famous city' (Suet. *Ner.* 34; Dio Cas. 43 14)? Such a view requires better support than is given by the bare assertion that 'the Athenians were far less in earnest about their religion than in the days of Socrates, and if this was meant for a trial it could only have been by way of conscious parody' (Farrar, *op. cit.* 390, n. 3). Nor can an appeal to Acts 9 27 prove that ἐπιλαβόμενοι (Acts 17 19, AV 'took') is here not used in the sense of 'arrest.'

3. Paul.

The view advocated by Curtius (*Stadtgesch. von Athen,* 262 *f.*) is correct. Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill,—a place not adapted either for hearing or for speaking, upon an occasion such as this,—but to the Stoa Basileios (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον; cp Acts 9 21 16 19, etc.) for a preliminary examination (ἀνάκρισις). There it was to be decided whether the new teaching would justify a prosecution for the introduction of a new religion. Standing in the midst of the assembled Areopagites (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, cp Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14 5; *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, 168, Ἄρειος πάγος λόγους ἐποιήσατο), he made his defence. Much of what fell from his lips may be presumed to have awakened an echo in the breasts of his audience (on the speech see HELLENISM, § 9); but the mention of the resurrection of the body seemed to remove the case altogether out of the domain of the serious and practical. The court refused to continue the examination, and Paul was contemptuously dismissed (ἐχλεύαζον *v.* 32 *f.*). Curtius, *Paulus in Athen*, modifies his view. For another view, see Rams. *Paul.* 243 *f.* See also Findlay, ***Ann. Brit. Sch.*** 1 78 *f.* W. J. W.

[1] Cp Xen. *Mem.* 1 1 with Acts 17 18. Yet there is probably no conscious reference on the part of the Christian writer to the 'trial of Socrates, though the contrary has been asserted.

ARES (αρεс [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 10 = Ezra 2 5, ARAH, 2.

ARETAS (αρεταс [Ti. WH]), an ancient name (strictly Ḥārĭthă; חרתת in inscriptions: *e.g.*, Euting *Nab. Inschr.* No. 16) of Nabatzan princes, mentioned in the story of Jason the high priest (in the time of Antiochns Epiphanes), 2 Macc. 5 8 (Ἀρετας [VA]). The Arĕtas of this passage is called 'king of the Arabians'; he was hostile to JASON (*q.v.*). Another Aretas was master of Damascus in the time of Paul—three years after the apostle's conversion. His 'ethnarch' sought (see below) to apprehend Paul, who, however, made good his escape (2 Cor. 11 32 *f.*). The story of the Nabataeans has been told elsewhere (see DAMASCUS, § 12, NABATÆANS). It is certain that about *85* B.C. they had possession of Damascus; but it should be added that the autonomy of Damascus in 70-69 *B.C.* is established by numismatic evidence. The first collision with the Romans was in 64-62 B.C., when the Nabatzan king, Aretas III., intervened in the struggles between Hyrcanus and Aristobiilus. Damascus now came under Roman sovereignty. During the following decennia the Nabatzean kingdom became involved in the wars occasioned by the Parthinns—with varying bnt for the most part ill success. The king also had various disputes with his neighbour Herod the Great. Aretas IV. (9 B.C.–40 A.D.) had tact and skill enough to keep terms with Augustus; his daughter became wife of Herod Antipas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5 1), but was set aside in favour of Herodias. Disputes on frontier questions furnished the aggrieved father with pretexts for war. Vitellius was ordered by Tiberins to avenge the defeat inflicted by Aretas upon Herod; but the death of the Emperor put an end to the scheme (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). At this time, according to 2 Cor. 11 32, Damascus must again have fallen into the hands of Aretas; Damascene coins of Tiberins do not occur later than 33-34 A.D. A tempting conjecture is that it was Caligula that sought at this price, after his accession,[1] to buy over Aretas, against whom Tiberins had so recently ordered war; yet, in our complete ignorance of this chapter of history, we are not precluded from supposing that Tiberius himself in 34 A.D. had already taken occasion to present Aretas with the city as a peace-offering (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 78). A violent capture of the city by Aretas is not to be thought of: such a deed would have called for exemplary punishment at the hands of the Romans. Equally improbable is the view of Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung,* 1 405) and Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 5 476) that Damascus had remained subject to the king of Arabia continuously from the beginning of the Roman period till 106 A.D. For (1) in Pompey's time Damascus belonged to the Decapolis (Plin. *HN* v. 18 74; Ptol. v. 15 22; cp DECAPOLIS, § 2); (2) in the reign of Tiberius it was the Roman governor that gave the authoritative decision on a question of frontier between Damascus and Sidon (Tac. *Ann.* xvii. *63)*; (3) we have imperial coins of Damascus with figures of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero; (4) in Domitian's time there was a cohort raised in Damascus, the Cohors Flavia (*CIL*

[1] So also Gutschmid (Excursus in Euting's *Nab. Inschr.* 85) and Schiirer (*GJV* 1 618, ET2 357 *f.*).

2 870; 5 194, 652 *ff.*); (5) Damascus was not included in the Roman province formed out of the Nabatæan kingdom in 106 A.D.

What it was that induced Aretas's 'ethnarch' in Damascus to persecute Paul, it is impossible to say. Perhaps he regarded Paul as a turbulent and dangerous Jew; perhaps he wished to propitiate the other Jews in Damascus, who were many and powerful (Jos. *BJ* ii. 20 2; vii. 8 7)—so powerful that the synagogues had been able to hand over to the 'young man' Saul and his helpers such Jews as accepted the Gospel. The subsequent years, down to the absorption of the kingdom by the Romans, offer no incident of special interest. It is, however, significant that in 67 A.D., in the Jewish war, Malchus II. (Malku) contributed auxiliary troops to the army of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* vii. 4 2). Shortly before this, Damascus must have been retaken from the Nabataeans by Nero, for imperial coins of Damascus are again met with from 62-63 onwards.

Consult Schurer, *GJV* 1610 *f.*, where further literature is referred to; and cp DAMASCUS, § 12; NABATÆANS. H. v. S.

AREUS (αρης [AKV, but cp Swete; Jos. αρειος]) 1 Macc. 12 20 AV. See SPARTA.

ARGOB. 1. a territory in Bashan, always in the phrase חֶבֶל אַרְגֹּב (Dt. 3 4 13 *f.* הארגב), 'district' or 'circuit' of Argob (περιχωρον αργοβ[1] [BAL]; once αρβοκ [B*]). It was taken by Israel in the war with Og, and contained sixty cities with walls and gates (Dt. 3 4 *f.*). We are ignorant of its precise situation. In Dt. 3 4 it seems equivalent to 'the kingdom of Og in Bashan' (cp 1 K. 4 13 where 𝔊 is corrupt); but in *v.* 13 it stands in apposition to 'all Bashan.' The term 'district,' literally meaning 'line' of Argob, which seems to imply very definite limits, has led many (Targums, Porter, Henderson, and the Pal. Surv. Maps) to identify it with the present Lejā, the low, rough plateau of congealed lava, whose sharp edge distinctly marks it off from the surrounding plain. For this, however, there is no other evidence; nor does the OT narrative carry the conquest of Israel so far to the NE. The one certainty is that Argob lay in Bashan. The addition in Dt. 3 14 that it ran up to the border of Geshur and Maachah is indefinite, and the text of the rest of this verse, which identifies Argob with the conquest of Jair, is corrupt. The Havvoth-Jair were tent villages and lay in Gilead; the cities of Argob were fortified and lay in Bashan. The only places with names (whether in Greek or in modern times) of any similarity are the Ῥάγαβα (so Ραγαβαν 1 K. 4 13 [L]) of Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 155, a fortress E. of Jordan, whose site is unknown (cp Reland, *Pal.* 201), and the modern Rajib (Rujēb) and Wādy Rajib (Rujēb), which, however, lie in Gilead. The name Argob may be derived from Heb. *regeb*, a *clod* (see EZEL). Besides authorities named, see Eus. OS; Wetz. *Reiseber. über Hauran*, etc. 83; GASm. *HG* 551 *ff.*; Dr. *ad* Deut. 3 4-5. On archaeological remains, see BASHAN, § 3. G. A. S.

2. Argob and Arieh (אֶת־אַרְגֹּב וְאֶת־הָאַרְיֵה), two names mentioned in connection with Pekahs conspiracy against Pekahiah (2 K. 15 25). but whether of officers on the side of the king, who shared his fate (his *gibbōrīm*, according to Targ. Jon.), or of conspirators along with Pekah, it is difficult to say, owing to the corrupt state of the text.

Argob (αργοβ [BAL] ܐܪܓܘܒ) is not suitable for a personal name. It is a well-known place-name (see above, 1), and Arieh (αρ[ε]ια [BL], αριε [A], ܐܪܝܐ) has the article prefixed (as if 'the lion'). The Vg. ('percussit eum . . . juxta Argob et juxta Arie') accordingly treats the names—we think correctly—as names of places[2] (cp Tisch.), in which case they are doubtless glosses. Argob may have easily arisen from the preceding ארמון (BAL om.) or may he a gloss upon the 'Gileadites" (see below). St. (*ZATW* 6 160) for 'Arieh' would read חַוּוֹת יָאִיר, and suggests that 'Argob and Havvoth Jair' were originally glosses belonging to *v.* 29. On that theory, the origin of the difficult את (prefixed to both names) becomes clear.

The MT leaves it obscure whether the 'fifty men of the sons of Gileadites'[2] were fellow-conspirators with Pekah (so 𝔊BL, which reads ἄνδρες) or whether they were slain along with the king (so 𝔊A ἄνδρας, Vg. *viros*). 𝔊BA (not L) presents a different reading, 'fifty of the four hundred,' which, if correct, must refer to some body-guard. This may be a trace of the true text, and Klostermann accordingly restores 'he (Pekah) smote him . . . with his (Pekahiah's) 400 warriors, and with him (Pekah) were fifty men of the Gileadites.' PEKAH [*q.v.*] was possibly a Gileadite.

ARIARATHES, RV ARATHES (αραθης [VA], αριαρ. [א]), one of the sovereigns enumerated in 1 Macc. 15 22. Ariarathes VI., Philopator, king of Cappadocia (163-130 B.C.), is obviously intended. See CAPPADOCIA.

ARIDAI (אֲרִידַי; αρσαιος [BAL] αρσεος [א]; but cp ARISAI), son of Haman (Esth. 9 9). See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARIDATHA (אֲרִידָתָא; σαρβαχα [BKAL], but cp Gr. readings of PORATHA). son of HAMAN (*q.v.*), Esth. 98. See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARIEH (הָאַרְיֵה), 2 K. 15 25; see ARGOB, 2.

ARIEL (אֲרִיאֵל, but אֲרִאֵל in S.; αριηλ [BAL]).

1. A personal name. So (i.) Gen. 46 16 Nu. 26 17, 𝔊; MT אַרְאֵלִי (see ARELI [EV], where *b's* readings are given), the eponym of a family of GAD (*q.v.*) in P; (ii.) Ezra 8 16 (= 1 Esd. 8 43, EV IDUEL, mg. ARIEL; ιδουηλος [BA]), head of family, temp. Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*); and (iii.) 2 S. 23 20 [BL; A omits] = 1 Ch. 11 22 [BKAL]. a Moabite whose two sons[3] were slain by David's warrior, Benaiah. So RV,[4] Kau. *HS*, Ew. We. Dr. Some more striking action, however, is required in such a context, and it is best to adopt some form of Klostermann's emended reading, which makes Benaiah the slayer of two young lions (so Bu. in *SBOT*). Marquart, however, suggests that for Ariel in 2 S. we should read Uriel (cp URIAH, 1 [2 S. 23 25]), and the author of NAMES (§ 35) makes a similar suggestion for Ariel, 2, and for ARELI (*q.v.*).

2. A prophetic name for Jerusalem, Is. 29 1 *f.* 7 (6),[5] probably to be read Uriel (אֻרִיאֵל) in *vv.* 1, 2*a*, 7, and Arial (אֲרִיל = אֲרִאֵל) in *v.* 2*b*. Uriel (or Uruel?) would be a modification of Urusalem (ארושלם; Am. Tab. Urusalim; see JERUSALEM), and mean originally, Gods enclosure or settlement (cp JERUEL). Arial (cp Ar. *iratun*, hearth) means altar-hearth,[6] as it probably does in Mesha's inscription (אראל *ll.* 12, 17 *f.*). The prophecy containing it was written during Sennacherib's invasion (see ISAIAH, ii. § 20); it aimed at dissipating the false confidence of the people in the security of Jerusalem. The proper name of the city was Urušalem (which afterwards became Jerusalem). Isaiah alters this into Uriel (Uruel?) in order to make a paronomasia. In a year or two the city against which David had encamped will be besieged by a greater than David, and so great will be the slaughter in its streets that its

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1 In Jos. 14 15 𝔊B gives Αργοβ for ארבע; see Kirjath-arba.

2 Not to be connected with αρια (Eus. *OS*(2) 288 10), or rather *arima* (Jer. *ib.* 146 26); see ARUMAH.

1 Argob and Gilead lie close together.

2 a fusion of מבני גלעד and מן־הגלעדים (so 𝔊L.); cp Kö. ... גלעדים, crit. note.

3 MT omits 'sons' in both places, and 𝔊BAא in Ch.

4 RV 'the two (sons of) Ariel'; AV 'two lion-like men.

5 In *v.* 7 𝔊 has a doublet; ιερουσαλημ [BZΓ both times, and AQ second time], ιηλ [אAQ* first time], ιλημ οι γ' αριηλ [Q mg. first time], ιελμ [א second time].

6 The same word probably occurs with this meaning in Ezekiel's plan of the temple; Ez. 43 15 *f.* (*v.* 15*a* הַרְאֵל; 15*b Kt.* 16*a Kt.* הָאֲרִאֵיל; *v.* 15*a* φως μου θς ' ητοι ορος θυ δις το θυσιαστηριον ουτως εκαλεσε [adnot in Qmg.]).

name will become no longer Uriel, but (by a slight modification) Arial—*i.e.*, altar-hearth. The reading Uriel seems to have been known to the author of 31 9:[1] 'says Yahwè, who has a fire (אור) in Zion and a furnace in Jerusalem.' The other explanations of this prophetic name are (1) lion, or lioness, of God (Ew., Di., Che., *Isa.*[(1)]); (2) hearth of God (Del., König, Kittel); (3) altar-hearth (Stade, Duhm, Che., *SBOT*). Of these, the third is probably the easiest; but none of them quite accounts for the selection of the new name for David's city, nor for the expression 'and will become to me like (an) Ariel (*v.* 26). T. K. C.

ARIMATHÆA (ἀριμαθαια [Ti. WH]), Mt. 27 57, etc. See RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

ARIOCH (אַרְיוֹךְ; ἀριωχ [BADEL 87, ℵ[c.a]], -χης [87 in Dan. 2 14 *f.*]). Probably a Hebraised form of an old Babylonian name (see CHEDORLAOMER, § 3) used, (1) possibly with archæological accuracy, in Gen. 14 1 9 of an ally of an ancient king of Elam; (2) by a literary fiction, of Nebuchadrezzar's captain of the guard (Dan. 2 14 *f.* 24 *f.*); and (3) of a king of Elam (so the Syriac) in alliance with Nebuchadrezzar (Judith 1 6, αριασε [K"]. Cp Bezold, *Babyl. Assyr. Lit.* 53.

ARISAI (אֲרִיסַי; Ρουφαιον [BℵL], -φανον [A], unless we regard this as an intruder and identify Arisai with the succeeding name Αρσαιος; see ARIDAI), son of Haman (Es. 9 9). See ESTHER, § 3 (end).

ARISTARCHUS (ἀρισταρχος [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian (Acts 20 4 27 2), one of Paul's companions in travel (Acts 19 29), was among those who accompanied him from Europe on his last recorded visit to Jerusalem (Acts 20 4), and also on his voyage to Rome, having joined him at Cæsarea (Acts 27 2). As the apostle's 'fellow-prisoner' (συναιχμάλωτος) he unites with him in saluting the Colossians (Col. 4 10). Cp COLOSSIANS, § 10 *f.* He joins in the salutation to Philemon (Philem. 24), but in this passage is designated simply as 'fellow-worker,' Epaphras alone being called 'fellow-prisoner.' From this it has been inferred, with much probability, that the companions of Paul relieved one another in voluntarily sharing his captivity.

In the lists of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (not earlier than the fifth cent.), Aristarchus is bishop of Apamēa in Syria. Pseudo-Dorotheus also has it that along with Pudens and Trophimus he was beheaded in Rome at the same time as Paul.

ARISTOBULUS (ἀριστοβουλος [VA; Ti. WH], a Greek name adopted by Romans and Jews, and borne by several members of the Maccabean and Herodian families).

1. The teacher (διδάσκαλος) of Ptolemy (no. 1), to whom Judas (the Maccabee) sent letters (2 Macc. 1 10). He is the well-known Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher of that name, who resided at the court of Ptolemy VI. Philomētor (180-145 B.C.). He was of priestly descent (ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους, *v.* 10; cp Lev. 4 3 הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ), and was the author of (among other writings) certain works on the Pentateuch, fragments of which are preserved in Clement of Alexandria and in Eusebius. See Schur. *GJV* 2 760 *ff.*, Ew. *GVI* 4 355, and Kue. *Godsd.* 2 433 *ff.*

2. 'They of the household of Aristobulus' are saluted in Rom. 16 10. It is not implied that Aristobūlus himself was a Christian. The name was a common one in the dynasty of Herod. The list of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus names Aristobulus as bishop of Britain.

ARIUS (ἀρης [AKV; 𝔊 is not certain, see Swete], *ARIUS*), 1 Macc. 12 20 RV; see SPARTA.

ARK. See DELUGE, § 10.

[1] Isaiah's authorship is doubted (Che. *Intr. Isa.* 204). It is unlikely that Isaiah explained Uriel 'God's fire'; the paronomasia in *v.* 2*b* would then disappear. Moreover אוּר in the sense of fire seems to be late. Cp 30 32 *f.*; 33 17 (late).

ARK OF THE COVENANT or Sacred Ark (אֲרוֹן;[1] κιβωτος [BAL]; *ARCA*).

There is nothing more significant than the changes in the titles of sacred objects. We must, therefore, be careful to place these titles in their chronological order. According to Seyring (*ZATW* 11 116 ['91]) the oldest name of the ark (or sacred chest) is 'the ark of Yahwè the God of Hosts (Ṣĕbā'ōth) who is enthroned upon the cherubim.'

Names: Ark of God, etc.

This title is reached by an analysis of the designations of the ark in (*a*) 2 S. 6 2 and (*b*) 1 S. 4 4 (both passages belong to early documents). The titles given in (*a*) are 'ark of God' (*hā-elōhīm*), and 'called by the name of Yahwè Ṣebā'ōth that is enthroned upon the cherubim.'[2] In (*b*) the title is 'ark of the *b'rith* of Yahwè Ṣebā'ōth who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' Recombining the supposed oldest elements in these titles, Seyring obtains the title mentioned above. This usually careful scholar, however, has overlooked, in dealing with (*b*), 𝔊's reading in the preceding verse—viz., 'the ark of our God' (τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμων [B], τ. κ. τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ θ. ἡ. [A], τ. κ. τ. δ. κυρίου τ. θ. ἡ. [L]), which is self-evidently more correct than the Deuteronomic formula[3] of MT, and, taken together with *a*. 6 ('ark of Yahwè'), justifies us in assuming that the equally simple title 'ark of Yahwè' stood originally in *a*. 4*a* and *v.* 5, and 'ark of God' (cp *vv.* 11 17 19-22) in *v.* 4*b*. Nor has Seyring noticed that after 'ark of God' in (*a*) the relative clause which follows is superfluous, and presumably a later insertion. It must be added that it remains most improbable that the divine name Yahwè Ṣĕbā'ōth is older than the Assyrian period, to which indeed Amos who undoubtedly uses it belongs; at any rate the theory that this name represents Yahwè as the God of Israel's hosts, and has any special connection with the ark, has insuperable difficulties.[4] Thus, so far as (*a*) and (*b*) are concerned, the popular names for the ark were very short—viz., 'ark of Yahwè,' 'ark of God,' and 'ark of our God,'—and from the context of the former passage we find that there was a still shorter name, 'the ark' (2 S. 6 4), which occurs thrice in old parts of Samuel, and five times (or seven, including Josh. 3 14 17; see Kau. *HS*) in the Hexateuch. The title 'ark of God' (ארון האלהים, or twice ארון אלהים) occurs often in old parts of Samuel, and also in Chronicles. In a solemn speech of David in 1 Ch. 15 12 14 we find the sonorous phrase 'the ark of Yahwè, the God of Israel,' which reminds us of the phrase used by the Philistines in 1 S. 5 7 *f.* 11.[5] Side by side with 'the ark of Elohim' we naturally find the phrase 'the ark of Yahwè.' It occurs first in the composite work JE, and may reasonably be ascribed in the first instance to J, though in some passages it may have been inserted by the editor, either as an altogether new addition, or in lieu of the phrase 'the ark of God,' which was probably used in E. Once (Josh. 3 13) we find this remarkable addition 'the Lord of the whole earth,' which, apart from *vv.* 11 13, occurs only in late writings, and, as Seyring points out, is

[1] Cp Ass. *eru*, *erênu* (*erinnu*), 'box,' 'receptacle' (DELUGE, § 10).

[2] The same renderings are given for תֵּבָה, Noah's ark, but not for תֵּבָה, the 'ark' in the bulrushes.

[3] This rendering implies that שֵׁם, 'name,' occurs twice in MT by pure accident. Otherwise we should have to suppose that the name by which the ark was called was 'the name of Yahwè Ṣĕbā'ōth,' etc.

[4] Smend's arguments (*Rel.-gesch.* 185 *ff.*), weakly met by Marti (*Gesch. der Isr. Rel.* 140), appear conclusive, only he should have fortified himself by Assyrian parallels. Thus, Aim is said to rule kiššat ilâni 'the mass, or entire multitude, of the Gods,' Nebo to be the overseer kiššat šamê u irsitim 'of the mass (multitude) of heaven and earth.' Amos and his school represent Yahwè as the lord of all supernatural beings in the universe, in opposition to all rival deities. See, however, NAMES, § 123.

[5] On these points see further, Budde's crit. note in *SBOT*: Couard, *ZATW* 12 71 ['92], n. 1; We. *TBS* 167 (especially as to the right rendering of 1 Ch. 13 6).

presumably due to a post-exilic writer whose idea of Yahwb differed from that of JE. The phrase 'the ark of Yahwb' passed from JE into the terminology of the historical books in general (including Chronicles).

2. Ark of b'rith. A new title for the ark seems to have been coined by the author of the original Deuteronomy (Deut. 10 8), and adapted from him by writers and editors who shared his religious point of view, and even (strange to say) by the Chronicler, who, in general, stands so completely under the influence of the Priestly Code. This phrase is 'the ark of the d'rith' (usually rendered 'covenant'; see below), either simply (Josh. 3-6) *or* in various combinations, such as 'ark of the *d'rith* of Yahwb,' 'ark of the d'rith of Elohim,' and 'ark of the *b'rith* of Adōnai.' The Deuteronomistic editors have freely introduced the term *d'rith* into the titles of the ark in the older sources which they edited. The work of the editor clearly betrays itself in such phrases as הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית (Josh. 3 14), הָאָרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָֹה (Josh. 3 17), where the editor has forgotten to make the omission of the article, necessitated by the introduction of a dependent genitive.

And now as to the correct meaning of the phrase ארון הברית. It is rendered by 𝔊BAL ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης, by Vg. *arca fœderis* and *arca testamenti* (Nu. 14 44), and by EV 'ark of the covenant.' That *b'rith* cannot, however, in this phrase mean 'covenant' in our sense of the word is clear from 1 K. 8 21 (= 2 Ch. 6 11), where we are told that 'the *b'rith* of Yahwb' was 'in the ark.' The phrase is parallel to that in Ex. 25 16 21, 'into the ark thou shalt put the testimony' (את הָעֵדֻת), which (see below) is a technical term for the 'two tables' of the Decalogue. Hence Kau. *HS* rightly rejects the obscure if not misleading phrase 'ark of the covenant,' and substitutes 'ark with the law (of YahwB),' which is at any rate, by common admission, the best approximate rendering (cp COVENANT, § 1).

3. Ark of 'ēdūth. The latest phase in the historical development of the names of the ark is marked by the title which occurs eleven times in the Priestly Code and also in Josh. **4 16** (introduced into JE by the editor?), meaning 'ark of the publicly delivered ordinance' (𝔊BAL ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Vg. *arca testimonii*, EV, ark of the testimony). The meaning given above is confirmed by Ex. **31** 18 (E?) 32 15 (E), 34 29 (P), where we hear of 'the two tables of the עֵדֻת. Probably this new title appeared to the priestly writer clearer and more definite than that introduced by Deuteronomy. It did not, however, displace the older phrases, which reappear not only in Chronicles but also in the Greek Apocrypha, and (κ. τῆς διαθήκης) in the NT (see below, § 15).

On looking back, we see that the names and titles of the ark fall into three classes. We have, first, the names 'ark of Yahwè,' 'ark of God,' 'ark of our God,' which indicate that the ark contained an object which in some way symbolised and represented Israel's God; and next, the names, 'ark of the law,' 'ark of the ordinance,' which suggest that the object contained in the ark was inscribed with laws; and lastly, attached to the older names, titles such as those in Josh. 3 (11) 13 2 *S.* 6 2, which indicate a desire to correct the materialistic interpretation which might seem to convert the ark into an idol. A critical study of the texts is the necessary commentary on these deductions from names. The following sections aim at bringing together the chief notices of the ark, indicating the sources from which they are derived, and then, at fitting points, giving the reader some idea of the results which follow from a critical treatment of these notices.

We turn first of all to the documents called J and E (as far as we can separate the one from the other) in the Hexateuch. It is more than probable [1] that both J and

1 See the **analysis** of **Ex.** 32 *f.* in Exodus, ii. § 3, and cp Bacon, *Exodus*, 143, 146; We. *CH* 95; Di. *Ex. u. Lev.* 345.

4. Traditional origin of ark: JE. E, in their original form, related how Yahwb or Elōhim, at Sinai or at Horeb, directed an ark to be made as a substitute for his personal presence as leader of his people. These passages were omitted by the editor, who preferred the muck more suitable account (so he must have deemed it) given in P (see below, § 13), but has preserved the tradition of J and E that, both in the wilderness and on the entrance into Canaan, the ark led the van of the host. In referring to this J quotes two poetic formulæ (Nu. 10 35 36), which he says were spoken by Moses at the beginning and the end of a day's march, but which more probably arose at a later time.' Whether J and E agreed with Deuteronomy in stating that the 'two tables of stone' were placed in the ark is a matter which can be only conjecturally decided. There is, however, a very strong probability that they did not. E's story, at any rate, is much more forcible if we suppose no renewal of the shattered tables (Ex. 32 19), and we cannot believe J to have differed on this important point from E. Historical considerations (see below, § 10) confirm this conclusion. In particular, the ark was not, in the succeeding narratives of J and E, **a** symbol of the revealed law, but the focus of divine powers. Twice, we are told, the Israelites omitted to take the ark with them and were defeated (Nu. **14 44** Josh. 7 4), and on the latter occasion Joshua prostrated himself before the ark,[2] and remonstrated with YahwB, the God of Israel. The crowning proof of the potency of the ark was given when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (according to one of the traditions, at harvest time), and captured Jericho (Josh. 3 *f.* 6). The Deuteronomic editor has made the former part of the narrative difficult to restore to its original form (which was a combination of J and E); but it is probable that J and E already described the priests (not, 'the priests, tlie Levites') as bearers of the ark. In the latter part it is not very difficult to recover a simpler, more natural, and presumably earlier account, in which no express mention is made of the ark, and nothing is said of the falling down of the walls of Jericho (on the narrative see JOSHUA, ii. § 7).[3] Thus far, then, the most genuine tradition is clear and intelligible.

['The invention of portable sanctuaries, and especially of portable idols, may possibly go back to the nomadic Semites and to a time when the gods were still tribal rather than local; but the probabilities are all against such a view. There is less trace of such an institution in Arabia than in any other part of the Semitic world, and nowhere else is the principle so strongly marked that **a** tribe that changes its seats changes its gods. Even the ark of Yahwè is not carried back by Hebrew tradition to patriarchal times; the patriarchs do worship only where they have afixed altar. It is, therefore, more likely that portable symbols of the godhead first arose among the settled Semites and in connection with the religion of the army in war. In this connection the idea of a portable god involves no great breach with the conception that each deity has a local home, for when the campaign is over the god returns to his temple. When the notion of portable gods was once established, however, its application could easily be extended and would serve **to** smooth away the difficulty of establishing new permanent sanctuaries in conquered regions or colonies over the sea. A Greek colony always carried its gods with it, and it is probable that this was often done by the Phoenician colonists also. Even in Israel we find that the sanctuary of Yahwb at Dan was constituted by setting up the image from Micah's sanctuary (Judg. 18 30), just as David gave a religious character to his new capital by transferring the ark to it.'] [4]

But by what critical process can we bring simplicity

1 Delitzsch, however, defends the Mosaic authorship, *ZKW* 8 225-235 ['82].
2 So MT and 𝔊L; 𝔊BAF omit 'the **ark** *(of)*.'
3 We, *CH* 123; Ki. *Hist.* 1 282 *f.*
4 From WRS, *Burnett Lectures*, 2nd series, Lect. I. (MS).

into the episode of the capture and restoration of the sacred ark by the Philistines (1 S. 4 1-7 1)? Some facts are admitted. That at the end of the period of the Judges the ark rested at the Ephraimitish sanctuary of Shiloh is a trustworthy Statement, guaranteed by 1 S. 4 3 *f.* (chap. **3** we must regretfully pass over, as coming from a different hand and later writer; see **SAMUEL,** ii.). It must, also, he a fact that the Philistines had defeated the Israelites near Eben-ezer (ISRAEL, § 11). Tradition doubtless added that the leaders of Israel attributed their misfortune to the absence of the ark from the host, and that they therefore fetched the sacred chest from Shiloh. The immediate consequences are graphically described. On the arrival of the ark the Israelites were in a state of wild delight; and the Philistines who heard the shoutings were proportionately alarmed, for 'who (said they) can deliver us from these great gods?' (*ĕlōhīm*). Nevertheless, with the courage of despair, the Philistines renewed the fight with complete success, and were even able to carry off the arlc in triumph. Then begins a series of wonderful incidents from which it is difficult to extract a kernel of early tradition. Stade thinks (*GVI* 1 202 *f.*) that in chaps. 5 and **6** he can find the remnants of two distinct accounts; but the recognition of this would only diminish the number of difficult features in the narrative. It would ohviously not provide an intelligible statement of facts. Of the difficult details referred to there is only one which it is necessary to criticise here. It is a statement which the study of the Assyrian monuments seems to make historically impossible. The Philistines, we are told, under the pressure of pestilence, returned the 'gods' which they had captured from Israel. Ancient nations did not act thus in such circumstances. For example, we know that the image of the goddess Nanā (see NANÆA) was taken from Erech by an Elamite king, and detained in Elam for 1635 years. Did any calamity ever suggest to the Elamites the idea that Nanā was chastising them for the insult to her image? No. Ašurbānipal, king of Assyria, had to devote all his energies to the task of crushing the Elamites before he could restore the image to its ancient home (cp ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 8). Similar stories of reconquered idols are told in connection with the names of Ašurbānipal's grandfather Sennacherib (cp ASSYRIA, § 20) and the old Babylonian king Agu-lralc-rime.[1]

5. Capture and recovery.

The fragmentary document which we have thus far studied closes with the statement that the ark was placed in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim, and that Abinadab's son was consecrated to keep it. It is to an entirely different (and probably earlier) source[2] that we owe the narrative of the bringing of the ark to Zion. We learn here that at the time when David bethought himself of the ark, it rested at a place called Baal in Judah (2 S. 6 2; see Driver *ad loc.*). During the whole of Saul's reign and during David's seven-years' reign in Hebron, it had lain forgotten in a provincial town. Neither Saul nor David had thought of taking it into battle; nor, so far as our evidence goes, had it been visited by the people. What, then, had been the effect of the repeated attestations which the divine judgments had given to its supernatural power? Let us see whether the narrative in 2 S. 6 (which appears to be older than that in 1 S. 4 1-7 1), when critically treated, suggests any way out of our manifold difficulties. It is permissible, and indeed necessary, to disregard so much of chap. **6** as relates to the death of Uzzah (a passage which in its difficulty resembles parts of the story in 1 S. 5 *f.*, and the growth of which can he accounted for), and to fix our attention on the simpler narrative in *vv.* 10-15, the kernel of which is that, early in David's reign, the ark was in the house of one Obed-edom of Gath, and that David fetched it thence with much jubilation to Zion. How came the ark to be there? That David of his own accord entrusted such a sacred object to a Philistine is highly improbable; hut how if Obed-edom was not a Philistine sojourning in Judah, but a foe residing in his native town of Gath? How if the ark had never left Philistine territory, though it had been shifted from Dagon's temple to a private house? How if David acted as Assyrian kings acted in similar circumstances, and reconquered the precious object which was to him in some sense the dwelling of his God? This is the hypothesis of Kosters, who held not only, with Kittel and Budde, that 2 S. 21 15-22 is properly the continuation of the narrative in 2 S. 5 17-25, but also that the sequel of the story of the battle in Gath (2 S. 21 20) was once the notice that David fetched the ark from the house of Obed-edom in Gath and deposited it for a time at Baal.[1] After this, according to Kosters, came originally the story of the capture of Jerusalem (an event which this critic places *after* the hostilities referred to in 2 S. 5 17 *ff.*), and of the bringing up of the arlc to Zion. The editor to whom the present form of 2 S. 6 1-12 is due appears to have had a religious rather than a historical motive. The facts as stated in the original narrative might suggest to some readers that Yahwè needed the interference of David to deliver him from captivity: in other words, that David was stronger than his God. The editor shrank from inventing an entirely new narrative, but, to counteract that idea, put the central facts in the traditional story in an entirely new setting.

This hypothesis, the present writer has long felt, is absolutely required to clear up an important historical episode.[2] Without it the central facts of tradition, including David's almost ecstatic joy (2 S. 6 14), are hopelessly obscure. A glance at 2 S. 6 1 *f.* will convince the reader that there is nothing arbitrary in the view proposed. That *vv.* 2-12*a* cannot have been the original sequel of *v.* 1 must be clear. Unless *v.* 1 is simply misplaced, it must have been followed by a record of some martial exploit of David. To the present writer it seems probable (see DAVID, § 7) that the exploit consisted in a great victory near Gath (cp 2 S. 21 20 *f.*), which so weakened the Philistines that they offered to restore the ark on condition of David's making with them a treaty of peace, and that David himself fetched the ark from Obed-edom's house. It will be remembered that when David defeated the Philistines at Baal-perazim he had 'taken away the images' (2 S. 5 21) which, by their presence, should have ensured a Philistine victory. It seems probable that when the Philistines restored the ark David gave back the captured 'images.' Cleverness was a characteristic of this king. It was all-important to him not to wage an internecine warfare with the Philistines, and he therefore 'contented himself with a peace honourable for both parties' (Kamphausen). The original story may have referred to this restoration of the images captured at Baal-perazim, and this compound name may have suggested the mention of 'Baal' and 'Perez-uzzah' in 2 S. 6 as it now stands. In a certain sense, indeed, the ark *was* recovered from Baal-perazim.

Our next notice of the ark is in 2 S. 7, a passage full of varied interest, though in its present form not older than the sixth century. It tells us (and no doubt the

[1] Tiele, *BAG* 128 *f.* 305 *f.* 392 *ff.*, referred *to* by Kosters, *ThT* 27 364 ['93].

[2] The reference in 2 S. 6 3 *to* the house of Abinadab seems to be an editorial insertion (see Kosters, *op. cit.* 368).

[1] The reason why David deposited the ark at **Baal** was, according *to* Kosters, that he had not yet conquered Jehus or Jerusalem. Those who hold another view as *to* the time of the conquest of Jebus will give a different reason. David had indeed conquered Jebus, hut had not yet adapted it by fresh buildings *to* serve the purpose of a capital. See DAVID, § 10.

[2] Since the above was written, Winckler has made another attempt to produce an intelligible view of the history of the ark (*GI* 70 *ff.*). It is difficult *to* see that there is any solid ground for his very revolutionary hypothesis; but, at any rate, he perceives **a** problem which escaped the earlier writers before Kosters.

statement is historical) that David wished to build a cedar-house for the ark. but was forbidden bv an oracle.

6. Permanent abode. We can understand, therefore, that for a time (as 2 S. 11 11 suggests) the ark was still carried with the armv as an insurance against defeat.[1] The capture of it by the Philistines, however, had already given a blow to the primitive, fetishistic conception of the ark, and an occasion arose when David, it would seem, was inwardly moved to express a far higher view. It was probably a turning-point in Israel's, as well as in David's, religious development. The circumstances were these. David was fleeing from Jerusalem before Absalom. Zadok wished to carry the 'ark of God' with David and his body-guard. The king, however, protested, and commanded Zadok to carry it back, 'that it may be seated in its place' (2 S. 15 25, 𝔊L). He was conscious (if *v.* 26 may be followed) that YahwB might have cause to be displeased with him, and would rather suffer his punishment meekly than seem, by having the ark with him, to demand the interposition of Yahwè as a natural right. Henceforth, therefore, the symbol of Yahwè's presence should no more 'leave its place': Yahwè would direct Israel's affairs, both in peace and in war, from Zion. Early in Solomon's reign the greatest of all Israel's sanctuaries was erected. Much as the original passage of Solomon's biography has been edited (see Kau. *HS* and cp 𝔊), it is beyond question that this king transported the ark from its temporary abode to the sanctuary of his temple. There—so both he and David hoped—it was to serve as a national centre, and complete the unification of Israel. The hope was, however, disappointed; nor do even the writers of Judah spend a word on the ark, or give a hint as to the feelings of the people towards it.

Our next news of the ark is indirect, and comes from an exilic or post-exilic passage of the Book of Jeremiah (3 16).

7. Disappearance. The passage runs thus: 'In those days no more shall one say, "The ark of the *b'rith* of YahwB," neither shall it come into one's mind, neither shall one think npon it, nor miss it, neither shall it be made again.' The full import of the words may be doubtful; but at least one thing is clear—the ark, on the possession of which the weal or woe of Israel had once seemed to depend, had passed away. This is too patent from later writings to be denied. Ezra 1 and 1 Macc. 4 do not mention the ark among the sacred vessels. Josephus (*BJ* v. 55) declares that the Holy of Holies contained nothing at all. Lastly, Tacitus, relating the entrance of Pompey into the temple, uses the emphatic words, 'Inde vulgatum nullas intus deum effigies; vacuam sedem et inania arcana' (*Hist.* 59). How the ark disappeared will be considered presently (see next §). Suffice it to add here that the *sēpher tōrāh* or 'Book of the Law' succeeded to the undivided reverence of true Israelites, and is still, with its embroidered mantle and ornaments, the most sacred object in every synagogue.

When, then, and how did this holy thing, which, according to Jer. 3 16, was by many so painfully missed, pass out of sight?

8. Its fate. We have accounted for one strange gap in our historical notices respecting the ark: how shall we explain the still longer and stranger lacuna which extends from (say) 960 to 586 B.C.? Why is it that neither the historians nor the prophets of this period (so far as we possess their works) refer to the fortunes of the ark or to the popular reverence for it in their own time? Three answers seem possible. (1) Soon after 960 the ark may have been captnred by an enemy—a calamity which was deliberately suppressed by the historians, just as they suppressed the destruction of the temple of Shiloh. Giesebrecht and Couard have pointed to the invasion of Judah by Shishak (Šešonk I.), king of Egypt, about 928, as the occasion of this (*see* 1 K. 14 26). The objection is that Shishak's campaign, as the bas-reliefs at Karnak appear to prove,[1] was against Israel as well as Judah, and that, Egypt being too weak at that time to think of permanent conquests, the expedition must have been simply due to vainglory and to greed. If Shishak took away from Palestine anything in the nature of an idol, it must have been the 'golden calves' of Jeroboam, and not the outwardly unattractive wooden chest in the sanctuary of the temple of Rehoboam. Besides, Rehoboam and his priests would never have allowed the capture of the ark to become known: they would certainly, in the interests of the temple, have substituted a new chest, for which pious fiction the supposed discoveries of Babylonian kings mentioned by Tiele (*BAG* 461) may perhaps furnish a parallel. (2) The ark may have been carried away with the temple treasures in 785, by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 14), who would hardly have omitted to reclaim the long-lost treasure of the Ephraimitish sanctuary at Shiloh. The objection to this is that the ark had long ceased to be the special possession of a tribe, and that events had proved that Joash could well dispense with the ark, while to have carried it away would have been an offence against the great hero of united Israel—David. **(3)** The ark (which was probably renewed by the priests, when decayed from age) may have retained its place till the great catastrophe in 586, and previously to this may have lost much of its ancient prestige owing to the growing sense of the inconsistency of identifying such an object as the ark with the great God Yahwè, and perhaps also to discourses of the prophets against a superstitious reverence for the ark which have been lost, or even suppressed by editors. This view—which is in the main that adopted in 4 Esd. 10 22, and implied by the legend in 2 Macc. 2 5 (cp below, § 15), that Jeremiah[2] hid the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense in a cave—is by no means an improbable one. The only obvious objection to it can easily be met. The assertion in Dent. 10 4 *f.* that the ark was simply the repository of two inscribed tables of stone need not imply that D, like P, is an archæologist, and that the object which is thus wrongly described no longer existed. It is more natural to suppose that, like the other fetishes to which this writer is *so* vehemently opposed, the sacred stones which (as we shall see) were the objects venerated of old in the ark still held their place, concealed from view but secure. The Deuteronomist, speaking in the name of Moses, could not help assuming the sanctity of the ark and its contents. In the interests of piety, however, he transformed (as far as words could do it) the nature of the objects in the ark. That venerable coffer was not, he meant to say, in any sense the dwelling of the deity. whom no temple could hold (1 K. 8 27): it simply contained a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God.

This leads us to consider the origin and affinities of the ark. For the ark of the Deuteronomist (and of P),

9. Real nature. with its two inscribed tables, no parallel has been found. Prof. Sayce indeed refers to Mr. Rassam's discovery of a coffer with two inscribed alabaster tablets in a little temple at Balawāt, near Mōṣul;[3] but the coffer (which was not placed in the sanctuary) also was of alabaster, and with its contents corresponds to the chests containing sacred books which were among the regular appurtenances of Egyptian (and probably of Syrian) temples, but were not meant to be carried. For the ark known to the earliest Hebrew traditions, however, there are many monumental

1 We must not refer here to 1 K. 2 26, which states, according to MT, that Abiathar used to 'bear the ark before David—*i.e.*, in his campaigns. The right reading is, not ארון, ark,' but אפוד, 'ephod'; cp 1 S. 23 6 9. Cp the same mistake in 1 S. 14 18, MT. (So first Thenius.)

1 St. *GVI* 1 353 *f.*; WMM, As. *u. Eur.* 166-169.
2 In the Talmud (*Horajoth*, 12*a*) it is Josiah who hides the ark and other sacred objects, including the pot of manna (see below, § 15).
3 Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 65; cp Pinches, *TSBA* 7 83.

parallels. In Egypt, for instance (from which Renan too hastily derives the Israelite ark), no festal procession could be sculptured or painted without them.[1] The arks, with their images, were placed on boats, which were ornamented at the ends with heads of the divinities within; the king himself, being divine, also had his ark-boat. Such an ark-boat, too, is referred to in the strange story of the daughter of the king of Baḫtan,[2] where an image of the god Ḫonsu is said to have been transported to Syria, to deliver a princess from the spirit that oppressed her. These shrine-boats must originally have had their parallels in Babylonia : the constant expression for the sacred arks in the cuneiform texts is *elippi*[3]—*i.e.*, 'ships.' Within the best-known historical periods, however, it was in simple arks or coffers that the images of the gods were borne in procession at the Babylonian (and Assyrian) festivals.

Thus it appears that two things were essential in a sacred arlc—that it should be of a size and a material which woold permit it to he carried, and that it should contain a representation or mystic symbol of a deity. The ark known to David and Solomon doubtless complied with these conditions. It was a simple wooden box, such as the ancestors of the Israelites had used in their nomadic state for their few valuables,[4] without either the coating of gold or the cherubim with which the reverence of a later writer provided it. As to its

10. Contents. contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the imagination for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahwè. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimise the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. These duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one).[5] This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism (on which see IDOLATRY, § 4) elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahwk; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those bætyls, animated stones, which, according to Sanchoniathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites. They may have belonged originally to the tribe afterwards called Ephraim; and when the several tribes united in worshipping Yahwk, the God of Moses, the Ephraimitish ark with its contents may have been adopted as the chief sacred symbol of Yahwk. Theearliest narrators (see above, § 3, end) viewed the arlc (which was virtually one with what it contained) as a substitute for the immediate presence of Yahwk, the sin of the 'Golden Calf' at Sinai having proved the Israelites to be unripe for such an immense privilege. The primitive Israelites, however, who knew nothing of the story referred to, must have regarded it, not as a substitute, but as the reality itself.

The portableness of the Israelitish ark did not, it is true, lead to its being carried about in processions. The

11. Treatment. reason is that, to the Israelite, the object within the ark was much more than an idol. It was not merely one of a class of objects, each of which contained a portion of the magical virtue of the deity whom it represented :[1] it was the only object with which Yahwk was so closely connected that the ark (for reverence forbade mention of the stones) and Yahwè were practically synonymous terms. It was, therefore, too sacred to be moved for a slight reason. Worshippers would rather make a procession round or before the ark (cp 2 S. 6 14) than bear it in procession themselves. The reverence implied in the story in 2 S. 6 6 *f.* may represent the feeling of an age later than David's; but circumstances had long been leading up to that extreme exaggeration. The higher the conception of Yahwk became, the greater was the awfulness which encompassed the ark,[2] until (it appears probable) by a natural reaction the nobler Israelites rejected the fetishistic conception of the ark and its contents altogether, Thus we get one great distinction between the arlc of the Israelites and other sacred arks : it was not subservient to idolatry. The only occasions on which it left its resting-place were times of war. Then, indeed, it was carried with the host into the fray, just as the Philistine images were carried into battle by the Philistines (2 S. 5 21)—not to speak of Arabian and Carthaginian parallels.[3] It was not specially a 'warlike palladium,' however, except for the periods when war rather than peace was the normal state of the people;[4] and we have found even David, at a great crisis in his life, deciding to put his trust in his God without the presence of the ark.

The notices of later writers are valuable mainly for the religious history of the period of their authors. They

12. Later notices. show us how, near the close of the pre-exilic (and afterwards in the post-exilic)age, pious men imagined to themselves the nature and circumstances of the ark. It is, therefore, unsafe to infer with Berthean, from 2 Ch. 353, that the ark was removecl from the sanctuary by Manasseh ; unsafe, also, to infer, with the old Cambridge scholar Spencer, from P s description of the ark, that it was designeclly macle like the arks of Egypt, in order that the Israelites might miss no splendour or elegance which had charmed their eyes at Zoan. That Manasseh, with his syncretistic liberality, would have removed the ark is altogether improbable. Spencer's theory, on the other hand, may contain an element of truth, and is, at any rate, more plausible than the view developed out of P s acconnt by Riehm.[5] It is probable that the priestly legislator (P_2), in his description of the ark, did, unconsciously and in no servile manner, take suggestions from the sacred chests of Babylonia and Egypt, which he had seen or heard of. The simple chest of which J and E had doubtless spoken was unworthy (he thought) to be in any sense the symbol of the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Not such an ark could Moses have ordered to be made, for Yahwk was all-wise and must have 'filled' the artificers of the ark and the tabernacle 'with a divine spirit in wisdom and understanding' (Ex. 35 31). We must not, however, overlook the references to the ark in writings of the Deuteronomic school. We are told (Dt. 108) that Yahwk 'separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the *b'rith* of YahwB,' and in Dt. 31 9 (cp 25 *f.*) we find a special title given to 'the priests the sons of Levi,' which is derived from this function (cpJosh. 33). For other Deuteronomicreferences to the ark, see Dt. 31 25 *f.* Josh. 833 1 K. 3 15 619 8 9 21.

1 See the procession of the arks of Amen Rē', Mūt, and Ḫonsu (the Thehan triad) in the second court of the temple of Ram[e]ses III. at Medinet Hābū (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 3 289), and Plate V. in Naville's *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, 2 (cp p. 18).

2 Maspero, *RP*(2) 340-45.

3 Del. *Ass. NWB* s.v. *elippu*. On the processional arks in Babylonia, see Tiele, *ZA* 2 179 *ff.*; C. J. Ball, *PSBA* 144.

4 Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 227.

5 Cp Vatke, *Die Rel. des A T* 321 ; St. *GVI* 457 *f.* ; Benzinger, *Hebr.* Arch. 370. There were and still are two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca (WRS, *Kin.* 297 *f.*).

1 Cp Maspero, *RP*(2) 343, n. 2.

2 Cp 1 S. 6 20, 'And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before Yahwk, *this holy God?*'

3 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 37.

4 Kautzsch and Kraetzschmar (see 'Literature') hardly seem to hit the mark. We cannot lay any stress on the titles in 1 S. 44 2 S. 6 2, on grounds stated already (above § 1).

5 Riehm thinks (*HWB*(2), art. 'Bundesladk') that the ark was constructed in such a way as to show the diametrical opposition between the religion of revelation and the religion of nature worship, the presence of Yahwk (symbolised by the cherubim on the ark) being conditional on Israel's performance of its covenant-duties.

We now return to the much more important notices in the Priestly Code and in Chronicles. A fnll description of the ark is given in Ex. 25 10-22 37 1-9. It was made of acacia wood.

13. P's description.

This statement is possibly based on tradition which is particular as to the materials of sacred objects. The shittah-tree grows not only in Arabia, but also in parts of Palestine : the ark, therefore, could be renewed if necessary. It was oblong—two cubits and a half in length, one and a half in breadth and in height. Gold was overlaid on it within and without, and on the lid, which had a projecting golden rim (זֵר), was a plate of pure gold (כַּפֹּרֶת ; see MERCY-SEAT), sustaining two golden cherubim (see CHERUB, i.), or winged figures, whose wings extended over the ark. From these cherubim Yahwè promised to communicate with Moses, and reveal his will for Israel. According to Ex. 30 26, the arlc was to be anointed along with the tabernacle and the rest of its furniture. When made, it was brought, we are told, to Moses (39 35), and placed by him in the tabernacle, screened by the veil[1] (*i.e.*, in the Holy of Holies ; see 26 33 *f.*). In Lev. 16 2 the sanctity of the arlc is emphasised by the command that Aaron (*i.e.*, the High Priest) shall enter the Holy of Holies only once a year. In Nu. 3 31 the charge of the ark is committed to the Kohathites, and in 45 it is commanded that when the tabernacle is moved Aaron and his sons (*i.e.*, the priests) shall carefully cover up the ark with the veil, before the Kohathites take it up, in order that the latter may neither see (*v.* 20) nor touch (*v.* 15) the holy things. In 789 (RV) the Voice (*i.e.*, of Yahwè) speaks to Moses from the 'Mercy-Seat.' The gloss in Judg. 20 27 *f.* —a gloss added under the influence of P_2—states that the ark was at Bethel in the days of Phinehas, and the editors, who follow P_2, doubtless understood that the ark was always in the tabernacle till the battle of Aphek (cp TABERNACLE).

The Chronicler adds scarcely any fresh incidents to the account of the ark, and edits the earlier narratives in Samuel and Kings on the assumption that the regulations of the Priestly Code were observed throughout the history.

14. Chronicler, etc.

In 1 Ch. 15 1 *f.* he makes David say, 'None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites,' and they carry it accordingly ; and at first sight it appears as if the Philistine Obed-edom became a Levite (*vv.* 18 21 24) ; see however OBED-EDOM, 2. A profound sense of the sanctity of the ark is shown in 1 Ch. 28 2, where the ark or the 'Mercy-seat' is called 'the footstool of God,' and in 2 Ch. 8 11, where Solomon refuses to let Pharaoh's daughter dwell in the palace of David, 'because the places (?) are holy, whereunto the ark of Yahwè hath come.' In 353, Josiah commands the Levites to 'put the holy ark in the Temple' : 'it shall not be a burden on your shoulders.'

The only direct references to the ark in the Psalms are in Ps. 1328 (cp 2 Ch. 6 41), where it is styled אֲרוֹן עֻזֶּךָ, 'ark of thy strength' ; and in Ps. 78 61, where God is said to have delivered his 'strength' (*i.e.*, the ark) into captivity. An indirect reference has often been supposed in Pss. 24 47 and 68 ; but this involves the untenable assumption of their pre-exilic origin.

The ark is only twice mentioned in the NT. It and its contents are described in Heb. 94 as in P,, except that the pot of manna (see above, § 8, note) is said to have been *in* (instead of *beside*) the ark.

15. NT.

In Rev. 11 19, after the seventh angel has sounded, 'the temple of God in heaven' is opened, and the 'ark of God's covenant' is seen within. The words 'in heaven' (ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) are however probably an editorial insertion (Spitta). It is the earthly (not the heavenly) temple that is referred to, and the meaning of the statement is that the ark which was hidden (so tradition variously said) by Jeremiah or Josiah, shall suddenly reappear in the sanctuary in the latter days.

16. Literature.

See, besides Spencer, De *legibus Hebræorum* (1685), Seyring (on the names of the ark), *ZATW* 11 114-124 ['91] ; Couard (on the religious and national import of the ark), *ZATW* 12 ['92] ; Kautzsch (on the title Yahwè Seba'oth), *ib.* 6 ['86], 17-22 ; Kosters, *ThT*, 27 361-378 ['93] ; Di. on Ex. 25 ; Nowack's and Benzinger's *Heb. Arch.* ; Winckler, G I 1 ['95], 70-77 ; Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung*, 1896, pp. 208-220 ; Bähr, *Symbolik*, 1482, etc. (on other sacred arks) ; Simpson, 'Ark-shrines of Japan,' *TSBA* 5 550-554.

T. K. C.

ARKITE (הָעַרְקִי—*i.e.*, the 'Arkite, man of 'Arka ; ἀρουκαῖος [ADEL, Jos. *Ant.* i. 62 ; cp Sam. ערוקי]), a Canaanite (Phœnician) tribe, Gen. 10 17= 1 Ch. 1 15 (om. B, ἀρακει [L]); see GEOGRAPHY, § 16, 1. Arka (cp ἀρκη, Jos. *l.c.*) is mentioned among the cities taken by Tiglath-pileser III. (cp *KAT*(2) 104, 254 *f.*), and, at a much earlier period, in the Amarna tablets (*e.g.*, 78, 12, *Irkata* ; once [126, 22] *Irkat* ; the *Arkantu* of Thotmes III. seems to be a collateral form).[1] The lofty *tell* commanding the remains of the ancient city was discovered by Shaw in 1722. At its S. foot flows the Nahr 'Arka in a deep rocky bed, towards the sea, two hours distant. To the E. of the *tell* is the village of 'Arka, about 12 m. N. of Tripolis. It was an important place in the Roman period, when, through being the birthplace of Alexander Severus, it was called Caesarea Libani. It was famous for the worship of Astarte. See Smiths *Dict. Class. Geog. s.v. Arca* ; Schü. *GJV* 1498 n.

ARMAGEDDON, RV HAR-MAGEDON (ἀρμαγεδ-δων [TR], ἁρ μαγεδων [WH], ἀρμαγεδων [Ti. Treg.] ; cod. Am. *Hermagedon* ; cp ερμακεδων, vers. Memph.), the name of the last great battlefield (Rev. 16 16).

1. How understood by author.

Between the sixth vial and the seventh is inserted a vision (Rev. 16 13 *f.* 16) which has no connection with the context, being apparently the sequel of the vision of the three angels in Rev. 14 6-11. The three angels proclaim the coming judgment upon the world-power and the way to escape it ; the three demoniacal spirits (from the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet) seek to counteract this by 'gathering the kings of the whole world for the war of the great day of God the Almighty.' The junction of forces is made at 'the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon.'

Two questions have to be asked : (1) What did the writer understand by Har-Magedon (if this is the correct reading)? and (2) What was the meaning of the term in the source, whether written or oral, from which he drew? It is in the highest degree probable that the writer himself interpreted the phrase, 'the mountains of Megiddo' (cp Ἀργαριζιν = Mount Gerizim, Eupolemus *ap.* Eus. *PE* 9 17). Both from its natural advantages and from its history the *Plain* of Megiddo (Zech. 12 11) would have been the more obvious scene of such a great gathering; but the writer could plausibly justify the substitution of 'mountains' for 'plain' by the much-studied apocalyptic descriptions of Ez. 38 8 21 392417, where the hordes of Gog are said to meet their end 'upon the mountains of Israel.' Megiddo itself is, of course, a hill-town, though close to the great Plain of which it commands the southern entrance : there is nothing incorrect, therefore, in the phrase 'the mountain-district of Megiddo.' Har-Magedon is no doubt half-Hebrew ; but it would be strange if readers of Jewish Greek could not interpret it (cp terms like Ναγεβ in 𝔊). *See* APOCALYPSE, § 46.

If, however, we hold it to be probable that the small apocalypse (see Spitta, *Offenb.* 568) to which 16 16 belongs is a translation of a Hebrew original, and certain, at any rate, that the writer built to a considerable extent on traditional

2. Original meaning.

1 This seclusion is in harmony with the transcendentalism of the later conception of the divine nature.

1 Cp the ethnic *Irkanatai* on the monolith of Shalmaneser II. (292 ; *KB* 1 172). So Hommel, *Gesch.* 609, Ed. Meyer 'Glossen z. d. Thontaf. von el-Am.,' *Ægyptiaca* ('97), p. 69 ; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 247.

semi-mythic stories eschatologically interpreted, it becomes a question whether his interpretation of the name of the great battlefield as meaning 'mountains of Megiddo' is correct. The restoration of the original text offered by a writer in *ZATW* 7 170 ['87], הַר מְגִדּוֹ ('will gather them unto his fruitful mountain'—*i.e.*, the monntain-land of Israel), does not give a definite locality, which seems. to be required in this context. Nor are the attempted numerical explanations quoted by Spitta (*Offenb.* 402) more probable. Gunkel, therefore, thinks (*Schöpf.* 266) that 'Harmagedon' must be a name of mythic origin, connected in some way with the fortunes of the dragon who is the lineal heir of the Babylonian dragon Tiāmat, the personification of chaos and all evil (cp CREATION, § 1). On p. 389 of the same work Zimmern communicates a conjecture of Jensen that *μαγεδων* is identical with *μιγαδων* in the divine name Ὑεσεμιγαδων, the husband of Ἐρεσχιγαλ (=Bab. Ereškigal), the Babylonian goddess of the underworld. See *Rhein. Mus.* 4949, where in a magic formula given by Kuhnert from Greek papyri we read, *θεοῖς χθονίοις Ὑεσεμιγαδων καὶ κούρῃ Περσεφόνῃ Ἐρεσχιγαλ κ.τ.λ.* (*see* also HADAD-RIMMON). The same two (doubtless Babylonian) names occur on a leacl tablet from Alexandria, *Rhein. Mus.* 18 563, where the former is given as Ὑεσεμμιγαδων. It would be natural that the spot where Tiāmat was defeated (and was again to be defeated) by Marduk should be called by a name which included that of a god of the underworld. T. K. C.

ARMENIA (אֲרָרָט), *a* K. 19 37 Is. 37 38† AV, **RV** ARARAT.

ARMLET (כּוּמָז, ϵΜΠλΟΚΙΟΝ [BAFL]), so RV for AV TABLET in Ex. 35 22 (ΠϵΡΙΔϵΖΙΟΝ ? [BAFL]), Nu. 31 50. It may be doubted, however,'whether the word does not mean an ornament for the neck (so RVmg. NECKLACE)—perhaps a necklace consisting of a number of little spheres, cp Ar. *kumzat*[un], a little ball. *See* ORNAMENTS.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי, 'Palatinus'? ϵΡΜωΝΟϵΙ [B], -ΝΙϵΙ [A], ΑΧΙ [L]), a son of Saul sacrificed by David to the vengeance of the Gibeonites (*a*S. 21 8†). See RIZPAH. Neither he nor Mephibosheth [1], the two sons of Rizpah, is mentioned elsewhere.

ARMOUR, ARMS (כֵּלִים), 1 S. 17 54. *See* BREASTPLATE, 1, HELMET, GREAVES, SHIELD; and cp WAR, and WEAPONS.

ARMOUR-BEARER (נֹשֵׂא כֵלִים, which happens to occur only with a suffix, נ' כליו, Judg. 9 54, etc., or in the constr. st., נֹשֵׂא כְלֵי יוֹאָב, 2 S. 23 37 1 Ch. 11 39). Abimelech, Sail, Joab, all had armour-bearers; Goliath's squire is called a shield-bearer (1 S. 17 7). On the age of armour-bearers, cp WRS, *OTJC*(2) 431; Che. *Aids to Crit.* 77 n. Is. 52 11, נֹשְׂאֵי כְּלֵי יהוה (EV 'Ye that bear the vessels of the Lord') is taken by most commentators (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Cheyne formerly) to mean 'armour-bearers of Yahwè'; but this is improbable (*see* Di. *ad loc.*).

ARMOURY. In Neh. 3 19 הַנֶּשֶׁק, 'weapons, arming,' (𝔊, ἡ συνάπτουσα), and in Jer. 50 25 אוֹצָר, 'treasure, store,' are probably contractions for בֵּית הנשק, 'house of weapons,' and בֵּית האוצר, 'house of treasure' respectively. In Cant. 4 4 'thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury' לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת is difficult. Vg. renders it *cum propugnaculis*, while 𝔊 merely transliterates (θαλπιώθ [BK]. -λφι. [A]), and *OS*(2) 202, 84 has θαλπιωθ—ἐπάλξη ἢ ὑψηλά. The meaning 'armoury' has no philological basis (see Del. *ad loc.*), and yet it is the only meaning which suits the context. Cheyne (*Exp. Times*, June '98) supposes corruption of the text and reads לִשְׁלָטִים 'for the shields.' The neck of the Shulamite is compared to the tower of David adorned with small metal plates—*i.e.*, perhaps to the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' in which were suspended the shields and targets of gold. Fancifully the poet represents these shields as suspended on the outside (cp Ezek. 27 11). Budde and Siegfried agree in placing the 'tower' at Jerusalem.

ARMY (צָבָא, חַיִל, מַעֲרָכָה). The main army of Israel, like that of all primitive nations, and, in the last resort, of all nations, consisted of the whole able-bodied adult male population.

1. General levy. In Nu. 1 1-3 (P), twenty is fixed as the age at which a man became a soldier; but it is not probable that any such regulation was rigidly observed in practice. This general levy constituted the fighting force of Israel in the wilderness, at the time of the settlement and under the 'Judges,' and remained its chief military resonrce throughout its national history. Under the 'Judges,' the armies mentioned are, for the most part, the levy of the tribes or clans immediately concerned. On special occasions, however, such as the war against Sisera, and Saul's relief of Jabesh-gilead, all the fighting men of Israel were summoned, and their obedience to the summons was represented as a paramount religious duty.

The armies obtained from such levies varied greatly in number and efficiency; a clan, or even a tribe, whose immediate interests were threatened, would readily take the field in its full strength. An appeal for a general levy of Israel would scarcely ever be more than partially responded to; Deborah (Judg. 5) complains of the absence of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher; the national leaders sought to prevent such derelictions from duty by the most solemn appeals to religious sanctions—Deborah curses Meroz (Judg. 5 23), and Saul, when a spirit (or impulse) from God came upon him, threatened to cut in pieces the oxen of all recreants (1 S. 11 6).

When armies were required these national or tribal levies were called together by messenger (בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים 1 S. 11 7), sound of trumpet (שׁוֹפָר Judg. 6 34), or erection of standard, or other signal (נֵס Jer. 4 6, see ENSIGN); when the emergency was over they dispersed to their homes. They were well suited to carry on or repel border forays, but could not maintain prolonged warfare, especially at any distance from their own territory, or even oppose adequate resistance to any formidable invasion. These levies were composed entirely of infantry (רַגְלִי 1 S. 4 10 15 4); the Israelite territory, in early times, was chiefly hill-country, where cavalry force could neither be formed nor used. The first Israelite who is mentioned as possessing horses is Absalom, *a*S. 15 1 (cp HORSE, § 3).

Such armies were very loosely organised. As Wellhausen (*HI* 436 ['85]) points out, 'what there was of

2. Command. permanent official authority lay in the hands of the elders and heads of houses; in time of war they commanded each his own household force.' So Abraham leads the expedition to rescue Lot (Gen. 14), and Jair conquers the 'tent villages of Jair' (Nu. 32 41). Similarly, P describes the 'princes' of the tribes as also their captains in war (Nu. 1 *f.*). Deborah (Judg. 5 14 *f.*) speaks of the princes and leaders of Issachar and other tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). In practice, however, the hereditary heads of tribes and clans were often set aside on account of the ability and self-assertion of other leaders. Indeed, these hereditary heads of houses play a very small part in the actual history, possibly because history emphasises what is exceptional. The 'judges,' whose main function was to head the Israelite armies in special emergencies, were men called by a kind of divine inspiration. Gideon and Saul are not the heads of their tribes or even clans :

Gideon's family was 'poor in Manasseh and he was the least in his father's house' (Judg. 615), and Saul's family is described in almost identical terms (1 S. 921). In the absence of any other widely recognised authority, the priests of the great sanctuaries, 'and especially of the ark, sometimes assumed the command of armies, when called by ambition or the sense of duty (DEBORAH [*q.v.*], the house of ELI [*q.v.*], SAMUEL [*q.v.*]). When the tribes were partly merged in the kingdoms, and tlie clans and families were in a measure superseded by the towns and village communities, the levy would naturally follow the new order (Amos 53). Probably under the kings the levies did not always assemble by clans, but men were collected by the royal officials from the various districts (cp GOVERNMENT, § 20). In any case, the organisation of the levies was subordinated to that of the standing army, and they were divided into 'thousands,' 'hundreds,' 'fifties,' and 'tens,' institutions which are said by an ancient tradition, Ex. 1825 (JE), to have originated with Moses.

A second important element of the military strength of Israel, as of all nations at a similar stage of development, lay in the personal following of men who made war their occupation.

3. Bands. These 'bands' (גְּדוּד, also used of a division of an army) may be roughly 'likened to the vassals of feudal chiefs, the 'free companies' of the middle ages, and even to the banditti in unsettled districts. As in the case of England and Scotland, the 'bands' flourished specially on the frontiers; the territory of lsrael had a frontier very long in proportion to its area. Such 'bands' could take the field mnch sooner than a clan-levy, and would be better disciplined and much more expert in warfare. More than once they rendered signal service to the nation. The 'vain fellows' whom that captain of banditti, Jephthah, gathered round him (אֲנָשִׁים רֵיקִים, Judg. 113) were the kernel of the army which defeated Ammon, and David's following was one chief instrument in the restoration of Israel after Gilboa. 1 S. 22-30 gives us a detailed account of the formation, character, and career of such a body (see DAVID, § 4). It was a self-constituted frontier-guard, living on the plunder of the neighbouring tribes and by levying blackmail on their fellow-countrymen, whom they claimed to protect. The warlike services rendered by the 'bands' were accompanied by serious drawbacks. They added to the danger of civil war; they embittered the relations with neighbouring tribes; and they were capable, like David, of taking service with foreigners even against their own countrymen. We do not hear of them after David's time; they would scarcely be tolerated by powerful kings, hut were sure to reappear in unsettled times.

As the main function of a king was that of permanent commander-in-chief, a monarchy implied some sort of standing army and permanent military organisation.

4. Army. In time of peace the king kept a bodyguard as the main support of his authority, and this bodyguard formed the nucleus of the army in war (cp GOVERNMENT, § 18). We find Saul 'choosing' 3000 men (1 S. 132) and sending the rest of the people to their tents. He did not keep these chosen men as a permanent army, for in 1 S. 242 he chooses another 3000 when he wishes to pursue David. Probably he did his best throughout his reign to keep by him a picked force, which was virtually a standing army. He had a permanent commander-in-chief, Abner (שַׂר־צְבָאוֹ, 1 S. 1450), and his personal following must have included other permanent military officers (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21). David's band of followers during his exile served as the kernel of a much more complete and extensive military organisation. The office of commander-in-chief remained a permanent institution, and the captains of the host (שָׂרֵי הַחַיִל 2 S. 244) also appear as permanent officers. A bodyguard, practically a continuation of David's companions in exile, was formed, and its captain is mentioned as one of the great officers of state (2 S. 818 2023 2323, מִן־הַשְּׁלֹשִׁים נִכְבָּד וְאֶל־הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה לֹא־בָא). Now, however, the bodyguard had come to consist of foreign mercenaries, 'Cherethites and Pelethites,' probably Philistines (see CHERETHITES, CAPHTOR). In 2 S. 1518 we find 600 Philistines from Gath in David's army; 𝔊's *μαχηταί*, however (in a doublet), suggests a reading *gibbōrīm*, or 'mighty men,' for *gittīm*, or 'Gittites.' If the latter is the correct reading, the Gittites may have been either part of the bodyguard, or else an independent band of mercenaries (see DAVID, § 11(*a*)). The Cherethites and Peletliites are not mentioned after the death of David; but the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries must have remained a permanent institution. 1 K. 1427 speaks of the captains of the guard, literally 'runners' (שָׂרֵי הָרָצִים), that kept the palace gates (cp 2 K. 1025). 2 K. 114 speaks of 'the centurions of the Carites and of the guards' (שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת לַכָּרִי וְלָרָצִים), where the Carites are possibly identical with the Cherethites. If the reading in 2 S. 238 is correct, and if שָׁלִשִׁי in רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁי (AV 'chief among the captains'; RV 'chief of the captains') is rightly explained as referring to the third occupant of a chariot (*τριστάτης* [BAL], Ex. 147 154, etc.), it may indicate the use of chariots by David, though it is probably used in its later sense of 'captain' (see CHARIOT, § 10).

With the very doubtful exception of these 'shalishim,' we have no reference to Israelite chariots and cavalry before the end of David's reign.

According to EV of 2 S. 84, he reserved horses for a hundred chariots out of the spoil taken from Hadad'ezer ben Rehob, king of Zobah; 𝔊BAL translates 'reserved for himself a hundred chariots.' Reuss and Kautzsch translate 'a hundred chariot horses. No reference is made to the use of these chnriots or horses in war; moreover, the passage probably belongs to the last editor of Samuel.

Solomon, however, established a force of 1400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 K. 1026), and accordingly we find mentioned among his officers 'captains of his chariots and of his horsemen' (שָׂרֵי רִכְבּוֹ וּפָרָשָׁיו, 1 K. 922). Occasional references occur in the later history to Israelite chariots and horsemen (2 K. 821 137). Probably the armies of Israel and Judah were modelled on the army of Solomon till the end of these monarchies; but their main reliance would be on the infantry. Towards the close of the Jewish monarchy a quasi-religious feeling against the use of chariots and cavalry seems to have arisen, and Dt. 1716 forbids the king to multiply horses (cp. Dt. 201 Is. 311). The references to the houghing of horses by Joshua (Josh. 1169) and David (2 S. 84) are probably due to a Deuteronomic redactor.

Nothing is said about paying soldiers. In earlier times the Israelites who formed the national levy would find their own weapons and provisions, the latter being often obtained

5. Maintenance. from the enemy by plunder or from friends by gift or exaction. Probably throughout the history the general levy was mostly provided for in this way; though, as the royal government became more powerful and more completely organised, it may have done something towards feeding and arming these levies (see GOVERNMENT, § 20).

The bodyguard and the rest of the standing army, including the charioteers and cavalry, stood on a different footing. They were maintained by the government (1 K. 427), chariot cities being assigned as a provision for the chariots and cavalry. They were probably paid; certainly the foreigners in the bodyguard did not serve for nothing. The plunder taken from enemies would be an important part of the remuneration of the soldiers, and a principle of division between the actual combatants and the reserve is laid down in 1 S. 3024. The rules as to exemption from military service in

Dt. **20** are probably an ideal based on traditional public opinion.

No reliance can be placed on the numbers which are given for Israelite armies. At the same time, the two kingdoms seem to have been populous in prosperous times, and a general levy of able-bodied adults may sometimes have attained very large dimensions.

Under powerful kings the Israelite armies were strengthened by rhe auxiliary forces of subject allies —*e.g.*, Edom (2 K. 3). Doubtless such assistance was sometimes purchased, after the manner of the narrative in 2 Ch. 25.

6. Levitical guard. The details as to the Levites **in** the account of the deposition of Athaliah in 2 Ch. **23** (cp 2 K. 11) were probably suggested by the institutions of the Chronicler's own time (*circa* **300** B. C.). These details seem to show that the Levitical guard of the Temple was then in existence. As this guard is not provided for in the Priestly Code, it was probably formed after the time of Ezra. Possibly the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ [VA] in 2 Macc. 3 4 may have been the captain of this guard. If so, however, it is difficult to suppose that the present text is correct in ascribing him to the tribe of Benjamin (see, however, BENJAMIN, § 7 end). The captain of this guard, under the title of στρατηγός, is mentioned by Josephus in his account of the time of Claudius Cæsar (*Ant.* xx. 6 2), and of the destruction of the Temple (*BJ* vi. 5 3). and in Lk. 22 4 52 and Acts 4 1 5 24 26. Probably the officers, ὑπηρέται, who assisted in the arrest of Jesus (Jn. 18 3, cp 7 32 45) belonged to this body.

7. Post-exilic. In the post-exilic period. under the suzerainty of the Persians, and of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the Jews could scarcely be said to have an army. The Book of Nehemiah clearly shows that they had to trust to their own energy and courage for protection against hostile neighbours ; but they fought as a city militia rather than as a peasant levy.

The revolt of the Maccabees made Judæa a military power. The long wars not only habituated the bulk of the people to arms, but also produced a standing army, which soon included many foreign mercenaries. Jewish soldiers also received pay (1 Macc. 14 32), probably, however, only picked bands that formed the standing army and ranked with the other mercenaries. Josephus (*BJ* i. 2 5) tells us that Hyrcanus I. (135-107 B.C.) was the first Jew who maintained foreign mercenaries (ξενοτροφεῖν). Alexander Jannæus (106-79 B. C.) employed Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries, and at one time was at the head of a mercenary army of 1000 horse and 8000 foot, in addition to 10,000 Jews. These mercenaries are styled 'Greeks' (*BJ* i. 4 3 5, cp 5 4). As the Jews had long been subjects of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, their armies would be equipped and disciplined after the Greek fashion.

8. Roman Period. When the East fell under the supremacy of Rome, the Herods, as clients of Rome, formed their armies on the Roman model. Indeed, Herod the Great was at times in command of Roman forces, and Jewish and mercenary 'cohorts' (σπεῖραι) are spoken of as fighting side by side with the Romans (*BJ* i. 15 6 16 2). Herods army consisted largely of mercenaries drawn chiefly from the Teutonic subjects and neighbonrs of the empire—Thracians, Germans, and Gauls (*BJ* i. 33 9).

The insurgent armies in the Jewish war were very heterogeneous. The national government appointed military commanders for the various districts, among whom was Josephus. He tells us that he organised an army of 100,000 on the Roman model, including 4500 mercenaries, a bodyguard of 600, bnt only 250 horsemen : a typical Hebrew army in its constitution. The garrison of Jerusalem is said to have consisted of 23,400 men, including Idumæans and bands of Zealots. They seem to have possessed some organisation and discipline, but were divided into adverse factions (*BJ* v. 6 1).

9. Foreign armies. The armies of the other states of Syria did not differ essentially from those of Israel. From the first, however, they made use of chariots and cavalry, and throughout the history, except during the reign of Solomon, the Syrians were superior to the Israelites in these arms (Josh. 11 4 17 16 Judg. 1 19 4 7 1 S. 13 5 2 S. 8 4 1 K. 20 1 25 22 31, etc.). On the other hand, the great military empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon possessed a much more extensive and effective military organisation. They had corps of chariots, light-armed and heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, together with archers and slingers and engineers. Their armies inclnded large forces of mercenaries and tributaries. For military purposes these great empires stood to the Syrian kingdoms in about the same relation as that of a first-class European power to the smaller Asiatic states.

It is not necessary to notice the Persian army, and of the armies of the Ptolemies and Seleucides we need say only that they were modelled on the Macedonian armies of Philip and Alexander, with some modifications due to Oriental influences. For example, they employed elephants (1 Macc. 1 17, etc.).

10. Roman army. The Roman army is incidentally alluded to in the NT. The legion (Mt. 26 53 Mk. 5 9 15 Lu. 8 30) varied considerably at different times in numbers and in constitution; during the early empire it was a composite force, consisting of about 6000 legionary infantry, together with cavalry, light-armed auxiliaries, and military engines. The legionary infantry, or legion proper, were divided into ten cohorts. The 'band' (σπεῖρα) which took Jesus (Mt. 27 27 Mk. 15 16 Jn. 18 3 12) was probably a cohort (so RV^mg.) forming the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. The same cohort is mentioned in Acts 21 31. In Acts 10 1 we read of the Italian band, and in 27 1 of the Augustan 'band.' The Italian 'band' may have been an independent cohort of Italian volunteers (Schur. *GJV* 1 386). The 'Augustan band' (σπείρης Σεβαστῆς) may have been part of the Sebastene—*i.e.*, Samaritan—auxiliaries, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8 7), farmed a large part of the Roman garrison of Palestine. The name might be, and doubtless was, understood as 'Augustan' as well as 'Sebastene' (the title 'Augustan' was borne by some of the Roman legions). See further, CORNELIUS, § 1. The officers of the legion were the tribunes and centurions. Six tribunes were attached to a legion and were associated in command. We frequently find a tribune holding independent command of a cohort or larger force : the 'chief captain' (Jn. 18 12 Acts **21-25**), χιλίαρχος, commanding the cohort at Jerusalem was a tribune. Each cohort contained ten centuries or bodies nominally consisting of a hundred men ; these were commanded by centurions. As the independent cohorts were organised on the model of the legions, it is probable that the cohorts, tribunes, and centurions of the NT belonged to the auxiliary forces. Mommsen says of the Roman garrison in Palestine that it consisted, as elsewhere in provinces of the second rank, of a moderate number of cavalry and infantry divisions, in this case of Samaritans and Syrian Greeks—subsequently one ala and five cohorts or about **3000** men. The province, therefore, did not receive a legionary garrison. A small force under a Roman commandant occupied the citadel at Jerusalem. During the time of the Passover this was reinforced by stationing a stronger division of Roman soldiers in one of the temple buildings (*Prov.* **Rom.** *Emp.*, ET, 2 186).

W. H. B.

ARNA (*ARNA*) b. Ozias, in the genealogy of Ezra (4 Esd. 1 2), apparently = ZERAHIAH in ‖ Ezra 7 4.

ARNAN (אַרְנָן ; ορνα [BA], αρνων [L]). According to MT of 1 Ch. 3 21, the 'sons of Arnan' occur in the

genealogy of Zerubbabel. 𝔊, Vg. and Syr., however, make Arnan the son of Rephaiah. The name might mean 'noisy'; but ארנן elsewhere, as a personal name, being corrupt (see ARAUNAH), and the names of the other descendants of Hananiah (see RV) being compounded with -iah, it seems plausible to correct to ארניה (Adonijah), which may have been abbreviated ארני (whence, by corruption, ארנן or ארנן). T. K. C.

'ARNI (ἀρνει [Ti. WH after ℵBLXΓ]), Lk. 3 33 RV, is the reading to be preferred to AV ARAM. See RAM, 1.

ARNON (אַרְנוֹן), Nu. 21 13; see MOAB.

AROD (אֲרוֹד, ἀροδει [B*], ἀροαδ[ε]ι [B^{ab}AF], ἀορὰδ [L]), Nu. 26 17 = Gen. 46 16, Arodi (אֲרוֹדִי, ἀροηδις [A], ἀγαρις [D], ορροδεις [L]), for which gentilic form EV in Nu. *l.c.* has Arodite. A name in genealogy of GAD (*q.v.*). Cp ARELI.

AROER (עֲרֹעֵר, עֲרוֹעֵר; in Judg. 11 26 עַרְעוֹר; *i.e.*, 'bushes of dwarf juniper'[1] [Lag. *Semit.* 1 30]; ἀροηρ [BAL]; gentilic Aroerite, עֲרֹעֵרִי, see HOTHAM, 2).

1. A city 'on the edge of the torrent-valley of Arnon,' see MOAB. (Dt. 2 36 etc.; cp *OS*(2) 212 31 86 28, ἐπ' ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους, *in vertice montis*); the descriptions agree with the position of the ruins of *ʿArāʿir*, on the edge of the precipitous N. bank of the ravine of the Arnon (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 372; Tristram, *Moab*, 129-131). The spot is about 11 m. from the mouth of that river. Aroer marked the S. limit of the Reubenite territory and of the Israelitish possessions eastward of the Jordan, Nu. 32 34 Dt. 2 36 3 12 4 48 Josh. 12 2 (αρνων [B]) 13 9 16 2 S. 24 5 (αροηλ [B]) 2 K. 10 33; cp Judg. 11 26 (ιαζηρ [A], om. L); 1 Ch. 5 8. In Jer. 48 19 (post-exilic) and in the inscription of Mesha (l. 26, ערער) it appears as Moabitish. The Moabites had in fact possessed it before the Israelites, in succession to the Amorites (cp Nu. 21 26). That Aroer on the Arnon is meant in 2 S. 24 5 is now generally admitted (see Dr. *TBS* 285 *f.*). The expression 'the cities of Aroer' in Is. 17 2 is geographically difficult; there is no doubt a corruption of the text (see 𝔊 and cp *SBOT*).

2. A place E. of Rabbath-Ammon, Josh. 13 25 (αραβα [B], -ρωηρ [A]) Jud. 11 33†; not identified. Jer. (*OS*(2) 96 5) says it was on a mountain 20 R. m. N. from Jerusalem.

3. A place in the far south of Judah, 1 S. 30 28 (mentioned after Jattir), and probably Josh. 15 22 (mentioned after Dimonah). Identified by Rob. with the ruins of *ʿArʿāra*, 3 hrs. ESE. from Beersheba. (The ραγουηλ of 𝔊^L in 1 S. is perhaps from αρουηλ: see ADADAH.) T. K. C.

AROM (ἀρομ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 16. See HASHUM.

ARPACHSHAD (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד), Gen. 10 22 RV; see below, ARPHAXAD, 1.

ARPAD, AV twice (in Is.) Arphad (אַרְפָּד, ἀρφαδ [BAL], *ARPHAD*, Ass. *Arpaddu*), 2 K. 18 34 (αρφαλ [B], -φατ [A], 19 13 (-φαθ [B]), Is. 10 9 (not in 𝔊), 36 19 and 37 13 (-φαθ [BℵAD (Q)]), Jer. 49 23 (-φαθ [A], αφαδ [ℵ*]). Of these passages Is. 10 9 is the most important, because we can unhesitatingly fix its date and authorship. Isaiah, writing in 711 B.C., makes the Assyrian king refer to the recent capture of Hamath and Arpad (reckoned by the Assyrians to Hatti-land) as a warning to Jerusalem. Arpad had been frequently captured by the early Assyrian kings, but was finally subjugated and Assyrianised by Tiglath-pileser III. in 740. From this time it takes its place among the Eponym cities. Its importance probably lay in its command of a Euphrates ford, though it was not on that river. We find that a city Nibiru ('the ford') was reckoned to belong to the governor of Arpad. Arpad is now *Tell-Erfād*, 13 m. from Aleppo to NW. C. H. W. J.

[1] 'Aroer' is an Arabising 'broken plural' of *ʿarʿār*, 'dwarf juniper,' a plant which abounds in rocky localities (see HEATH).

ARPHAXAD, RV better Arpachshad (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד; ἀρφαξαδ [BAL]; -ξης [Jos.]), the third 'son' of Shem, Gen. 10 22 24; cp Gen. 11 10-13 (all P), 1 Ch. 1 17 *f.* (𝔊^B omits these two) 24. The name has been much discussed.

Bochart and many after him (*e.g.* Franz Del., Kautzsch in *HWB*, and Nöld. *ZDMG* 36, 182 ['82], *Neusyr. Gr.* 20) identify it with the Arrapachitis of Ptol. (vi. 1 2), a region on the Upper Zab, NE. from Nineveh. On this theory, however, *-shad* (שד) remains unaccounted for, as we can hardly, with Lag. (*Symm.* 1 54), have recourse to the Armenian *šat*. Jos., on the other hand, long ago identified Arphaxad with the Chaldæans (*Ant.* i. 6 4), and Ges., Ew., Schr. (*COT* 1 97), Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 147), adopting this view, regard the ארפכשד as compounded of an assumed noun ארף, 'boundary' (Ar. *'urfat*), and כֶּשֶׂד = כַּשְׂדִּים, 'Chaldaea.'

Two things at least are certain; we cannot dispense with Babylonia in this context, and in Gen. 11 10 *ff.* Arpachshad is represented as the source of the Terahite family to which Abraham belonged. The latter part of the name ארפכשד must, therefore, be כשד—*i.e.*, Chaldaea. It is equally clear, however, that the Assyrian province of Arbaḫa (which may, or may not, be the Arrapachitis of Ptol.) would be very appropriately introduced after Asshur, and that, apart from the last syllable (-shad), Arpachshad has received from the earlier critics no explanation that is even plausible, except that of Bochart and Noldeke.

Putting these facts together, the present writer suggested (*Expos.* Feb. 1897, pp. 145 *ff.*) the following theory. Arpachshad, or at least ארפכשד, is really not one word but two words—Arpach (אַרְפַּךְ) and Chesed (כֶּשֶׂד). The former is the Heb. name of the Assyrian province of Arbaḫa or (*KB* 2 88 *f.*) Arabḫa, which, according to Winckler, is not Arrapachitis, but a district N. of the Tigris, S. of the Median Mountains, and W. of Elam.[1] The latter is Chaldaea (see CHESED). Gen. 10 22, therefore, upon this theory, originally ran, 'The sons of Shem; Elam and Asshur and Arpach—Chesed and Lud and Aram.' Verse 24, as E. Meyer and Dillmann agree, is an editorial interpolation (cp 11 10 *ff.*). The form Arpachshad in 11 10 *ff.* will be due to the editor. who misunderstood וארפככשד in 10 22, and it will not be too bold to restore כשד—*i.e.*, Chesed. The alternative[2] is to suppose the original reading to have been ארפח כשד—*i.e.*, Arpaḫ Chesed, which the scribe, through an error of the ear, changed into Arpach Chesed (ארפכ כשד).

Hommel, however (*Acad.* 17th Oct. 1896; *AHT* 212, 294-298), prefers to explain the word as Ur-pa-keshad, an 'Egyptian variant' for the Heb. Ur-kasdim, *pa* being taken as the Egyptian article; he compares the old (?) Egyptian-Hebrew name Putiel, and the Semitic-Egyptian *pa-ba'-ra = ha-baal* (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 309). If only we had sure evidence that there was an Egyptian' mania in early Palestine similar to the Semitic mania of the Egyptians of the Middle Empire, and could also think that P had access to records of extreme antiquity, fairly accurately preserved, this explanation would at once become plausible. A comprehensive study of the names in P, however, does not compel us, indeed it scarcely permits us, to make the second of these assumptions. PUTIEL (*q.v.*) is distinctly an artificial name, and if Arpachshad should really be read Ur-pa-keshad we should on this analogy be inclined to regard it as artificial too. In itself a reference to Ur-kasdim would no doubt be admissible, since this place or district is referred to by P (11 31) as well as by J2. It is chiefly the presence of פ (p) in ארפכשד that

[1] Prof. Jensen informs the writer that he has independently formed the same opinion as to the origin of Arpachshad, but that he prefers to identify Arpach with Arrapachitis = mod. Albak. This view has occurred to the writer also.

[2] The transition from ḫ (in Arbaḫa) to כ in ארפך has not then to be accounted for. On the former theory, the Priestly Writer, who was not indebted either to a cuneiform record or to a Babylonian informant, received the name in a slightly incorrect form, the final ḫ having been softened in pronunciation to *ch*.

prevents us from reading Ur-Casdim (written אר כשר) in Gen. 10 22 between Asshur and Lud.

2. The name given in Judith i. to the king of Media who was formerly identified with Deioces the founder of Echatana, or with Phraortes his son. The name, however, has been borrowed to give an air of antiquity to the narrative, and, as in the cases of HOLOFERNES, and others in this book, stands for some more modern personage, probably Mithridates. See JUDITH, ii.

T. K. C.

ARROW, see WEAPONS, DIVINATION, § 2 (1).

ARROWSNAKE in Gen. 49 17 AVmg. = שְׁפִיפֹן, 'cerastes,' ἐγκαθήμενος [𝔊BADFL] (see SERPENT, § 1, no. 10), and in Is. 34 15 RV = קִפּוֹז (ἐχῖνος [𝔊BℵAQΓ]), AV GREAT OWL (*q.v.*, 2); see SERPENT, § 1, no. 8.

ARSACES (ἀρσάκης [AK, -σικ. (ℵ once) V]), 'king of Persia and Media,' by whom Demetrius Nicātor (DEMETRIUS [2]) was defeated and made a prisoner (1 Macc. 14 2 *f.* 15 22). See PERSIA.

ARSARETH, RV ARZARETH (so Lat. *arzareth*, also *arzaren*, *arzar*; AVmg. ARARATH)—*i.e.* אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת (Cp Dt. 29 27 [28] Jer. 22 26)—'the other land,'[1] the region, a journey of one year and a half beyond the Euphrates, where the exiled tribes were supposed to be settled (4 Esd. 13 45; cp *v.* 40). This belief in the 'Lost Tribes' is found already in Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 5 2).

ARSIPHURITH (ἀρσ[ε]ιφουρειθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 16, RV; see JORAH.

ARTAXERXES (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא, Ezra 4 7*a*, or אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, Ezra 4 7*b*, or אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא, Ezra 4 8 7 1 7 11 8 1 Neh. 2 1 5 14 13 6, Baer's text; ἀσαρθαθα [B]; ἀρθασασθα [A]; ἀρσαρσαθα [ℵ*cb (*ubique*)]; ἀρταξέρξης [ℵc.aL]; *Artaxerxes*). The following variants occur:—

Ezra 4 7*ab* 8 (ἀρσαρθα [B], αρτασασθα [A]), 11 (ἀρσαρθα [B], αρ | θα [A]), 6 14 (ἀσταρθα [B]), 7 1 (ἀρθασεσθα [B]), 7 11 (ἀσσαρθαθα [B]), 12 (ἀσαρθαθα [BA]), 21 (ἀρσαρθαθα [B]), 8 1 (ἀρθασθα [B]), Neh. 2 1 (ἀρσαθερθα [B], ἀρσαρσαθα [ℵ*cb], ἀρταξέρξης [ℵc.a]), 5 14 (ἀρσεναθα [B], σαρσαθα [ℵ], ἀρθασασθαι [A]), 13 6 (ἀρσοσαθα [Bℵ]).

Artaxerxes is the name given to the king of Persia, who, we are told (Neh. 2 1 5 14 13 6), gave permission to Nehemiah his cupbearer to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and to this end made him governor (*peḥa*; cp Assyr. *bel-paḥāti*, town governor, and piḫātu, province, satrapy). The same name is borne by the king who permitted Ezra and his band to return to Palestine, and, along with his ministers and princes, lavished tokens of favour on the returning exiles (Ezra 7 *f.*). The statement in Ezra 4 7-23 that earlier efforts of the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem ceased at this king's command is unhistorical (see EZRA, ii. § 10), and the account in Ezra 7 11-26 of the favour shown by him to the temple and its ministers is probably exaggerated (see EZRA, i. § 2). It is certainly incorrect to name him along with Cyrus and Darius as having promoted the building of the temple (Ezra 6 14), for this had already been completed in the reign of Darius.

The name, which is certainly identical with the Persian *Artakhshatra* ('the true, or legitimate, kingdom,' an expression taken from the teaching of the Avesta; Assyr. *Artakšatsu*, Susian *Irtakshazsa*,—forms more closely approximating the Hebrew), was pronounced by the Greeks Artaxerxes (so in 1 Esd. B; but Ἀρταρξέρξης AaBAB sometimes). The king intended is beyond doubt one or another of the three Persian rulers who bore that name. The attempts to identify him with Cambyses, or with Pseudo-Smerdis, or with Xerxes, on the false assumption that Artakhshatra was not a name but a title, were abandoned long ago. The only question is, Which of the three?

The third in the list, Artaxerxes Ochns, is excluded, both by chronology and by the known character of that energetic despot and zealot for the Mazdean creed, which alike prohibit the supposition that he can have been the benevolent patron of Nehemiah and Ezra. Which of the remaining two is meant is still disputed among scholars.

As in Ezra 4 6 *f.* the name follows immediately on that of Ahasuerus, and no more precise designation is added, it is natural enough to think of Artaxerxes I. If, however, as seems probable (see EZRA ii. § 10), Ezra did not come to Palestine till after Nehemiah: and if it be true, as we read in Ezra 7 7, that the date of Ezra's arrival was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, while the established date of Nehemiah's arrival is the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, then Ezra's expedition must have been under Artaxerxes Mnemon, and so more than half a century after Nehemiah's mission. This, however, is not at all probable, and it seems preferable to assume that the date assigned to Ezra's arrival (in the seventh year of Artaxerxes) is an invention that had been suggested by the transposition of the two expeditions.

We have thus good reason for assuming, with Kuenen, Ryssel, Ryle, and others, that by Artaxerxes we ought throughout to understand Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, a surname which is doubtless to be taken in the same sense as the expression in the inscription of Darius (Naḳš i Rustem, inscr. *a*, § 4, *l.* 43 *f.*) to the effect that the spear of the Persian reaches far. He is described as having been a good-hearted but weak sovereign, ruled by his wives and favourites,—an account which harmonises with what we learn from Nehemiah.

C. P. T.—W. H. K.

ARTEMAS (ἀρτεμᾶς [Ti. WH]), most probably a contraction from ἀρτεμίδωρος; see Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* 89 (§ 21), and cp APOLLOS, § 1 n.), a companion or messenger of Paul, mentioned once in the Pastoral Epistles (Tit. 3 12: 'When I shall send Artemas unto thee . . . give diligence to come unto me').

In the lists of the 'seventy disciples' which we owe to Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as bishop of Lystra.

ARTEMIS (ἀρτεμις [Ti. WH]), Acts 19 24 27 *f.* 34 *f.* RVmg.; EV DIANA.

ARTILLERY (כְּלִי), 1 S. 20 40 AV; AVmg. 'instruments,' RV WEAPONS (*q.v.*).

ARTS and MANUFACTURES. See TRADE AND COMMERCE, and HANDICRAFTS.

ARUBOTH (אֲרֻבּוֹת—*i.e.* as in RV **Arubboth**; ἐν ἀραβωθ [A], . . . βηρ βηθ . . . [L]; . . . θ, βηρ . . . [B]), 1 K. 4 10†, the seat of the third of Solomon's twelve prefects (see BEN-HESED). The third is one of the districts omitted by Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 2 3, ed Niese). See BEN-HESED. Cp Schick, 'Wādy 'Arrūb, the Aruboth of Scripture,' *PEF Qu. St.* Oct. 1898, pp. 238 *ff.*

ARUMAH (בָּארוּמָה, Kr. בָּרוּמָה, with prep. ב; ἀρημα [B], ἀριμα [AL and *OS*(2) 225, 2], *RUMA* [Vg.]), the place where Abimelech dwelt before his capture of Shechem—obviously not very far from that town (Judg. 9 41). Perhaps it is represented by the modern *el-'Ormah*, 6 m. SSE. from Shechem, where there are ruins still (Van de Velde, *Reisen*, 2 268). Otherwise the place is quite unknown.

For בְּתָרְמָה (*v.* 31; ἐν κρυφῇ [B] μετὰ δώρων [AL]), AV 'privily,' RV 'craftily,'[1] RVmg. 'in Tormah' (so Jos. Ḳimḥi, who took it to be the name of a town), it is best to read בָּארֻמָה, 'in Arumah.' Eus. wrongly identifies it with ῥουμά near Diospolis = Lydda (cp RUMAH).

ARVAD (אַרְוַד [Bä.], אַרְוַד [Gi.]), whence the gentilic **Arvadite** (אַרְוָדִי), Gen. 10 18 = 1 Ch. 1 16† (so 𝔊BAQL everywhere ἀράδιος, but Ἀρουαδει 1 Ch. 1 16 [L]; Egypt. *'Araṯut*[*u*], etc.; Assyr. usually *Arm*[*u*]*ada*; ἄραδος, for ἄρϝαδος, 1 Macc. 15 23; Targ. Jer. אַנְטְרִידְנָאֵי—*i.e.*, of Antaradus;—Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 2 ἀρουδαῖος, etc.; mod. *Ruwād*, etc.), a town referred to by Ezekiel (27 8 11) in his elegy on Tyre as one of some thirty cities and countries that had contributed to its

[1] Less probably ארץ ארת, land of Arat—*i.e.*, Ararat (Volkmar).

[1] בתרמה would mean rather 'deceitfully'; but the form is anomalous—it would be easier to read בְּעָרְמָה.

splendour and dignity—men of Arvad, he says, rowed its ships (v. 8) and manned its walls (v. 11)—and likewise mentioned (Ἄραδος, the only Syrian place named) in the list of nineteen places in 1 Macc. 15 23 (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9). Arvad was the most northerly of the great Phœnician cities, ancestress, with Sidon and Tyre, of Tripoli, which lies some thirty miles farther south.

Built on an island (*ša kabal tiâmti*, *KB* 1 108, *l.* 86 *f.*), about half a mile long from N. to S., and a little over a quarter of a mile broad, lying slightly less than two miles from the mainland, it dared to resist Thotmes III. when apparently most of the other Phœnician cities yielded without force (see his Annals in Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt* (2), ET 1 376 *f.*); and Tiglath-pileser I. tells how he embarked in ships of Arvad and sailed on the Great Sea. It was still independent in the ninth century B.C., and in the time of Sargon it and Tyre and Gebal were the really important Phœnician centres. Cp also AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end.

In the days of Ezekiel it was subordinate to Tyre; but in the Persian age it regained its ancient importance, and in the time of Alexander exercised control over quite an extensive district on the mainland.

In the first half of the second millennium B.C. there must have been more equality between the Arvadites of the mainland and those on the island, if W. Max Muller is right in believing that the Egyptian name corresponds to a plural form אֲרָוְדוֹת. The ruins of the gigantic wall that once surrounded the island on three sides (see Pietschm., as below, and esp. Renan, Pl. ii. *f.*) prove that the Arvadites knew other things besides rowing. Eus. (*Chron. Armen.* ed. Aucher, 2 172 *f.*) records that Ar(a)dus was founded in 761 B.C., and Strabo (xvi. 2 13 *f.*) states, although only with a ὥς φασιν,[1] that it was founded by fugitives from Sidon. We cannot, of course, assign to the eighth century the real founding of Aradus or even—what Dillmann (on Gen. 10 18) seems to suggest—the founding of the insular town as distinguished from a settlement on the mainland (cp the later Antaradus, mod. Ṭarṭūs [see Targ. above]). The words of Ašur-naṣir-pal quoted above (cp *RP* (2) 2 172) preclude this. The Egyptian inscriptions show that in the second millennium B.C. Aradus was one of the most important Phœnician cities (see PHŒNICIA).

Literature:—Strabo (*l.c.*); Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phön.* 36-40; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 186 *f.*, *COT* 1 87 *ff.*; Renan, *Miss. de Phén.* 19-42; G. J. Chester, *Surv. West. Pal.*, *Special Papers*, 75-78; see further reff. in Vigouroux: a map of island in Admiralty Charts No. 2765, or W. Allen, *The Dead Sea*, i., end. H. W. H.

ARZA (אַרְצָא; ωϲα [B], αρϲα [A], αϲα [L]), King Baasha's prefect of the palace at Tirzah, and doubtless Zimri's accomplice in the assassination of the king (1 K. 16 9†), see ZIMRI. The form of the name appears to be somewhat uncertain

ARZARETH (*ARZARETH*), 4 Esd. 13 45, RV; AV ARSARETH.

ASA (אָסָא, § 51 αϲα [BAL],[2] perhaps short for אֲסָיָה—*i.e.*, 'Yahwè healeth';—cp Aram. and Ar. *'asā*, 'to heal,' Ass. *āsū*, 'a physician,' a title applied to the god Ea [Del. *Ass. HWB*]; the name may express a pious wish that Yahwè would heal—*i.e.*, restore prosperity to—his people; cp Hos. 7 1 11 3).

1. Son of Abijah and third king of Judah (first half of 9th cent. B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). Of Asa's long reign but one event is handed down to us on the best authority (1 K. 15 16-22), and it speaks in favour of the royal annals that they have not buried such an action of the reigning king in oblivion. The subject of the narrative is nothing less than the purchase by Asa of help from the king of Damascus against Judah's northern brethren. All the silver and gold that was still to be found in the royal treasury, Asa, we are told, sent to Benhadad, king of Aram, to bribe him to transfer his covenant of friendship from Israel to Judah. Thus it was to Judah that the first Aramæan invasion of Israel was due, and we can believe the statement of the Chronicler that Asa's conduct did not pass without prophetic rebuke (2 Ch. 16 7-10; on the details no stress can be laid). The situation of Asa was, it is true, difficult. By pushing his frontier to Ramah, Baasha threatened to reduce the kingdom of Judah to vassalage, for Ramah was only 4 m. from Jerusalem. The diversion caused by the Aramæan invasion removed this danger. Asa summoned 'all Judah' to the task of pulling down the fortifications executed by Baasha at Ramah, and with the material fortified Geba and Mizpah, the one a little to the NE., the other to the SW., of Ramah. It is quite another writer who tells us that Asa 'did that which was right in the eyes of Yahwè, like David his father' (1 K. 15 11). To the Deuteronomistic compiler matters affecting the cultus were more important than was political morality; a later writer, the Chronicler, has a much more complete justification (if it were but trustworthy) for his religious eulogy of Asa. The details of 1 K. 15 12-24 are dealt with elsewhere (see BAASHA, BENHADAD, § 2 (1), etc.).

Three other points alone, in the compiler's own statements. need to be referred to. The name of Asa's mother is given (v. 10) as 'Maacah (𝔊BL ανα), and she is called the daughter of Abishalom,' whilst in *v.* 2 Maacah is the name of the mother of Abijah. Most probably 'Abishalom' in *v.* 10 is a mistake for 'Uriel' (see 2 Ch. 13 2); but it is not altogether impossible to hold with Wellhausen that Abijah and Asa were brothers (cp MAACAH, ii. 4).

The second point is that in his old age, according to the compiler, Asa had a disease in his feet (1 K. 15 23). The Chronicler accepts this (doubtless traditional) statement, but gives it a new colour, partly by changing the date of the war between Asa and Baasha (on which see CHRONICLES, § 8, and WRS, *OTJC* (2) 197), partly by the remark (cp MEDICINE) that 'he sought not to Yahwè, but to the physicians' (2 Ch. 16 12). Whether the assumption that there was a class of physicians who treated diseases from a non-religious point of view is justifiable may be questioned.

The third point is a tantalising mention (1 K. 15 23) of 'all Asa's warlike deeds (כָּל־גְּבוּרָתוֹ).' Is this, as Klostermann supposes, an allusion to the victory over that Cushite king, who, according to 2 Ch. 14 9-15, invaded Judah with a huge force, and came as far as Mareshah (see ZERAH, 5)? Or does not the compiler make the most of the achievements to which Asa, it is probable, could legitimately lay claim (cp 1 K. 15 23), not always with much benefit to his reputation?

2. Father of BERECHIAH, 2; 1 Ch. 9 16 (Οσσα [B]); omitted in ‖ Neh. 11 17. T. K. C.

ASADIAS (αϲαδιου [B] ϲαδαιου [A], *sedei*), an ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1 1); cp. HASADIAH.

ASAEL (Tob. 1 1, αϲιηλ [BKA]; Itala, *Asihel*; Eth. *'Az'hil*; Heb. versions אשׂיל, עשׂאל), a name occurring in the genealogy in Tob. 1 1. The genealogy is omitted by the Aram. version, but given in a very regular form in the Heb. (ed. Neubauer), Itala, and K. The Greek texts, however, mark off Asiel (*sic*) from the other names by saying ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀσιήλ, a distinction preserved in Vg. 'ex tribu et civitate Nephthali,' though the word Ἀσιήλ is omitted. They are, therefore, probably right also in their orthography, since, according to Gen. 46 24 Nu. 26 48 [AF], etc., Ἀσιήλ is a Naphtalite clan (see JAHZEEL). If this is so the name is יַחְצְאֵל.

ASAHEL (עֲשָׂהאֵל, § 31; αϲαηλ [BNA]; acc. [L, but 1 Ch. 11 26 as in B]; ασαηλος Jos.), youngest (? 2 S. 2 18) son of Zeruiah David's sister, and brother of Joab and Abishai. He was renowned for his lightness of foot (*ib.*). As in the case of his unfortunate cousin, almost all we know of him is the story (2 S. 2 19-25) of his death at the reluctant hands of ABNER (*q.v.*). 'There lacked of David's servants but nineteen men and Asahel' (*v.* 30): such is the statement of David's loss in the battle of Gibeon. With this special mention agrees the fact that his name stands first in the list of the 'thirty' heroes in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11 (but cp AMASAI). It is true, another account is given in the new version of the list of

[1] It has been supposed (*e.g.* Ges. *Thes.*) that the name Arvad means 'Refuge.'

[2] Mr. Burkitt argues that Ασαφ, Asaph, 'was once the rendering of the LXX' for Asa, as σιραχ is for סירא Sira (*Cambridge University Reporter*, March 1897, p. 699 *f.*). Cp. ASAPH, 4.

heroes in 1 Ch. 27 (II. 7), where we find Asahel commander of a division of David's army. The incompatibility of this statement with his death before David became king of Israel was obvious. The present text, accordingly, adds 'and Zebadiah his son after him,' for which 𝔊^BA has 'son καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί,' to which 𝔊^L adds ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

2. An itinerating Levitical teacher temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 8 (Ιασ[ε]ιηλ [BA], Ασιηλ [L]).

3. An overseer of chambers in the temple temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13†).

4. 'Father' or ancestor of JONATHAN [13], temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 15 (ασηλ [B], σαη. [א*], א?A as in 1) = 1 Esd. 9 14†, AZAEL (αζαηλου).

ASAHIAH (עֲשָׂיָה), 2 K. 22 12 14, RV ASAIAH, 2.

ASAIAH (עֲשָׂיָה, § 31, 'Yahwè hath made'; ασαια [BAL]).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meunim [see RV], 1 Ch. 4 34-41 (*Aura* [B]).

2. 'King's servant' to Josiah, 2 K. 22 12, AV ASAHIAH (Ιασαι [A], Αζαριας [L]), 14 (ασαιας [BA] αζαριας [L]) = 2 Ch. 34 20 (Ισαια [B], Ιωσιας [L]).

3. A Merarite family, 1 Ch. 6 30 [15] (Ασαβα [B]), 15 6 (Ασαι [B], ασαιας [A^a]), 11 (ασαιας [A]).

4. A Shilonite family, 1 Ch. 9 5 (Ασα [B]), probably same as (3), but cp MAASEIAH, ii. 18 (Neh. 11 5).

ASANA (ασσανα [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 50, ASNAH.

ASAPH (אָסָף an abbreviated name, § 50, ασαφ [BAL]).

1. The father of Joah, the recorder, 2 K. 18 18 (ιωσαφατ [BA], ιωαχ υιος σαφαν [L]), 37 (σαφαν [B]) = Is. 36 3 22; but 𝔊 suggests the reading 'Shaphan' or 'Shaphat.'[1]

2. The keeper of the royal 'paradise' or forest (probably in Palestine), Neh. 2 8 (ασαφατ [L], αδδαιος [Jos.]).

3. The eponym of the Asaphite guild of singers, Ezra 2 41 3 10 Neh. 7 44 11 17 (only א^c.a L in 𝔊) 22 (ασαβ [Bא]) 1 Ch. 25 1 *f.*, and elsewhere, who is represented by the Chronicler, as a seer (2 Ch. 29 30) and as a contemporary of David and Solomon, and chief of the singers of his time, Neh. 12 46 1 Ch. 15 17 19 (Ασαβ [א]) 16 5 (Ασσαφ [א]) 2 Ch. 5 12, etc.[2] On the later equation of Asaph with the Ar. Lokmān and Gk. Æsop, cp *Story of Aḥiḳar*, lxxvii. *f.* Complicated as the history of these guilds is, we are able to see from Ezra 2 41 that at one time the terms 'b'ne Asaph' and 'singers' were identical, and that the singers were kept distinct from the Levites. The guilds of the b'ne Asaph and b'ne Korah were the two hereditary choirs that superintended the musical services of the temple. They do not seem to have been very prominent before the Exile. More important, however, was the triple division. This comprised the three great names of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (or Jeduthun), which were reckoned to the three Levitical houses of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari (1 Ch. 6; see PSALMS). A still older attempt to incorporate the name among the Levites may, according to WRS, *OTJC* (2) 204, n. 1, be seen perhaps in the occurrence of the name ABIASAPH (*q.v.*), the eponym of the Asaphite guild, as a Korahite. Of the threefold division of singers a clear example may be seen in Neh. 12 24 where Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua, the chiefs of the Levites, are appointed to praise. Similarly, in Neh. 11 17 three singers are mentioned—Mattaniah, Abda, and Bakbukiah. Mattaniah and Abda are descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun. 'Bakbukiah' we should correct to 'Bukkiah,' a son of Heman. Thus, each of the three great guilds finds its representative. See ETHAN, 2, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN.

The name Asaph occurs in the titles of certain Psalms (see PSALMS).

4. The best supported reading in Mt. 1 7 (ασαφ [Ti. WH], cp RV^mg.; on this reading see ASA, footnote) where TR and EV have Asa. See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 *b*.

[1] In 2 Ch. 34 15 𝔊^A has ασαφ for שפן.

[2] In 1 Ch. 26 1 𝔊^B reads Αβιαζαφαρ, which corresponds very nearly to 1 Ch. 9 19 (𝔊 Αβιασαφ). In 2 Ch. 29 13 𝔊^B reads Ασα.

ASARA (ασαρα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV; AV AZARA.

ASARAMEL, a name occurring in the inscription set up in honour of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14 28). The writing begins as follows:—'On the 18th day of Elul in the 172nd year, this is the third year of Simon, the high priest εν σαραμελ (so 𝔊^A, whence AV SARAMEL, εν ασαραμελ [אV], *asaramel* [Vg.]) in a great congregation'—etc. It has long been recognised that this expression is a transliteration of some Hebrew word which stood in the original, as is the case with the difficult *sarbeth sabanai el* in the title of this book (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 1). By some it is taken to represent a place—*e.g.*, it might be a corruption of Jerusalem (Castellio)—or to represent the Heb. חֲצַר עַם אֵל, 'the court of the people of God'—*i.e.*, the great court of the temple (Keil; cp Ew. *Gesch.* (3) 4 438)—or חֲצַר מִלֹּא, the court of Millo (Grotius), or שַׁעַר עַם אֵל, 'the gate of the people of God.' It is better, however, to see in this expression an honorific title. From 1 Macc. 13 42 we see that contracts were dated from the first year of Simon 'the great high priest, and captain and leader of the Jews' (cp the titles given him in 14 47 and 15 1), and it seems natural that in an inscription written in honour of Simon we should find more than the simple title 'high priest.' (Cp the Pesh. ܪܒܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ, 'leader (or '(great one") in Israel'). Hence Asaramel is taken by many (Wernsdorf, Scholz, Grimm, Zöckler, etc.) to represent שַׂר עַם אֵל, 'prince of the people of God.' The great difficulty would then lie in the presence of the preposition ἐν. This, however, may have been inserted by a copyist who supposed that the word was the name of a place not of a person.[1] Possibly εν is an integral part of the word, and we should read נֵצֶר עַם־אֵל, 'the sprout (cp Is. 11 1) of the people of God,' or, better, נֹצֵר עַם־אֵל, 'protector of the people of God' (cp *v.* 47 6).

ASAREEL, or, better, RV Asarel (אֲשַׂרְאֵל, § 67; cp אשריאל, and see AHAB, § 4, n. 5; ισεραηλ [B], εσ. [A] ασερη. [L which adds καὶ ιωαχειμ]), 'son' of (the unknown) Jehaleleel (1 Ch. 4 16) and 'brother' of ZIPH (*q.v.*, 2), Ziphnh and Tiria.

ASARELAH (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה [Bä. Ginsb.], § 73; cp אשראל; εραηλ [B], ιεσιηλ [A], ασειρηλα [L]), a 'son of Asaph' 1 Ch. 25 2; called Jesarelah, EV JESHARELAH (יְשַׂרְאֵלָה; ισεριηλ [B], ισρεηλα [A]) in *v.* 14.

ASBACAPHATH (ασβακαφαθ [B]; in Pesh. the name is ܐܣܒܩܦܬ), 1 Esd. 5 69 RV^mg., AV (1611) Asbasareth, RV Asbasareth (ασβασαρεθ [A]), the name answering in 1 Esd. 5 69 𝔊^BA to the Esarhaddon of ‖ Ezra 4 2 (which is reproduced by 𝔊^L, αχορδαν). The right reading is ασβαφαθ, which represents אסנפר. This is evidently an alternative to the reading אסנפר of Ezra 4 10, and it suggests that the writer of the gloss in Ezra 4 9 *f.* (see 'Ezra' in *SBOT*) found, not אסרחדן, but אסנפר, in his text of Ezra 4 2. So Marq. (*Fund.* 59); but, in connection with the difficult theory that the name originally given in Ezra 4 2 was סרגון=אסרגן, Sargon; see ASNAPPER.

ASCALON (ασκαλων), 1 Macc. 10 86, etc., RV ASHKELON (*q.v.*).

ASCENT OF THE CORNER (עֲלִיַּת הַפִּנָּה; ανα

[1] The prefixed ἐν is explained by Schürer (*GVI* 1 197, n. 17) as a corruption of σεγεν (סְגַן), which corresponds to the Gr. στρατηγός. Renan's suggestion (*Hist. d'Isr.* ix. cap. 1 *ad fin.*) that εν ασαραμελ is a corruption of some *wish*, may he mentioned; in his view the expression is similar to those which Arabian authors often add to the names of persons.

MBCON THC KAMΠΗC [B]; ΑΝΑΒΑCΕWC ΤΗC Κ. [HA]; THC A. T. ΓWNIAC [L]) Neh. 3 31 RV. See JERUSALEM.

ASEAS (ΑCΑΙΑC [BA]), I Esd. 9 32 = Ezra 10 31, ISSHIAH, 5.

ASEBEBIA; RV Asebebias (ΑCΕΒΗΒΙΑC [BA]), I Esd. 8 47 = Ezra 8 18, SHEREBIAH, *q.v.*

ASEBIA (ΑCΕΒΙΑΝ [A]), I Esd. 847 AV, RV Asebias = Ezra 8 19, HASHABIAH, 7.

ASENATH (אָסְנַת; ΑCΕΝΝΕΘ [ADE], -ΕΝΕ. [E]), ΑCCΕΝΕΘ [L], daughter of Potipherah, priest of On; wife of Joseph (Gen. 41 45 50 46 20†). A genuine Egyptian name. See JOSEPH 1, § 4; and on the apocryphal 'Life of Aseneth,' APOCRYPHA, § 12.

ASER, RV ASHER (ΑCΗΡ [BA]), Tob. 1 2. *See* HAZOR, I.

ASERER, RV SERAR (CΕΡΑΡ [BA]), I Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 53, SISERA, *2*.

ASH (אֹרֶן, ΠΙΤΥC), better RV **Fir-Tree,** seems to be named (Is. 44 14) as a tree used by makers of idols. If *ōren* is genuine (see below) we may reasonably hold it to be the Assyrian *irin*—cedar or fir.

'Fir' is supported by the versions (*πίτυς*, *pinus*) and by the Rabbis (reff. in Ges. *Thes.*); Tristram's suggestion, *Pinus halepensis*, Mill, the Aleppo Pine (*NHB*, 335), is attractive. That Heb. *ōren* = Lat. *ornus* is improbable; ארן cannot he *Fraxinus ornus*, L., the Manna Ash a native of S. Europe, not found farther E. than W. Asia Minor. Celsius (*Hierobot.* 1 185 *ff.*) held ארן to be the *arān* of Abulfadl, and the 'thorny tree' that he meant it is not difficult to make out. *Rhus oxycantha* (leaves and drupes somewhat like *Sorbus Aucuparia*) is called *'ern, 'crin* (*Illustr. de la flore de l'Égypte*, 205), and that the little tree grows in Arabia, though not yet proved, is by no means improbable. *Rhus Coriaria*, which also might he thought of, resembles *Sorbus Aucuparia* more closely.

The reading, however, is uncertain. ארן occurs only in this passage, and a Mass. note calls attention to the 'small ן,' which seems to point to a reading ארז 'cedar.' Perhaps a better emendation would be אל ('God').

So Klo. and Che. (*SBOT*, Heb. 138), following 𝔊. The word *πίτυς* is wanting in nearly all the best MSS (BℵAQΓ) of 𝔊, and in others appears as a Hexaplaric addition with an asterisk. The text of the whole verse as it appears in 𝔊B and other MSS is simply—*ἔκοψεν ξύλον ἐκ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ὃ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ κύριος καὶ ὑετὸς ἐμήκυνεν* (the Peshitta is even shorter, 'the wood that was cut down from the thicket, that by rain was nurtured'). Between *ἔκοψεν* and *ξύλον* Origen inserted in the Hexaplaric text this addition, from Aq. and Theod., *ἑαυτῷ κέδρους, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀγριοβάλανον καὶ δρῦν καὶ ἐκαρτέρωσεν αὐτῷ* and similarly added *πίτυν* after *ὁ κύριος*; see Field's *Hexapla* in loc.).

N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

ASHAN (עָשָׁן; ΑCΑΝ [BAL], ΑCΕΝΝΑ [A], ΑCΑΝΝΑ [L]), an unidentified site in the lowland of Jndah, apparently in its most southern part (Josh. 15 42, ΑΝWΧ [B], ΑCΕΝΝΑ [A], -CΑΝΝ. [L]), assigned in Josh. 19 7 (ΑCΑΜ [A]) to Simeon, and named among the priests' cities in I Ch. 6 59 [44] = Josh. 21 16 (where for MT עַיִן, EV AIN, ΑΙΝ [A], ΝΑΕΙΝ [L], we should probably read עָשָׁן, Ashan; cp 𝔊B ΑCΑ; so Bennett in *SBOT*). Ashan may perhaps be the same as the BOR-ASHAN [*q.v.*], or CHOR-ASHAN (RV COR-ASHAN) of I S. 30 30, the site of some well or reservoir.

ASHARELAH (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה, Bä. Ginsb.), I Ch. 25 2 RV, AV ASARELAH.

ASRBEA (אַשְׁבֵּעַ, § 42, for אשבעל?; ΕCΟΒΑ [BA], ΑCΕΒΑ [L]). The 'house of Ashbea' included 'the (Judahite) families of the house of those that wrought fine linen' (I Ch. 4 21); or Beth Ashbea may be the name of their dwelling-place. Nothing further is known of this weaving guild.

ASHBEL (אַשְׁבֵּל, § 43; ΑCΒΗΛ [ADL]; ΑCΑΒΗΛΟC [Jos.]; Sam. אשבאל), gentilic **Ashbelite,** Nu. 26 38 אַשְׁבֵּלִי, ΑCΥΒΗΡ[Ε]Ι [BAF], -CΟΥΒΗΡΙ [L]), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. [*β*]), Gen. 46 21 = Nu. 26 38 ΑCΥΒΗΡ [BAF], -CΟΥΒ [L]) = I Ch. 8 1 (CΑΒΑ [B]); apparently represented by JEDIAEL in I Ch. 7 6-11 (*v.* 6). Probably the name is a corruption of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*).

ASHCHENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז), Jer. 51 27 AV; RV ASHKENAZ, *q.v.*

ASHDOD, AZOTUS (אַשְׁדּוֹד, 'strength, strongly-fortified' or perhaps 'man [men] of Dod, Dudu'; cp ASHHUR, BENE-BERAK?; ΑΖWΤΟC [BAℵQΓL], hence its name in Apocr., NT, etc.), gentilic **Ashdodite, AV Ashdothite** אַשְׁדּוֹדִי, Josh. 13 3 (ΑΖWΤ(Ε)ΙΟC [BAL]; pl. fem. אַשְׁדּוֹדִיּוֹת; Neh. 13 23 in Kr. אַשְׁדֳּדִיּוֹת; ΑΖWΤΙΑC [BAL], -ΙΔΑC [ℵ]), a famous Philistine city some *2-3* m. from the Mediterranean coast, about half-way between Gaza and Joppa. It was one of the five confederated towns of the Philistines, and stood far above the others in importance—a pre-eminence due doubtless to its commanding position on the great military road between Syria and Egypt, at the spot where a branch of it leads off to Ekron and Ramleh. It survives in the modern *Esdūd*, a miserable little village on a woody and beautiful height, to the W. of which, at an hour's distance, are still found the traces of a harbour now called Mīnet el-Ḳal'a.[1] JE assigns Ashdod to Judah (Josh. 15 46 *f.*, *ασηδωθ*, *ασειεδωθ* [B], *ἀσδωμ* [A, in *v.* 47 om.], *εσδωδ* [L]); but this statement clearly needs modification in view of Josh. 13 3 (D_2; cp 11 22, *ασελδω* [B], *αδωθ* [A], *ασηδωθ* [F], *ασεδδωδ* [L]), which is supported by the fact that Israel seems never to have subdued the Philistine stronghold (2 Ch. 26 6 is doubtful). In Samuel's time the ark was removed thither from Eben-ezer, and placed in the temple of Dagon (I S. 5 *f.*), whose cult was more particularly associated with Ashdod (cp I Macc. 10 83 11 4).[2] Ashdod is denounced by Amos with other Philistine towns for the infamous slave-raids upon Judah, and the same prophet alludes to it again in terms which show that in the middle of the eighth century it was a place of no little repute (3 9 [|| Egypt], 𝔊BA reads 'Assyria,' against which cp We.; Now.; Aq., Sym., Theod. read Ashdod). Although nnmentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Philistia and Phœnicia (cp Wi. *GVI* 1223) it probably suffered at his hands. On the other hand, we are fortunately well-informed of its fate some years later in the siege alluded to in Is. 20 1 (711 B.C.).[3] As a commemorative record relates (cp *KAT*(2) 398 *f.*, *KB* 2 65 *f.*), Azuri (cp Heb. עַזּוּר, Azzur), king of Asdudu, had been superseded[4] by his brother Aḫi-miti (cp Ahimoth, Mahath), who in turn was overthrown by the anti-Assyrian party (the Ḫa-at-tí)[5] in favour of Yamani (or Yavani = the Ionian?). Ashdod was besieged, not by Sargon, but, as the MT more correctly states, by his general or TARTAN [*q.v.*]. This siege, as Is. 20 6 suggests, involved the surrounding peoples, and ultimately resulted in the flight of Yavani to the land of Muṣri, which belongs to Miluḫḫa, the district lying in N. Arabia, bordering on Edom (see MIZRAIM, § *2b*). The same tablet records the destruction of (*ir*) *Gimtu Asdudimmu*, which, according to Schrader, is 'Gath of

[1] In early Christian times Ἄζωτος παράλιος and Ἄζωτος μεσόγειος are kept distinct. Josephus sometimes speaks of Ashdod (and similarly of Jabneh, Jamnia) as an inland town (*Ant.* xiv. 4 4, *BJ* i. 7 7) at other times as a coast town (*Ant.* xiii. 15 4). There may have been a harbour here in the time of Sargon; cp above.

[2] Hence it has been conjectured that Dagan-takala in the Amarna tablets (*KB* 5 215 *f.*) belonged to Ashdod.

[3] For the date, etc., cp Ch. *Intr.* 120 *f.*; Wi. *Alt. Unt.* 142 *ff.*

[4] He had sought to ally himself with the surrounding kings against Assyria. Another inscription relates that the men of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab had sent presents to Pir'û, king of Muṣri, for a like purpose (cp *KB* 2 64 *f.* and note).

[5] These Ḫa-at-tí of Ashdod seem to have been closely related to Muṣri (cp also Wi., "Muṣri, etc." in *MVG*, 1898, 1 26 *f.*).

the Ashdodites' (cp 'Gath of the Philistines,' Am. 6 2, and for a wider use of Ashdod see below). Others (Del. *Pur.* 289 *f.*, Wi. Che.) read as two names, and explain the latter as אַשְׁדּוֹד הַיָּם—*i.e.*, the port of Ashdod (cp note 1, below).

Ashdod soon regained its power, and in the following century the 'great city of Syria' (Herod 2 157) was besieged by Psammetichus for twenty-nine years, an allusion to which is seen in Jer. 25 20 (less probably also Zeph. 2 4 : see ZEPHANIAH, ii.). Further evidence of its independence may be seen in the mention of Aḫi-milki, king of Ashdod, temp. Esarhaddon (*KAT*(2) 355 12).

The Ashdodites were allied with the Arabians and the Ammonites against the Jews of Jerusalem (Neh. 4 7 [1]), and Nehemiah, denouncing the foreign marriages, mentions the women of Ashdod (also of Ammon and Moab), whose offspring speak a degraded dialect called אַשְׁדּוֹדִית (Neh. 13 23 *f.*, ἀζωτιστ[ε]ὶ [BKAL]) : cp the allusion in Zech. 9 6. The use of Ashdod in these passages is peculiar, and, if genuine, suggests that the name Ashdod comprised also the surrounding district (cp Schrader's explanation of *asdudimmu* above).

Ashdod and its neighbourhood was ravaged by Judas (1 Macc. 5 68, cp 4 15), and in 147 B.C. his brother Jonathan defeated Apollonius there and burnt the temple of Dagon (1 Macc. 10 77 *ff.*, cp 11 4). John Hyrcanus burnt the towers in the surrounding fields after defeating Cendebzeus (1 Macc. 16 10). In the time of Alexander Jannaeus it belonged to Judæa (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 4) ; but it was separated from it under Ptolemy (Jos. *BJ* i. 7 7). In the NT it is mentioned only once, in connection with Philip's return from Gaza to Caesarea (Acts 8 40). See Schür. *GVI* 267 *f.*, Wi. *GVI* 1 223 *f.* ; and cp PHILISTINES. S. A. C.

ASHDOTH-PISGAH (אַשְׁדּוֹת הַפִּסְגָּה) is uniformly translated, in RV, 'the slopes (*marg.* or springs) of Pisgah' (Dt. 3 17 4 49 [here also AV] Josh. 12 3 [no marg. note] 13 20 ; for 𝔊's readings see PISGAH). In like manner, the Heb. אֲשֵׁדוֹת, rendered 'springs' in Josh. 10 40 12 8, is in RV 'slopes.' The declivities or shoulders of a mountain plateau, where it sinks sharply into the plain, are meant. The word is perhaps derived from אשד, in the sense of 'pouring out'; [2] the explanation usually given is that the Ashēdoth are the line on the mountain-side where springs break forth. See PISGAH.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר ; ασηρ [BAL], αcηρ [A*Nu. 7 72], ιαcηβ [B, Josh. 17 10] ; Jos. ασηρος ; gentilic אָשֵׁרִי Asherite), the eponymous head of the tribe of the same name.

1. Name and origin. Unimportant for the history of Israel—it is traced by the Yahwist to Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. 30 12 *f.*), —this tribe, perhaps more than the other Zilpah and Bilhah tribes (see ISRAEL, § 5), raises questions difficult to answer. Is the popular etymology (Gen. 30 13, probably also alluded to in the 'Blessings') correct, or does the name not rather point to some deity—in which case it is natural to connect it with the root אשר (ישר), 'to be propitious,' whence the name of the Assyrian God Ašur? [3] In what relation does Asher stand to a once somewhat important state called *Aseru*, *As(s)aru*, which occupied W. Galilee in the time of Seti I. and Ramses II. (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 236-9)? Did that ancient people to some extent throw in their lot with the invaders from the wilderness (cp HARNEPHER), or is Asher in the OT simply a geographical name for some Israelites who settled in a district already long known as Asher? Hommel (*AHT* 228, 237) thinks that the Asherites were one of several Israelitish tribes which, before the time of Moses, had encamped in the district between Egypt and Judah (cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH) and that they are the Habiri referred to in the Amarna letters as having burst into Palestine from the south. Jastrow, on the other hand, inclines to identify the Ḥabiri with the Asherite clan Heber (see below, § 4) and to connect the Asherite clan Malchiel with the followers of Milkili, the writer of several of the Amarna letters, while G. A. Barton suggests that the sons of Abd-aširta (b'nē Ebed Ašera), of whom we hear so much in the letters of Rib-Addi of Gebal, may have become an important constituent part of the OT tribe of Asher, so that it inherited their name in abbreviated form. That the OT Asherites were at all events not very closely bound to Israel is proved by

2. Earlier references. our earliest historical notice of the tribe, according to which it took no interest in the rising against Sisera : 'Asher sat still at the shore of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Judg. 5 17).[1] Moreover, that they were somewhat mixed up with older inhabitants appears clearly enough in Judg. 1 32. Whilst, therefore, the fertility ascribed in the 'Blessings of Jacob and Moses' to the district where Asher dwelt, although it at once suggests the popular etymology (see above), is known to have been really characteristic of the part of Galilee in question (see reff. in Dr. on Dt. 33 24, and cp BIRZAITH), we can hardly say how far the distinctness from the Phœnicians of the coast, apparently implied in *v.* 25 of the later Blessing, was an actual fact. On the other hand, the writer of the account of ISHBAAL (*q.v.*, 1) seems to have thought Asher worth mentioning as included in the Benjamite claim (see ASHURITES, GESHUR, 1). It is not surprising in view of the prevailing vagueness, that the 'Blessing of Jacob' speaks of ZEBULUN in almost the same words that the Song of Deborah had applied to Asher, and that the 'Blessing of Moses' then associates ISSACHAR with Zebulun. Definite boundary there can hardly have been, whilst the distribution of the population must have changed somewhat from age to age. We need not wonder that the account of Asher's territory

3. Boundaries. which the priestly compiler has given us in Josh. 19 24-31 (in which some scholars have found traces of JE) is unusually vague. Not many of the places can be identified with certainty.

ALAMMELECH (Wādy el-Melek) JIPHTHAH-EL (Jefāt), CABUL (Kabūl), KANAH (Ḳāna) have) probably been identified, and possibly also Ehron (*i.e.*, ABDON, i.) and HAMMON, 1 (Umm el 'Amūd). UMMAH should probably be read Accho. SHIHOR-LIBNATH (*q.v.*) may perhaps be the Nahr ez-Zarḳā. MISHAL and HOSAH (*qq.v.*) are probably to be recognised in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions.

That Accho or Achzib or Sidon was ever included in an Israelitish tribe Asher, is a purely ideal conception, and the same is clearly true (Judg. 1 31 *f.*) of other cities in the list. For indications of an Aramzean element in the population (z S. 10 6) see ARAM, § 5.

The tribe to the S. of Asher was Manasseh. In Josh. 17 11 we have a Yahwistic passage which is commonly interpreted as declaring that Dor lay within the limits of territory ideally assigned to Asher, although it really belonged to Manasseh. This interpretation gives support to the hypothesis that Shihor-Libnath (Josh. 19 26) is to be taken as the southern boundary of Asher, and to be identified with the river Zarḳā, which enters the sea almost midway between Dor and Cæsarea. If Asher really moved northwards from an earlier home

[1] So in 1 Macc. 14 34 Gazara (in reality 17 m. to NE.) is 'upon the borders of Azotus'; cp also (doubtfully) 2 Ch. 26 6.

[2] Delitzsch compares the Ass. *išdu*, pl. *išdâti*, the 'base' of anything (*Prol.* 46 ; cp Dr. on *Deut.* 3 17).

[3] Tiele long ago wrote, 'Asher, like Gad, is a god of good fortune, the consort of Asherah' (*Vergelijk. Gesch. van de Egypt. en Mesopotam. Godsdiensten*, 1872, p. 542), and both parts of this statement may still be defended. So Che. *Proph. Is.*(1) 1 103 (on Is. 17 8). Cp Del. *Ass. HWB* 148. G. A. Barton (*JBL* 15 174 ['96]) suggests a connection with the divine name implied in the name Abd-aširta referred to towards the end of § 1 (see ASHERAH, § 3). Jensen (*Hittiter u. Armenier*) offers proof that the name of the consort of the goddess Ašratu was Hadad or Rammān the storm-god. Had he also the title Ašir? Lastly G. H. Skipwith (*JQR* 11 241 ['99]) even suggests a connection between אשר and Osiris (the father of Horus; cp HARNEFHER).

[1] On the statement in Judg. 6 35 7 23, that Asher took part in the conflict with Midian, see Moore, *ad loc.*

in S. Palestine (see ahove, § 1), traces or at least memorials of it may have long survived (see SHIHOR-LIBNATH). This would make it not quite so difficult to understand the account of P, even if it is a fact that he really brings Asher farther S. than Carmel (Josh. 19 26).

The linguistic peculiarities of the verse Josh. 17 11 support the suggestion of Dillmann (*ad loc.*) that all that follows the word 'Asher' except 'the three heights' belongs really to *v.* 12, taking the place there of the words 'those cities' (cp Judg. 127);[1] but we do not know what 'the three heights' are (though they certainly might include 'the heights of Dor'; cp Josh. 112 1223). There is, however, little historical importance in the question whether Dor is represented as belonging to Asher, since, as a matter of fact, it and the cities mentioned with it remained in the possession of the Canaanites or Phœnicians.

On the other three sides the territory of Asher is even less defined. According to Josh. 19 27, it was conterminous with Zebulun on the E., while according to *v.* 34 it stood in the same relation to Naphtali. It is difficult to bring it into relation with Issachar. In general, Asher must be regarded as the north-westernmost district connected with Israel, and as stretching indefinitely W. and N. and losing itself gradually amongst the Phoenicians of the coast.

4. Genealogies. (i.) P's genealogy of Asher (given twice: Nu. 2644, probably the more original, = Gen. 46 17), which is reproduced in almost identical form by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 7 30 *f.*), is very simple, consisting probably of (primarily) the three clans, the Imnites (perhaps really Jamin; so 𝔊BAL in Nu. and perhaps 𝔊B in 1 Ch.), Ishvites (doubtful), and Beri'ites.

With the last mentioned are associated as secondary clans the Heberites (known as a Kenite name)[2] and the Malchielites (known as a personal name in the Amarna letters from S. Palestine) as 'sons,' and Serah (perhaps an Aram. name; root not found in Hebrew) as sister. There is no earlier mention however, of any of these names in connection with Asher: though the first and third are well known in the central highlands of Palestine.

(ii.) To this simple genealogy the Chronicler appends (1 Ch. 7 31 6-39) a remarkable list of one Malchielite and over thirty Heberites—remarkable because the names are not of the distinctive type that abounds in the Chronicler. The list if we remove certain textual corruptions,[3] looks as if it were meant to be schematic (*e.g.*, 3 sons and 3 X 3 grandsons, followed by some seventeen in the fourth, fifth, and sixth generations); but we cannot reach a text that inspires confidence. It must he remembered, however, that many of the names may well be foreign. Harnepher has been referred to above. The affinities of some of the names are worthy of note: note, *e.g.*, the remarkable groups Heber, Ithran, Jether; so also Beria, Shelesh = Shilsha of *v.* 37 (Shalisha? cp 𝔊B), Shual.

Lk. 2 36 speaks of a certain Anna as being of the tribe of Asher (but see GENEALOGIES, i. § 8).

2. Tob. 1 2 RV, AV ASER. See HAZOR, 1.

H. W. H.

ASHER (אָשֵׁר; ΑCΗΡ [BAL]), a town on the southern border of Manasseh, mentioned in Josh. 17 7 (RV) in the following terms:—'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath which is before [*i.e.*, E. or] Shcchem.' After this we are told that 'the border went along to the right hand [*i.e.*, to the S.], unto the inhabitants [*i.e.*, the district] of En-tappuah.' These statements must be taken in connection with the description of the N. border of Ephraim in 16 6, where the names which correspond to Asher and Michmethath are Michmethath and Taanath-Shiloh, and Taanath-Shiloh is stated to be E. of Michmethath. On the assumption that En-tappuah is SW. of Shechem (see TAPPUAH, 2), Asher must lie somewhere to the E. of Shechem, between Michmethath and Taanath-shiloh. Thus far we have proceeded on the

[1] 'Dor' in Judg. 1 31 𝔊BAL is no objection, for it does not fit the context, and is probably simply an insertion based on the passage in Joshua.

[2] Note that for Jehnhhah (1 Ch. 7 34) 𝔊B reads κ. ωβαβ—*i.e.*, Hobab?

[3] Ahi in *v.* 34 should certainly be 'his brother.' Probably Hotham (*v.* 32) is a miswritten Helem (cp *v.* 35), in which case 'sister' (*ăhōthām*) in *v.* 32 may he a duplicate of Hotham. Ulla (*v.* 39), as it ought to resume some name already mentioned may he a corruption of Shnal, which we should perhaps restor; for Shua in *v.* 32.

theory that RV's reading is correct; it is in fact that of most scholars, including Dillmann and Kautzsch. The rendering seems, however, to need revision. Considering that MICHMETHATH (*q.v.*) stands in 17 7 in close proximity to Asher (without any connecting *and*), and that it would be natural to distinguish this Asher from the better known one (with which indeed Kerr in *PEFQu St.*, 1877, p. 45, actually confounds it) by adding the name of the district in which it was (cp 'Kedesh-Naphtali'), it seems probable that Michmethath is the name of a district, and that we should render (against the accents and Targ., but in accordance with 𝔊AL), 'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher of (the) Michmethath,' the starting-point alone being mentioned in the opening clause, as in 15 2 (so Reland, J. Schwarz, Conder). The description in 17 7 will then exactly correspond to that in 16 6 in so far as Michmethath is the first point mentioned on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. 'Asher of the Michmethath' might be some place in the N. of the district called 'the Michmethath.' If this district is the plain of *el-Makhna*, two ruined places at once suggest themselves, now called the upper and the lower *Makhna* respectively (Guérin, *Sam.* 1 459 *f.*). Here, however, no villages preserve any traces of the ancient name. Eus. and Jer. (OS 222 29 93 28) suggest another identification. They refer to a village called Asher, 15 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis, a description which points to *Teyāṣīr*, 1 R. m. NE. of Thebez, where the 15th R. milestone has actually been discovered (Séjourné, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1895, p. 617 *f.*). *Teyāṣīr* is now a mud hamlet; but it succeeds a place of some importance. Rock-cut sepulchres abound (Guérin, *Sam.* 1 108). It is not probable, however, that Eus. and Jer. had a clear or correct view of the boundary line, and the transition from Asher to *Teyāṣīr* is not an easy one. (The latter name seems to be the plur. of *taiṣīr*, inf. 2 conj. of *yaṣara.* So Kanipffmeyer, *ZDPV* 16 2.) T. K. C.

ASHERAH, plur. **Asherim**, the RV transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרָה (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים; in three late passages אֲשֵׁרוֹת), a word which AV, following 𝔊 (αλcoc [BAFL]) and Vg. (*lucus*), renders *grove*, *groves*. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; hut, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

1. The Ashera post. The *ăshērā* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 34 13 Judg. 6 25 and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahwè, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13 6) and Bethel (2 K. 23 15), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23 6). The *ashera* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stelè (*maṣṣēbā*, *ḥammān*; see MASSEBAH and IDOLATRY, § 4). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp Judg. 6 25 *f.*); it was perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15 13),[1] or draped (2 K. 23 7), but the draping especially is doubtful. The shape of an *ashera* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phoenician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,[2] which are supposed by many archæologists to he the *asheras* (and *maṣṣebas*) of the OT (see PHŒNICIA). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the

[1] 'A shocking thing (Jewish tradition, *phallus*) as an ashera'; on 2 K. 21 7 see below.

[2] See Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, 1847 *f.*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 1893, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian. We may compare the Egyptian *dedu* column (at Busiris), the Indian sacrificial post (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 91), the so-called 'totem-posts' of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, 2 376 *ff.*, and Jevons, *Intr. Hist. Rel.* 134 *f.*

great variety of types, and the age and origin of the figures in question, it can hardly be confidently inferred that the asheras of the Old Canaanites and Israelites were of similar forms. The representations do not give any support to the theory that the ashera was a phallic emblem.

It is the common opinion that the *ashera* was originally a living tree (*Sifrè* on Dt. 12 3, Aboda *zara*, fol. 45 a.6.; cp Di. on Dt. 16 21), for which the pole or mast was a conventional substitute.[1] This is antecedently not very probable.

2. Not a tree.

The sacred tree had in Hebrew a specific name of its own (*ēl*, *ēlā*, *ēlōn*, or, with a different and perhaps artificial pronunciation, *allā*, *allōn*), which would naturally have attached to the artificial representative also; nor is it easy to explain, upon this hypothesis, how the ashera came *to* be set up beneath the living tree (2 K. 17 10). The only passage in the OT which can be cited in support of the theory is Dt. 16 21 : 'Thou shalt not plant thee an asherah of any kind of tree (RV) beside the altar of Yahwk thy God,' or, more grammatically, 'an ashera —any kind of tree' (אשרה כל עץ). As, however, in the seventh century the *ashera* was certainly not ordinarily a tree, this epexegesis would be very strange. In the context, whether the words in question be original or a gloss, we expect, not a restriction of the prohibition such as this rendering in effect gives us, hut a sweeping extension of it. We must, therefore, translate, 'an ashera—any wooden object.'[2]

It does not appear from the OT that the asheras belonged exclusively *to* the worship of any one deity. The *ashera* at Ophrah (Jndg. 6 25) was sacred to Baal; the prohibitions of the law (Dt. 16 21 *f.*) are sufficient proof that they were erected *to* Yahwk;[3] nor is there any reason to think that those at Bethel, Samaria, and Jerusalem were dedicated to any other god. The assertion, still often macle, that in the religion of Canaan the *maṣṣebas* were sacred to male, the asheras *to* female deities, is supported by no proof whatever.

From certain passages in the OT (especially Judg. 3 7 1 K. 18 19 2 K. 23 4),[4] it has been thought that there was also a Canaanite goddess Ashera, whose symbol or idol was the ashera post.

3. A goddess?

Since in the places cited the names of Baal and Ashera are coupled precisely as those of Baal and Astarte are elsewhere (Judg. 2 13 10 6 1 S. 7 4 [𝔊^BAL τὰ ἄλση Ασταρωθ] 12 10 [𝔊^BAL τοῖς ἄλσεσιν]), many scholars have inferred, further, that Ashera was only another name or form of the great Semitic goddess, Astarte (Theodoret, *Quæst.* 55 *in iv. Reg.*, Selden, Spencer, etc.); whilst others attempt in various ways to distinguish them—*e.g.*, Astarte, a pure celestial deity, Ashera, an impure 'telluric' divinity (Movers); or the former a goddess of the Northern Canaanites, the latter of the Southern (Tiele, Sayce). Conservative scholars such as Hengstenberg, Bachmann, and Baethgen, however, have contended that in the passages in question the symbol of Astarte is merely put by metonymy for the name of the goddess; and many recent critics[5] see in these places only a confusion (on the part of late writers) of the sacred post with the goddess Astarte.[6] A critical examination of the passages makes it highly probable that in the OT the supposed goddess Ashera owes her existence only to this confusion. In the Amarna correspondence, however, there is frequent mention of a Canaanite who bears the name Abd-ašratum, equivalent to Heb. '*Ebed-ăshērā*, sometimes with the divine determinative,—*i.e.*, Servant of (the divine) *Ashera*. This has not unnaturally been regarded as conclusive evidence that a goddess Ashera was worshipped in Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C.[1] The determinative might here signify no more than that the *ashera* post was esteemed divine—a fetish, or a cultus-god—as no one doubts that it was in OT times; cp Phœnician names such as 'Ebed-stisim, Servant of (the sacred) horses (*CIS* i. 46, 49, 53, 933, etc.); or 'Ebed-hēkal, Gēr-hēkal (G. Hoffmann), which might in Assyrian writing have the same determinative; further, Assyr. *êkurru*, 'temple, sanctuary,' in pl. sometimes 'deities' (Del. *HWB* 718). The name of the 'goddess *Ašratum*,' however, occurs in other cuneiform texts, where this explanation seems not to be admissible: viz., on a hæmatite cylinder published by Sayce (*ZA* 6 161); in an astronomical work copied in the year 138 B.C., published by Strassmaier (*ZA* 6 241, *l.* 9 *ff.*); and in a hymn published by Reisner (*Sumer.-babylon. Hymnen*, 92)—in the last in connection with a god *Amurru*, which suggests that the worship may have been introduced from the West. See Jensen, 'Die Gotter *Amurru*(*ū*) und *Ašratu*,' *ZA* 11 302-305.

The word *ashera* occurs also in an enigmatical Phœnician inscription from Ma'ṣūb, which records a dedication '*to* the Astarte in the ashera of El-hammon' (G. Hoffmann);, where it is at least clear that ***ashera*** cannot be the name of a deity. The most natural interpretation in the context would he 'in the sacred precincts.' In an inscription from Citium in which the word was formerly read (Schroeder, *ZDMG* 35 424, 'mother Ashera'; contra, St. *ZATW* 1 344 *f.*; cp E. Mey. in Roscher. 2870), the reading and interpretation are insecme (see *CIS* i. no. 13). Cp PHŒNICIA.

The etymology and the meaning of the word are obscure. The most plausible hypothesis perhaps is that *ăshērīm* originally denoted only the *sign*-posts set up *to* mark the site or the boundaries of the holy place (G. Hoffmann, *l.c.* 26).

4. Etymology.

The use of the word in the Ma'ṣūb inscription for the sacred precincts would then be readily explained, and also the Assyrian *aširtu* plur. *ašrâti* (*ešrêti*), defined in the syllabaries as meaning 'high place, oracle, sanctuary.' In any case, *ăshērā* is a ***nomen unitatis***, and its gender has no other than a grammatical significance.

For some further questions connected with the prophetic opposition to the use of asheras in the worship of Yahwè and the prohibition in the laws, see IDOLATRY, § 8.

The older literature is cited under ASHTORETH [*q.v.*]. For recent discussion see We. *CH* 281 *f.* note; St. *GVI* 1 458 *ff.*, cp *ZATW* 1 345, 4 293 *ff.* 6 318 *f.*, G. Hoffmann, *Über einige phön. Inschriften*, 26 *ff.*; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 187 *ff.* On the other side, Schr. *ZA* 3 364. Reference may be made also to Baethgen, *Beitr.* 218 *ff.*, and to Collins, *PSBA* 11 291 *ff.*, who endeavours to show that the *ashera* was a phallic emblem sacred to Baal. G. F. M.

ASHES (אֵפֶר, of uncertain derivation) is used in various figures of speech typifying humiliation, frailty, nothingness, etc.: *e.g.*, *to* sit in, or be covered with, ashes (Job 2 8, cp Ez. 27 30 Lam. 3 16), to eat ashes (Ps. 102 9), to follow after ashes (Is. 44 20, Che. ad *loc.*, cp Hos. 12 1). To throw ashes on the head (2 S. 13 19 Is. 61 3), or *to* wear ashes and sackcloth (Dan. 9 3 Esth. 4 1 Jonah 3 6, cp Mt. 11 21 Lk. 10 13), was a common way of showing one's grief; see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1. The combination 'dust and ashes' (עָפָר וָאֵפֶר; cp also DUST) is found in Gen. 18 27 Job 42 6 (cp Ecclus. 10 9)—note the striking assonance פְּאֵר תַּחַת אֵפֶר Is. 61 3, 'instead of ashes a coronal'; cp Ewald's 'Schmuck statt

[1] See Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc., Pl. lxxxiv. 3 and 7, where in precisely similar relations to the scene a carved post (supposed *ashera*) takes the place of a cypress tree.

[2] עץ is not only a ***tree***, but also a ***stake*** (Dt. 21 22 and often). That the trees depicted on Phœn. coins, etc., were called asheras (Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 213) is merely inferred from the OT.

[3] The condemnation is based, not on the fact that the presence of these symbols presumes the worship of other gods, but on the principle that Israel shall not worship Yahwb as the Canaanites worship their gods (Dt. 12 2 *ff.*).

[4] In 2 K. 21 7, 'the image of the *ashera*,' the word *image* is a gloss; cp *v.* 3 and 2 Ch. 33 7. On 1 K. 15 13 and 2 K. 23 7, see above. In 1 K. 18 19 the 400 prophets of Ashera are interpolated (We., Klo., Dr.).

[5] We. G. Hoffmann, E. Mey., St., WRS, and others.

[6] This confusion is found in a still greater measure in the versions.

[1] Schr. *ZA* 3 364, and many. The name is once written with the common ideogram for the goddess IStar (Br. *Mus.* 33 obv. 13).

Schmutz.' 'Proverbs of ashes' (Job 13 12) is a symbolism of empty trifling sayings.[1]

To denote the 'ashes' of sacrificial victims the above word is found only in Nu. 19 9 *f.*, where the ashes of the burnt heifer are represented as endowed with the power of rendering clean or unclean the person who came into contact with them (cp Heb. 913). The usual term is דֶּשֶׁן *dešen*, prop. 'fatness,' which comes to be used of the ashes of the victims mixed with fat. From Lev. 1 16 **(P)** it would seem that these were placed on the east side of the altar, and afterwards removed to a place 'outside the camp' (*ib.* 4 12, cp 6 10 *f.* [3 *f.*] P).[2]

It is noteworthy that דֶּשֶׁן occurs only twice outside P : viz., Jer. 31 40 and 1 K. **13** 3 5 (the latter in a passage which is a late addition to the book; see KINGS, § 5, n. 1). פִּיחַ כִּבְשָׁן 'ashes (RV mg. 'soot'; cp Ges.-Bu.) of the furnace,' **Ex.** 9 8 10 (𝔊 αἰθάλη) is quite obscure; see **FURNACE.** Σποδός, 𝔊's usual rendering of אֵפֶר (cp also in NT *l.c.* above), is found again in 2 Macc. 13 5, in connection with the tower full of ashes at Berea (2) wherein Menelaus met his death. Τέφρα (of which the verb τεφρόω, 'to turn to ashes,' is used in 2 Pet. *26* of Sodom and Gomorrah) is found only in Tob. 6 16 8 2, 'ashes of perfume' (or 'incense,' RV) and Wisd. 2 3, 'our body shall be turned to ashes.'

ASHHUR (so RV); AV ASHUR (אַשְׁחוּר, § 81, originally 'man of Horus' [on this class of names see also ELIDAD]; in 1 Ch. 2 24, ασχω [B], ασδωδ [A], ασσωρ [L]; in 4 5 σαρα [B], ασχουρ [A], ασσωρ [L], *ASHUR, ASSUR*), mentioned apart from the more important branches of Hezron—Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai (Caleb)—as a posthumous child (*1* Ch. 2 24 4 5), father of Tekoa (see JUDAH).

ASHIMA (אֲשִׁימָא ; ασ[ε]ιμαθ [BA], ασεναθ [L]). a Hamathite deity (2 K. 17 30†). On the true form of the name (cp 𝔊) and its meaning, see HAMATH.

ASHKELON (אַשְׁקְלוֹן, deriv. unknown, ασκαλων [BℵAL]:[3] ethnic אַשְׁקְלוֹנִי, -[ε]ιτης, Ashkelonite, Josh. 13 3 RV, AV ESHKALONITE); mod. *'Askalān* [with initial ע]), one of the five cities of the Philistines, the only one (it is generally held)[4] just on the sea coast (cp Jer. 47 7), lies 12 m. N. from Gaza. The site is a rocky amphitheatre, with traces of an old dock, filled with Herodian and Crusading ruins. It has no natural strength; its military value seems to be due to its command of the sea, though the harbour was small and difficult of access.

Under the Egyptian rule Ashkelon was a fortress; letters from its governor Jitia appear in the Amarna correspondence (Am. Tab. 211 *f.*), and Abd-ḫiba of Jerusalem complains that the territories of Asḳaluna and Gazri have joined in the alliance against him (*ib.* 180, 14). Ashkelon seems to have revolted from Rameses II. (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* **222**; cp EGYPT, § 58), and from Meneptaḥ (see EGYPT, § **60**, n.); but it was reconquered by them.[5] The storming of the city is represented on a wall of the Ramesseum at Thebes; the inhabitants are depicted in the sculptures with Hittite features.

Ashkelon is not enumerated among the towns of Judah in Josh. 15, and apparently in Judg. 1 18 also we ought, with 𝔊, to read a negative; cp Josh. 13 3. It was Philistine in the days of Samson (Judg. 14 19), Samuel (1 S. 6 17), David (2 S. 1 20), Amos (Am. 1 8), Zephaniah (2 4 7), and Jeremiah (Jer. 25 20 47 5 7), and in the Greek age (Zech. 9 5). It was taken by Sennacherib (Schrader, *KAT* [(2)] 165 *f.*, *Isḳaluna*), who deposed its king Ṣidḳa in favour of Šarludâri, son of Rukibti, **701** B.C. In the time of Ašurbānipal it had a king Mitinti.

The fish-goddess, Derketo (see ATARGATIS), had a temple to the east of the city on a tank, of which, between *el-Mejdel* and *'Asḳalān*, some traces still remain. After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Ashkelon became, like the other Philistine cities, thoroughly Hellenic; but, more prudent than they, it twice opened its gates to Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Macc. 7086 11 60), and again to Alexander Jannaeus. It was the birthplace of Herod the Great, who gave it various buildings (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 11); and was afterwards the residence of his sister Salome (Jos. *BJ* ii. 63). It is said to have been 'burnt to the ground' by the Jews in their revolt against Rome (Jos. *BJ* ii. 18 1), but then to have repulsed the enemy twice (*cl* iii. 2 12). **In** Roman times it was a centre of Hellenic scholarship; and under the Arabs, who called it the 'Bride' and the 'Summit of Syria,' was a frequent object of struggle. It was taken by the Christians in 1154; retaken by Saladin in **1187**; dismantled and then rebuilt by Richard in **1192** (cp Vinsauf, *Itin. Ricard.* 54 *ff.*); and finally demolished in **1270**. There are considerable ruins, which have been described by Guérin (*Jud.* 2 153-171), and, best and most recently, by Guthe (*ZDPV* 2 164 *ff.*, with plan; cp *PEF Mem.* 3 237-*247*). The neighbourhood is well watered and exceedingly fertile, the *Ascalonia cæpa*, scallion (shallot) or onion of Ascalon, being among its characteristic products. See, further, PHILISTINES, and, for Rabbinical references, Hildesheimer, ***Beitr.*** *zur Geogr. Palästinas*, 1 *ff.* **G.** A.S.

ASHKENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז ; ασχαναζ [BADEL]; *ASCENEZ*). The people of Ashkenaz are mentioned in Gen. 10 3 and (ασχενεζ [A]) in ‖ 1 Ch. **16** in connection with Gomer; in Jer. 51 27† (ασχαναζεοι or -αιοι [BHA], ασκα. [Q]) after Minni. There is no occasion to connect their name with the proper name Askanios in Hom. *Il.* 2862 13793, nor with the Ascanian tribes in Phrygia and Bithynia, and infer that the original home of Ashkenaz was in Phrygia (Lenormant, E. Meyer, Di.). Rather Ashkenaz must have been one of the migratory peoples which in the time of Esar-haddon burst upon the northern provinces of Asia Minor, and upon Armenia. One branch of this great migration appears to have reached Lake Urumiyeh; for in the revolt which Esarhaddon chastised (*1* R 45, col. 2, 27 *ff.*), the Mannai, who lived to the SW. of that lake, sought the help of Išpakai 'of the land of Ašguza,' a name (originally perhaps Ašgunza) which the scepticism of Dillmann need not hinder us from identifying with Ashkenaz, and from considering as that of a horde from the north, of Indo-Germanic origin, which settled on the south of Lake Urumiyeh. (See Schr. *COT* 2 *293*; Wi. *GBA* **269**; ***AF*** 6 488 491; similarly Friedr. Del., Sayce, Knudtzon.) T. **K.** C.

ASHNAH (אַשְׁנָה, ασνα [AL]), the name of two unidentified sites in the lowland of Judah; one apparently in the more north-easterly portion (Josh. 15 33 ασσα [B]), the other much farther south (15 43, ιανα [B], ασεννα [A], -σανν. [LIT).

ASH-PAN (מַחְתָּה), 1 K. 7 50 AV[mg.]; see CENSER, 2.

ASHPENAZ (אַשְׁפְּנַז, αβιεσδρι [𝔊[87]], [τω] ασφανεζ [Theod. BA]), chief of the eunuchs under Nebuchad-

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[1] In 1 **K.** 20 38 41 it is almost certain that with RV we should point אֲפֵר instead of אֵפֶר (**AV** ashes) and render 'head-band'; see TURBAN.

[2] Hence the denominative דִּשֵּׁן, 'to clear away the fat-ashes' Nu. 4 13 **Ex.** 27 3, see ALTAR, § 13.

[3] Askalon and Ekron are confused in 𝔊 more than once; *e.g.*, 1 *S.* 5 10.

[4] [With regard to the site of Ashkelon proper, it is possible to hold that, like other Philistine cities, it lay a little inland. Antoninus Martyr (ch. 33, ed. Gildemeister, 23), indeed, in the sixth century A.D., expressly distinguishes it from the sea-side town, and in 536 A.D. a synodical letter was signed, both by the Bishop of Ascalon and by the Bishop of Maiumas Ascalon. According to Clermont Ganneau (see *Rev. archéol.* 27 368), the inland town was on the site represented by the modern villages, *Ḥamāmeh* and *el-Mejdel* (see Guérin, *Jud.* 2 129; Cl. Ganneau, *Arch.* Res. ***in Pal.*** 2 190). In a Greek translation of a lost Syriac text (published by Raabe) Ascalon appears to be described as bearing the name of πάλαια—*i.e.*, πέλεια (dove)—in allusion to the sacred doves of Astarte, and as being about 2 m. from the sea. The Ar. name *Ḥamāmeh* means dove. There are, however, two other theories respecting *el-Mejdel*, one of which possesses much plausihility (see MIGDAL-GAD).]

[5] Ascalon (Askalni) is one of the places in Palestine which Meneptah, on the Israel-stele, claims to have captured.

rezzar (Dan. 1 3). The current explanations are untenable,[1] and the cause is obvious. The name is corrupt, and has been brought into a delusive resemblance to Ashkenaz. An earlier form of the name, equally corrupt, and brought into an equally delusive resemblance to an ancient Hebrew name, is Abiezri (אביעזרי; see ABIEZER, 1); this is the form adopted by 𝔊. What is the original name concealed in these two apparently dissimilar forms? 𝔊 enables us to discover it by its reading, evidently more nearly accurate than that of MT in Dan. 1 11—καὶ εἶπεν Δανιὴλ Ἀβιεσδρὶ τῷ ἀναδειχθέντι ἀρχιευνούχῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιήλ. . . . The MT indeed, in *vv.* 11 16, represents Daniel as communicating with a third person called Melzar, or 'the Melzar'; but a comparison of *vv.* 3 7-10 18 shows that this representation must be incorrect. It was the 'prince of the eunuchs' that Daniel must have addressed in *v.* 11; a slight transposition and a change of one point are indispensable (see MELZAR). We have now, therefore, four forms to compare; *(a)* אביעזרי, *(b)* אשפנז, *(c)* המלצר, and *(d)* משיצר[2] (Pesh. in *v.* 11). Of these, *(a)*, *(c)*, and *(d)*, virtually agree as to the last two letters (if in *a* we neglect the final י, which is not recognised in Syro-Hex. or by Ephrem). These letters are צר. Next, *(a)* *(b)*, *(c)*, and *(d)* agree as to the presence of a labial; the first two are for a mute, the others for a liquid. Also *(b)* and *(c)* attest a ל or a נ, and *(a)* and *(d)* a י, which might be a fragment of a ל, while *(b)* and *(d)* present us with a ש, of which the ע in *(a)* looks like a fragment. Next, *(a)* *(b)*, and *(c)* attest an א or a ה, and lastly, *(a)* *(c)*, and *(d)* agree as to ר. The almost inevitable conclusion is that the name of the chief eunuch was בלשאצר, commonly pronounced Belshazzar. This is not the only occasion on which the name Balšarezer (= Belshazzar) has suffered in transmission (see BILSHAN, SAREZER). T. K. C.

ASHRIEL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל), 1 Ch. 7 14 AV, RV ASRIEL.

ASHTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת—*i.e.*, Ashtoreth in her different representations;—ασταρωθ [BAL], -ταρω. [B[b] Josh. 9 10], ασθαρωμ [A Josh. 13 31]; the adjective is Ashterathite, עַשְׁתְּרָתִי, ο ασταρωθ[ε]ι [BA], θεστ. [א], εσθαρωθι [L], 1 Ch. 11 44), Ashteroth-Karnaim (עַשְׁתְּרֹת קַרְנַיִם; ασταρωθ καρναιν [A], -τερ. καιν. [E])—*i.e.*, 'Ashtaroth of the two horns'?—'Ashtaroth of (=near) Karnaim'?) in Gen. 14 5,[3] and Be-eshterah (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה, *i.e.*, בֵּית עֶשְׁתְּרָה, or 'house of Astarte'; βοσοραν [B], -ρρα [L], Βεεθαρα [A]) in Josh. 21 27, but עַשְׁתָּרוֹת simply in Dt. 1 4 Josh. 9 10 12 4 13 12 31, where it appears, along with Edrei, as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan; and in 1 Ch. 6 56 [71] (ασηρωθ [B] ραμωθ [A[a]]) as a Levitical city. Then, in Am. 6 13 (Grätz's restored reading) we have Karnaim as the name of a city E. of the Jordan taken by Israel, and in 1 and 2 Macc. Karnaim or Karnion as a city in Gilead with a temple of ATAXGATIS [*q.v.*] attached to it. The lists of Thotmes III. *(circa* 1650 B.C.) contain an 'A-s-ti-ra-tu (*RP*[(2)] 5 45; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 162, 313; cp Ashtarti, Bezold and Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Tabl. in Brit. Mu.* 43, 64). Whether these names represent one place or two places is, on the biblical data, uncertain.

1. References.

It is significant, however, that Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*[(2)] 209 61 84 5 268 98 108 17) record the existence in their day in Batanea of two places called Astaroth-Karnaim, 'which lay 9 R. m. apart, between Adara (Edrei) and Abila' of the Decapolis; one of them, 'the city of Og,' (say) 6 R. m. from Edrei, the other 'a very large town of Arabia [in which] they show the house of Job'; and in the *Peregrinatio* of S. Silva of Aquitaine (4th cent.) Carneas is mentioned as the place where she saw Job's house. Now, at the present day there is a *Tell 'Ashtarah* on the Bashan plateau, on the W. of Ḥaurān, 21 m. E. of the Lake of Galilee (long. 36″ E., lat. 32° 50′ N.), 1900 ft. above the sea; and 2 m. N. lies El-Merkez, where the tombs of Job and his wife are shown, and there was the ancient Christian monastery of Job, while 1 m. farther N., at Sheikh Sa'd, is a basalt monolith, with Egyptian figures, known as Job's stone (see Erman, *ZDPV* 15 205-211). In this neighbourhood, then, must have lain one of the Ashtaroths of the OS. It does not suit the datum of the latter—'between Adara and Abila'; but this may be one of the not infrequent inaccuracies of the OS. From this Ashtaroth Eusebius places the other 9 R. m. distant. Now, 6 R. m. S., near the W. el-Ehrēr (the upper Yarmūk), lies Tell el-Ash'ari, which some (like van Kasteren) take as the second Ashtaroth.[3] This, Buhl (*Geog.* 249) prefers to find 8 R. m. S. of Tell 'Ashtarah in Muzeirib, the great station on the *Ḥaj* road, with a lake and an island with ruins of pre-Mohammedan fortifications. A market has been here since the Middle Ages, and the place must have been important in ancient times. Moreover, it suits another datum of the OS. in lying about 6 R. m. from Edrei.

2. The OS sites.

Much more difficult is the question of identifying any of these sites, or the two Ashtaroths of the OS., with the corresponding names of OT. Names in this part of Palestine have always been in a state of drift. That Tell 'Ashtarah is the 'Ashteroth Karnaim of Gen. 14 5 or the 'Ashtaroth of other texts has in its favour, besides its name, the existence of a sanctuary, even though this has been transferred in Christian times to Job. On the other hand, Muzeirib must have been of too great importance not to be set down to some great place-name of the OT; and its accessibility from Edrei suits the association, frequent in the OT, of the latter with Ashtoreth. As to the Karnaim of 1 Macc. 5 26 (which, of course, is the same as the Karnaim of Am. 6 13), it cannot have been Muzeirib, as Buhl contends, for in such a case the lake would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the assault of Judas upon it (a lake is mentioned near Caspis or CASPHON [*q.v.*] which Judas took previously); and in 2 Macc. 12 21 Karnion is said to be difficult to get at διὰ τὴν πάντων τῶν τόπων στενότητα. This does not suit Muzeirib, or Tell 'Ashtarah, or Sheikh Sa'd. Furrer, therefore, has suggested for Karnion *Ḳrēn* or *Grēn*, the Agræna of the Romans, in the inaccessible *Lejā*. Till the various sites have been dug into and the ancient name of Muzeirib is recovered, however, we must be content to know that there was an 'Ashteroth Karnaim near *Tell 'Ashtarah*, and that possibly there was a second site of the same name in the same region in OT times.

3. OT sites.

On the whole subject see especially *ZDPV* xiii. xiv. and xv., Schumacher, *Across the Jordan* (203-210), and Buhl, *Stud. zur Topogr. des N. Ostjordanlandes*, 13 *ff.*, Pal. 248-250; also Moore, *JBL* 16 155 *ff.*, and, for an Egyptological explanation of the name 'Ashtoreth of the two horns,' WMM, As. *u. Eur.* 373. *G. A. S.*

ASHTORETH (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת), a goddess of the Canaanites

[1] For example, Halévy compares Pers. *aspanj*, 'hospitium' (*JAs.*, 1883, 2 282 *f.*); Nestle too explains 'hospes' from the Armenian (*Marg.* 38). Frd. Del. and Schr. offer no explanation.

[2] If we adopt the form מניצר, a slight difference in the summation will be the result.

[3] Here it is described as the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the invasion of Chedorlaomer. Or were there two neighbouring cities? Kuenen, Buhl, and Siegfr.-St. read 'Ashtaroth *and* Karnaim,' claiming 𝔊[L] as on their side. Probably, however, the right 𝔊 reading is Ασταρωθ Καρναιν [AL] (see Nestle, *Marg.*). Moore explains 'the Astarte of the two-peaked mountain'; see especially G. F. Moore, *JBL* 15 6 *ff.* ('97), and cp col. 336, n. 3.

[1] *Sab* Αστ. Καρναειν. [2] *Sub* Καρναειμ.

[3] So Schumacher. 'The double peak of the southern summit of *Tell el-'Ash'ari*, formed by the depression running from N. to S., would make the appellation of Karnaim, or "double-horned," extremely appropriate' *(Across Jordan*, 208). In a Talmudic discussion as to the constructions for the Feast of Booths it is said that Ashteroth Karnaim was situated between two mountains which gave much shade (*Succa*, 2*a*; cp Neub. *Géog.* 246). Many regard this statement as purely imaginative.

and Phœnicians. The Massoretic vowel-pointing, which

1. Name.

is followed by EV, gives the word the vowels of *bōsheth*, 'scandalous thing' (cp Molech for Melek); the true pronunciation, as we know from the Gr. Ἀστάρτη (so even 𝔊^BAL; alongside of ασταρωθ [BAL]) and from Augustine,[1] was "Ashtart.' In the OT the name in the plural (the *'Ashtārōth*) is coupled with the Baals, in the general sense, 'the heathen gods and goddesses,'[2] a usage with which the Assyrian *ilāni u-ištarāti* is compared. Solomon is said to have built on the Mt. of Olives (1 K. 11 5, cp 33) for the Phœnician 'Ashtart a high place, which was destroyed more than three centuries later by Josiah (2 K. 23 13).

Of the character of this goddess and her religion we learn nothing directly from the OT. Her name does

2. Character.

not occur either in the prophets or in historical texts in any other connections than those cited above; it is nowhere intimated that the licentious characteristics of the worship at the high places were derived from the cultus of Astarte. The weeping for Tammuz (Ez. 8 14), which Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome identify with the Phœnician mourning for Adonis (so 𝔊^Q.mg.), was more probably a direct importation of the Babylonian cult.[3] This is doubtless true also of the worship of the 'Queen of Heaven' (Jer. 7 18 [𝔊^BℵAQ τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], 44 17 *ff.*), whatever the name may mean (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN). The law which forbids women to wear men's garments, or men women's (Dt. 22 5), may be aimed at obscene rites such as obtained in the worship of many deities in Syria and Asia Minor, but need not refer specifically to the cult **of** Astarte.

Many inscriptions from the mother-country and its colonies, as well as the testimony of Greek and Latin

3. Varying forms.

writers, prove the prominent place which the worship of Astarte had among the Phœnicians; Egyptian documents place the "Ashtart of the Hittite country' by the side of the 'Sutech of Heta,' the principal male divinity; the Philistines deposited Saul's armour as a trophy in the temple of 'Ashtart (1 S. 31 10 𝔊^BAL το ασταρτ[ε]ιον), perhaps the famous temple at Ashkelon of which Herodotus writes (I 105);[4] the stele of Mesha, king of Moab (9th cent. B.C.), tells how he devoted his prisoners to Ashtar-Chemosh; a city in Bashan often mentioned in the OT bears the name Ashtaroth (cp also Ashteroth Karnaim, Gen. 14 5, and Beeshterah, Josh. 21 27; see ASHTAROTH). 'Ashtart was worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria under the name IStar (considerable fragments of her myth have been preserved); in Southern Arabia as 'Athtar (masc.); in Abyssinia as 'Astar;[5] in Syria as 'Atar or 'Athar (in proper names: cp ATARGATIS [*q.v.*] = Derĕto). The Arabs are the only Semitic people among whom we do not find this deity; and even here it is possible that al-Lāt and al-'Uzza were originally only titles of Astarte. The normal phonetic changes in the word show that the worship of Astarte did not spread from one of these peoples to the others, but was common to them before their separation. The fem. ending is peculiar to the Palestinian branch of the race, and, as has been observed, in Southern Arabia 'Athtar was a god, not a goddess.

Unlike Baal, Astarte is a proper name; but under this name many diverse divinities were worshipped. The IStar of Arbela was recognised by the Assyrians themselves as a goddess different from the IStar of

1 *Quæst. 16 in Jud.*, Estart, Astart. Confirmatory evidence is given by the Egyptian transcription.
2 Judg. 2 13 **10 6** 1 S. 7 3 (𝔊^BAL τὰ ἄλση) **4** 12 10 (𝔊^BAL τοῖς ἄλσεσιν); all belonging to the later elohistic (E_2) or deuteronomic school.
3 The identification of **Tammuz** with Adonis is found also in Melito (Cureton, *Spicil.* 25). The connection of the myths *is* unquestioned. See TAMMUZ.
4 It is, of course, not to **be** inferred that the Philistines worshipped Astarte before they invaded Palestine. The temple was an old Canaanite sanctuary.
5 Halévy's discovery is confirmed by the recent publication of the Axum inscriptions.

Nineveh; the IStar of Agadè from the IStar of Urk (see ASSYRIA, § 9, BABYLONIA, § 26). The inscription of Eshmunazar shows that more than one 'Ashtart had a temple in Sidon; and we know many others. Whether these differences are only the consequence of natural divergence in the worship of the primitive Semitic deity, in the immense tract of time and space, or, as is altogether more probable, in great part due to the identification of originally unconnected local *numina* with Astarte, the result is the same:[1] there were many Astartes who were distinguished from one another by character, attributes, and cultus—a class of goddesses rather than a single goddess of the name.[2]

Astarte was often the tutelary divinity of a city, its 'proprietress' (*ba'alat*); and then, of course, its protectress and champion, a warlike god-

4. Character.

dess. On the other hand, she was a goddess of fertility and reproduction, as appears strikingly in the myth of the descent of IStar. These two characters might be attributed to different Astartes, as among the Assyrians (cp the Aphrodites); but they might also coexist in one and the same goddess, and this is doubtless the older conception.

The figures from Babylonia and Susiana, as well as from Phœnicia and Cyprus, which are believed to represent Astartes, express by rude exaggeration of sexuality the attributes of the goddess of generation.[3] That the cultus-images of Astarte were of similar types is not probable. At Paphos she was worshipped in a conical stone, and many representations show the evolution from this of a partially iconic idol.

In the astro-theology of the Babylonians the planet Venus was the star of IStar. It is a common but ill-founded opinion that in Palestine Astarte was a moon goddess. The name of the city, Ashteroth Karnaim, is often alleged in support of this theory. Even if the translation, 'the horned Astarte,' be right, however, it is a very doubtful assumption that the horns represented the crescent moon—it is quite as natural to think of the horns of a cow or a sheep, or of an image of the goddess made after an Egyptian type (see EGYPT. § **13**);[4]—and it is a still more unwarranted assumption that Astarte was elsewhere in Palestine represented in the same way. It would be a much more logical inference that the horns were the distinctive attribute of this particular Astarte.[5] The other testimony to the lunar character of Astarte is neither of an age nor of a nature to justify much confidence (*De dea Syr.* 4; Herodian, v. 6 4). The point to be insisted on is that the widely accepted theory that Astarte was primarily a moon goddess, by the side of the sun god, Baal, has as little foundation in the one case as in the other.

In Dt. 7 13 'the *'ashtārōth* of the flocks' are parallel to the 'offspring of the herds,' from which it has been ingeniously argued that among the nomadic Semites Astarte was a sheep-goddess (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 310, and 469 *ff.*); but this also seems hazardous.

Of the cultus of Astarte we know comparatively little. Religious prostitution (Hdt. 1 199; Strabo xvi. 1 20;

5. Cultus.

Ep. Jerem. 42 *f.* [Bar. 6 42 *f.*]; *De dea Syr.* 6, etc.) was not confined to the temples of Astarte, nor to the worship of female divinities. Nu. 25 1-5 connects it with Baal-peor; Am. 2 7 Dt. 23 18 (17), etc., show that in Israel similar practices infected even the worship of Yahwè. There is no doubt, however, that the cultus of Astarte was saturated with these abominations.

1 In **the** period from which most of our monumental evidence comes, still another cause must be recognised: syncretism with the Egyptian religions (see **EGYPT, § 16**).
2 This use predominates in Hebrew, which has, indeed, no other word for 'goddess'; but, as has been remarked above, it is found io Assyrian also.
3 Heuzey, *Rev. Archéol.* xxxix., 1880, p. 1 *ff.*; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, etc. On the origin of this type *see*, however, S. Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 3 sér. 26, 1895, p. 367 *ff.*
4 Cp the representation of Baalat of Byblos, *CIS* 1 1, Pl. I.
5 On Ashteroth Karnaim see *JBL* 16 155 *ff.*

The origin and the meaning of the name are obscure; but this is hardly a sufficient reason for supposing that the most universally worshipped of Semitic divinities was of non-Semitic extraction (see Haupt, *ZDMG* **34** 758): The relation between Astarte and Aphrodite is an interesting and important question, npon which we cannot touch here.

Literature.—Selden, ***De** Dis Syris*, syn. ii. ch. 2; Movers, *Phönizier*, 1559-650; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den* alien *Hebräern*, 259-301; Baudissin, art. 'Astarte und Aschera' in *PRE*(3) 2 147-161 (where the lit. in full may he found), Baethgen, *Beitr. zur semit. Rel.-gesch.*, 1888; E. Meyer, art. 'Astarte' in Roscher's *Lex. der griech. u. Röm. Myth.* 645-655, in part corrected by his art. 'Baal,' *ib.* 2867 *ff.*; Barton, 'Ashtoreth and her Influence in the OT,' *JBL* 10 73 *ff.*; 'The Semitic Ishtar-cult,' *Hebraica*, 9 133-165 10 1-74. See also Driver's very comprehensive article in Hastings, *DB*. G. F. M.

ASHUR (אַשְׁחוּר), 1 Ch. 2 24 AV, RV ASHHUR.

ASHURITES, THE (הָאֲשׁוּרִי, TON θACEIPEI [B], θACOYP [A], EZPI [L; 'Jezreel' follows]), arementioned in 2 Sam. 2 9† among various clans subject to the authority of Ishbaal. Pesh. Vg. read הַגְּשׁוּרִי, the Geshurites, which is accepted by some (see GESHUR), while others (Kamph. Ki. Klo. Gr.) follow the Targ. (על דבית אשר, cp 𝔊B) and read הָאָשֵׁרִי (cp Judg. 1 32)—*i.e.*, 'the Asherites,' whose land lay to the W. of Jordan above Jezreel, which is mentioned next, the enumeration proceeding from N. to S.

ASHVATH (עַשְׁוָת; ACEIθ [BA], -COYAθ [L]), in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 33†.

ASIA (H ACIA [Ti.WH]). Great uncertainty prevailed during the apostolic period as to the usage of the names of the districts of Asia Minor. 'The boundaries of several of the districts had long been uncertain—those between Mysia and Phrygia were proverbially so (Strabo, 564). 'This confusion arose from the fact that the names denoted ethnological rather than political divisions, and belonged to diverse epochs. They are like geological strata, which are clear enough when seen in section but impossible to disentangle when represented on a single plane. A further complication arose when the Romans imposed npon the country the provincial system. The official nomenclature was applied without any account being taken of the older history or of ethnical facts or popular usage. In the case of Lycia, Bithynia, or Pamphylia there was no distinction of any moment between the old and the new usage; but in the case of Galatia and Asia the difficulty of distinguishing the precise sense of the names is very great.

The province of Asia was formed in 133-130 B.C. when Attalus III. of Pergamus left his kingdom by will to Rome; the name Asia had early come into use because there was no other single term to denote the Ægean coast lands. The area of the province was subsequently increased, first by the addition of Phrygia (116 B.C.); we are, therefore, confronted by the difficulty of distinguishing whether, in any given case, the word Asia is restricted to the coast or extended to the entire province—in other words, whether it includes Phrygia or not.

In Acts 2 9, Asia indicates the towns of the highly civilised coast land, for the enumeration is popular and Greek in style, *as* is proved by the mention of Phrygia alongside Asia: according to the Roman mode of speaking, Phrygia was included in Asia, with the exception of that small part round Antioch (Phrygia Galatica) which fell to the province Galatia. Such names *as* Phrygia, Mysia, or Lydia were to a Roman without any political significance, being merely geographical terms denoting parts of the province of Asia, used on occasion to specify exactly the region referred to by the speaker (Cic. *pro Flac.* xxvii. § 65; Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia). Such use can be paralleled from the NT. In Acts 16 7 *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν* [Ti. WH] is used to define rigidly the point reached by the apostles when warned from Bithynia. In Acts 6 9, a decision is more difficult. The Jews who 'disputed' with Stephen were probably those educated in the schools of Smyrna or Pergamns; but we cannot on *a priori* grounds decide that some of them did not belong to Phrygia. Here therefore, Asia may or may not he used in its Roman sense: So also in Acts 21 27 = 24 18.

The whole question of the sense in which geographical terms are used by the writer of Acts centres round Acts 16 6, where the apostles are forbidden to preach in Asia (*κωλυθέντες . . . λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* [Ti. WH]). Those interpreters (*e.g.*, Con. and Hows. 1 324) who take the preceding words (*διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* [Ti. WH]) to express the opening up of new ground by missionary enterprise N. of Antioch in Pisidia are compelled to restrict the prohibition of preaching in Asia to the coast land—in other words, to take Phrygia, Galatia, and Asia in their popular noli-Roman sense—for all Phrygia N. of Antioch belonged to Asia in its Roman or administrative sense. Yet we must ask if the simple *διῆλθον* (AV 'gone throughout') can be taken to imply preaching.[1] If, however, the apostles did not preach in their passage through the district called here *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, there appears to be no necessity for giving a *popular* meaning to the geographical terms here used, unless in the interests of what Ramsay calls the N. Galatian theory (see GALATIA, §§ 7-30, especially §§ 9-16). On this view, then, the words indicate such parts of Galatic Phrygia as had not been traversed at the time of receivihg the prohibition (or, more probably, that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Asia), together with Old or North Galatia. In favour of this is the fact that the part. *κωλυθέντες* must be prior in time to, *i.e.* contain the ground of, the action denoted by *διῆλθον*,—'they traversed . . . *because* they had been forbidden.' If, in face of the difficulties of the N. Galatian view, we fall back upon the S. Galatian theory, the district *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα* must be regarded as partly identical with that called *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* in Acts 18 23 (which can hardly be other than that of the S. Galatian churches); and also it must already have been traversed wholly or in part *before* the prohibition to preach in Asia (Rams. *Expos.* May **1895**, p. 392; *Church*, 5 ed. p. 75). Ramsay consequently attempts to interpret the words *διῆλθον κωλυθέντες* as = *διῆλθον καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν* (*διελθόντες ἐκωλύθησαν*), or on purely subjective grounds adopts, with Lightfoot, the reading *διελθόντες δὲ* from inferior MSS (*St. Paul*(1), p 195). It seems better to take *διῆλθον δὲ* as resumptive and as summing up the previous verses, with an ellipse—' so then they traversed . . . (neglecting Asia) having been forbidden': in which case, here, as elsewhere throughout the narrative of Paul's journeyings, the word Asia is used in its technical, Roman, sense.

This sense is clearly the best in the following passages:—during Paul's residence in Ephesus, 'all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19 10; see also *vv.* 22, 26 *f.*). The deputies escort the apostle from Corinth as far as Asia (Acts 20 4); other instances in the same chap. *are vv.* 16 (Ephesus was virtually capital of the province) and 18. In 27 2 *κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους* [Ti. WH], there is nothing to forbid our taking the word in its Roman sense. Similarly, in the Epistles, the technical sense is required—*e.g.*, Rom. 16 5, Epænetus the first-fruits of Asia (RV); 1 Cor. 16 19, the churches of Asia; 2 Cor. 1 8, (probably) alluding to the riot at Ephesus, or to dangerous illness there; 2 Tim. 1 15. The Roman province is meant also in 1 Pet. 1 1, where the enumeration Pontus, Galatia Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia (= Bithynia-Pontus) sums up all 'Asia Minor within the Taurus. Finally, in Rev. 1 4, the seven churches of Asia are those established in the chief towns of the Roman province. In 1 Macc. 8 6 'Antiochus, the great king of Asia,' the word is used in a wide; sense = Asia Minor, with Syria (*so* also 11 13, 'the diadem of Asia'; 12 39 13 32 2 Macc. 3 3: cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3 18 4 7). In 2 Esd. 15 46, 'Asia, that art partaker in the beauty of Babylon,' the sense is still wider = Persian empire (16 1; cp Herod. i. 96 177; **Jos.** *Ant.* xi. 8 3). W. J. W.

ASIARCR (OI ACIAPXAI [Ti. WH], AV 'the chief of Asia'; RV 'chief officers of Asia'). An officer

[1] See Acts 15 41, *διήρχετο*, **but** with *ἐπιστηρίζων* added; 16 4, *διεπορεύοντο*, but with *παρεδίδοσαν* added. On the other hand we have 13 14, *διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης*—no preaching on the road; and 17 1, *διοδεύσαντες τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν* [Ti. WH], where also there was no attempt at evangelisation, so far as we can tell. (But see Rams. *Expos.* May 1895, p. 385 *f.*)

heard of only once in the NT—viz., in the account of the riot made by 'Demetrius and the craftsmen' at Ephesus (Acts 19 31). The annual assembly of civic deputies (*κοινὸν 'Ασίας*), over which he presided, was combined, in Asia, as in other provinces, with an annual festival in honour of the reigning emperor and the imperial system.

Soon after the victory of Actium, in fact as early as 29 B.C., Augustus had allowed temples to himself and Roma to be dedicated in Pergamus, the *de jure* capital of Asia, as well as in Nicomēdeia and Ancyra, the capitals respectively of Bithynia and Galatia (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37 4). This blending of a religious with an administrative institution became a leading idea of the imperial policy; but, as regards the pomp of the festivals and the civic rivalries excited, the institution nowhere developed as it did in Asia. Naturally, the conduct of the games and festival in honour of the emperor fell to the president of the provincial Diet.

As the Asiarch bore most of the expense, though some was borne by voluntary subscription or apportioned to the several towns, this politico-religious office was open only to the wealthy—the prosperity of Tralles, for example, was shown by its continuous series of Asiarchs[1]—and the title was retained after the expiration of the year of office. To find Paul counting friends among the Asiarchs—*i.e.*, among those who then held or who previously had held the office—throws, therefore, a valuable side-light upon the attitude adopted towards Christianity by the upper classes of the provincials: it was an Asiarch, Philip, who at Smyrna resisted the cry of the mob to 'let loose a lion on Polycarp' (Eus. *HE* 4 15, § 27).

It would be a mistake, then, to imagine that the Asiarch, as such, had any connection with the Ephesian worship of *Artemis*.

In fact Ephesus, like Milētus, was expressly rejected by Tiberius as a claimant for the honour of an imperial temple, probably because of the risk of Cæsar's worship being overshadowed by the local cult (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55 6). It would naturally, however, have the right to put forward a candidate for the Asiarchate. We hear of similar officers in other provinces—*e.g.*, a Galatarch, a Bithyniarch, a Syriarch, and a Lyciarch. The last at any rate is clearly originally a political officer—the head of the League (Straho, 665).

There was thus, at first, but one Asiarch in office at a time in all Asia—the president of the Diet at Ephesus; but as temples dedicated to Caesar multiplied in the province,[2] and each of them became the centre of an annual festival, the chief priests at such temples performed the functions discharged at the festival at Ephesus by the Asiarch, and finally the presidency of the festival even at Ephesus was taken from the chairman of the Diet and given to the chief priest. The Diet and its civil functions thus fell into the background, and the name Asiarch came to mean the priestly provider of a popular festival in connection with the worship of a dead or reigning emperor. With the growing importance of *this* worship the religious influence of the priestly Asiarchs extended; and as the worship of the emperor became the outward sign of loyalty to the empire, it was through the provincial chief-priesthoods that the old and the new faith came into contact. Hence Julian writes to the Galatarch as the proper medium for his anti-Christian propaganda. (See Momms. *Provinces*, 1 344 fol. ET, Rams. *Class. Rev.* 3 174. A different view in a long article by Brandis in Pauly's *R. Enc.* new ed. *s.v.*). W. J. W.

ASIBIAS (ασεβειας [B], ασιβιας [A], μελχιας [L]), in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9 26 = Ezra 10 25 (σαβια [א], α. [A], B om.). See MALCHIJAH, 5. Asibias is probably a Græcised form of HASHABIAH.

ASIEL (עֲשִׂיאֵל, § 31; ασιηλ [BAL]). 1. A name in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4 35).

[1] *καὶ δεῖ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς 'Ασιάρχας καλοῦσιν* (Strabo 649).

[2] Already in 26 A.D., for example, a temple was erected in Smyrna to Tiberius, jointly with his mother **Livia**, and the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15 4 56 3).

2. A scribe, 4 Esd. 14 24 (*ASIHEL*).

3. Tob. 1 1 RV, AV ASAEL (*q.v.*).

ASIPHA (ασειφα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 29 = Ezra 2 43, HASUPHA.

ASKELON (אַשְׁקְלוֹן), Judg. 1 18 AV, RV ASHKELON.

ASMODEUS, RV **Asmodæus** (ασμοδαυς [B], -δαιος [אA], -δεος *[K]*), called 'the evil demon' (Tob. 3 8, 17). Considering (1) the close connection of the story of Tobit with Media, (2) the affinity of the seven archangels in Tob. 12 15 to the seven Mazdean Ameshaçpentas, and (3) the impossibility of deriving Asmodēus or Asmodai (or the later Hebrew fcrms, on which see below) from אִשְׁמֵד, 'to destroy,' we are obliged to look for an arch-demon of similar name and attributes in Mazdean demonology. The Asmodēus of Tobit has two attributes: he is lustful (like a satyr), and has the power to slay those who oppose his will (Tob. 3 8 6 15 𝔊[BA]). Now, it is true that there is no demon in Mazdeism of similar name who has exactly those characteristics; but one of the seven arch-demons who are opposed to the seven Mazdean archangels is called Aêshma, and is the impersonation of anger (the primary meaning) and rapine. So constantly is he mentioned in the Avesta beside Angra Mainyu or Ahriman (with his weapon 'the wounding spear') that we could not wonder if he became naturalised in the spirit-world of the Jews in the Persian period. Once adopted, he would naturally assume a somewhat different form; his attributes would be modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination. This was actually the course of history, as modern critics hold. By the time the Book of Tobit was written Aêshma had already a well-defined *rôle*, and, though vindictive as ever, had exchanged the field of battle for less noble haunts. The Asmodai of Tobit is, in fact, the counterpart of LILITH (*q.v.*), and in still later times divided with her the dominion of the *shēdīm* or demons. Asmodai, or, as his name is written in Targ. and Talmud, אשמדאי or אשמדיי, was as dangerous to women as Lilith was to men, though we also find him represented in a less odious character as a potent, wise, and sometimes even jocular elf (see *Gittim*, 68*a*, in Wunsche's Der *bab. Talm.* 2 180-183). The second part of the name Ashmodai is of uncertain origin. Most connect it with the Zend *daêva*, 'demon'; but, though the combination *Aêshmô daêvô* is not impossible, it is nowhere found in the texts. Kohut's explanations (*Jüd. Angelologie* and *Aruch*, s.v.) are precarious.

Cp *Zendavesta and Pahlavi Texts* in *SBE*; Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, 2 131 *f.*; Grünbaum, *ZDMG* 31 204, etc.; Kohut's *Jüd. Angelologie*, 72, etc. T. K. C.

ASNAH (אַסְנָה, 'thornbush'; ασενα [BA]; -ννα [L]; *asena*). The Bne Asnah, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 50 = 1 Esd. 5 31, ASANA (*ασσανα* [B], *ασα.* [A]) = Neh. 7 52 𝔊[L] (EV, following BKA, om.).

ASNAPPER, RV OSNAPPAR, better Āsĕnappar (אָסְנַפַּר; νασφαρ [A], ασενν. [B], σαλμανασσαρης [L], *ASENAPHAR*), Ezra 4 9 *f.* To 'the great and noble Āsĕnappar' is ascribed the transplanting, of several nations into Samaria from beyond the Euphrates. The two epithets naturally suggest that an Assyrian king is referred to, and, as Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, 364 ['71], suggested, the king can only be the conqueror of Susa—Ašur-bāni-pal (אסנפר from אסר־בנ־פל = אס(רב)נפל).[1] This view is confirmed by the discovery (due to Marq. *Fund.* 59) of a various reading for אסנפר which underlies the impossible ASBACAPHATH (*q.v.*) of 1 Esd. 5 69, viz. אסרפר. The two readings supplement each other, and are explained by a common original אסבנפר, which is clearly Ašur-bāni-pal. This great king's name must have stood both in Ezra 4 2

[1] An explanation, in the form which Gelzer gave to it (*ÄZ* 75 *ff.* ['75]), now widely accepted. Cp, however, Halévy, *REJ* ix. 12.

('Esarhaddon' being an ignorant scribe's alteration) and in the source from which the statement in Ezra 4 2 is derived (perhaps 2 K. 17 24, which at present merely refers to 'the king of Assyria'). See further, AŠUR-BANI-PAL.

ASOM (ασομ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 33 = Ezra 10 33, HASHUM.

ASP (פֶּתֶן, *pethen;* ασπις [BAL]) in Dt. 32 33 Job 20 14 16 (δρακων [BℵAC]) Is. 11 8 AV, in Ps. 58 4 91 13 AVmg. (βασιλισκος [BNART]), and in Rom. 3 13†; probably some species of viper (cp ADDER, 2), see SERPENT, § 1, n. 5.

ASPALATHUS (ασπαλαθος [BRA]; *balsamum*) is associated with cinnamon and other perfumes in the Praise of Wisdom (Ecclus. 24 15). Theophrastus (*Hist.* 9 7) mentions it along with various spices, etc., used in making unguents, and in Pliny (*HN* 22 24) it is '*radix unguentis expetitæ.*' Fraas, the most recent writer on classical botany (*Synopsis Plantarum Floræ Classicæ*, 49), refers it conjecturally to *Genista acanthoclada*, D.C., a native of Greece and the Grecian archipelago; but the most that can safely be said is that it seems to have been a prickly shrub, probably leguminous, with a scented wood or root. The ante-Linnæan commentaries devoted much attention to it, but with no more definite result. It has evidently been lost sight of since classical times, and supplanted by other perfumes. W. T. T.-D.

ASPATHA (אַסְפָּתָא, φασγα [Bℵc.a], φιασγα [ℵ*vid.], φα. [A], φασα [L], one of the ten sons of HAMAN (*q.v.*) Est. 9 7. Pott and Benfey explain the name as the Pers. *aspadata*, 'ab equo sacro datus' (cp Be.-Rys.); but the MT reading is too insufficiently supported.

ASPHAR, THE POOL (λακκος[1] ασφαρ [ℵV; Jos.], λ. ασφαλ [A]; *lacus Asphar* [Vg.]), in the wilderness of Tekoa, is mentioned in connection with the struggle of Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees with Bacchides (1 Macc. 9 33; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 2). The Be'ēr Asphar is probably the modern *Bīr-Selhūb*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, 6 m. WSW. of Engedi, and near the junction of several ancient roads (described by Rob. *BR* 2 202); the hills around still bear the name *Ṣafrā*, an equivalent of Asphar. A less probable identification is that with the ruins and cistern, *ez-Za'ferāneh* to the S. of Tekoa (Buhl, *Pal.* 158). G. A. S.

ASPHARASUS (ασφαρασος [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, MIZPAR.

ASRIEL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל, § 67, εσριηλ [BAL]; the patronymic is **Asrielite**, הָאַשְׂרְאֵלִי, -λ[ε]ι [BAF], εσρ. [L]), a Gileadite family, descended from Manasseh through Machir, Josh. 17 2 (ιεζειηλ [B], επι. [A]). Nu. 26 31 (εσρι. [L]). In 1 Ch. 7 14-19 (ασεριηλ [B], AV ASHRIEL; see MANASSEH), a very different Manassite genealogy, the name is probably dittography of the syllables immediately following (אשריל; cp also text of 𝔊B); read, 'The sons of Manasseh whom his concubine the Aramitess bare' (cp Gen. 46 20 𝔊). The name may be old, though it comes to us from late writers.

ASS (חֲמוֹר,[2] fem. אָתוֹן;[3] ονος [BAL]; *asinus, asina*), **Wild Ass** (פֶּרֶא or עָרוֹד = Chald. עֲרָד;[4] *ονος αγριος; onager*), and **Young Ass** (עַיִר, *πωλος* [BAL]).

The following are the passages: (*a*) for 'ass' Gen. 12 16 22 3 49 11 14 (𝔊 τὸ καλόν), Ex. 13 13 Nu. 22 28 Dt. 22 10 Judg. 5 10 (υποζυγιον [AL]) 15 15 2 K. 6 25 Is. 21 7 Zech. 9 9 (𝔊 υποζυγιον) Mt. 21 2 Lk. 13 15 etc.; (*b*) for 'wild ass' Job 6 5 11 12 (𝔊 ονος ερημιτης) 24 5 (𝔊 ονοι) 39 5 Ps. 104 11 (𝔊 οναγροι) Is. 32 14 Jer. 2 24 (𝔊 επλατυνεν) 14 6 Dan. 5 21 (𝔊 οναγρων) Hos. 8 9 (𝔊 om.) Gen. 16 12† RV (𝔊 αγροικος); there was perhaps originally a reference to the wild ass also in 1 S. 24 14 [15] 26 20, where MT now reads פַּרְעֹשׁ = FLEA [*q.v.*]. (*c*) For 'young ass' Is. 30 6 (𝔊 ονος), 24 (𝔊 βοες), EV 'foal' Gen. 49 11 32 16, EV 'colt' Zech. 9 9 and (𝔊 ονος) Job 11 12, EV 'ass colt' Judg. 10 4 12 14.

A comparison of the passages in which חמור and אתון respectively occur shows that the former was more used for carrying burdens and for agriculture, the latter for riding. Hence some have thought that אתון denotes a superior breed and not simply 'she-ass'; but this opinion is now given up. We must conclude that she-asses were preferred for riding. As the name חמור shows, the Eastern ass is generally reddish in colour;[1] *white* asses are rarer, and, therefore, used by the rich and distinguished. This explains the reference in Judg. 5 10.[2]

The עיר (young ass, colt, foal; in Ar. specifically wild ass; see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 127 *ff.*) was used variously for carrying burdens (Is. 30 6), for agriculture (*v.* 24), and for riding on (Zech. 9 9). On Judg. 10 4 12 14, see JAIR. On the place of the ass and on its employment among the Jews see generally Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 7.

The ass has been from the most ancient times a domesticated animal, and probably, in Egypt at any rate, preceded the horse as a servant of man. It is even questioned whether the wild stock from which it was derived survives at the present day, some authorities holding that the flocks of wild asses met with in various parts of Asia and Africa are but the descendants of those which have escaped from the domesticated state.

The domestic ass, *Equus asinus*, is believed to be descended from the wild ass of Africa, *E. asinus*, of which there are two varieties, *Africanus* and *Somalicus*; and the strong disinclination to ford even narrow streams which these animals show, and their delight in rolling in the dust, are regarded as indications that their origin is from some desert-dwelling animal. In former times this species seems to have extended into Arabia.

In the East the ass plays a large part in the life of the people, and has received a corresponding amount of care at their hands. Much trouble is taken in breeding and rearing the young. Darwin distinguishes four different breeds in Syria: 'first, a light and graceful animal (with an agreeable gait), used by ladies; secondly, an Arab breed reserved exclusively for the saddle; thirdly, a stouter animal used for ploughing and various purposes; and lastly, the large Damascns breed, with . . . peculiarly long body and ears.'

The wild asses which roam in small herds over a considerable part of Asia are sometimes regarded as belonging to one species, the *Equus hemionus;* sometimes to three, the *E. hemippus* found in Syria, the *E. onager* the Onager of Persia, Beluchistan, and parts of Northern India: and the *E. hemionus* of the high table-lands of Tibet. Sven Hedin describes the last-named as resembling a mule. Living at such high altitudes it has unusually large nostrils. These are artificially produced by the Persians, who slit the nostrils of their tame asses when about to use them for transport purposes in mountainous districts. The Syrian species or subspecies rarely enters the N. of Palestine at the present time. Wild asses congregate in herds, each with a leader, and are said to migrate towards the south at the approach of winter. They are so fleet that only the swiftest horses can keep pace with them, a fact recorded both by Xenophon and by Layard; and they are so suspicious that it is difficult to approach within rifle-shot of them. They are eaten by the Arabs and the Persians. N. M.—A. E. S.

ASSABIAS (ασαβιας [L]), RV SABIAS, 1 Esd. 1 9 = 2 Ch. 35 9, HASHABIAH, 6.

ASSALIMOTH (ασσαλιμωθ [really -ας σαλ. A]), 1 Esd. 8 36 AV = Ezra 8 10, SHELOMITH, 4.

ASSANIAS, RV **Assamias** (ασσαμιας [B]), 1 Esd. 8 54 = Ezra 8 24, HASHABIAH, 7.

ASSAPHIOTH (ασσαφειωθ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 33 RV = Ezra 2 55, HASSOPHERETH.

[1] The usual rendering of בְּאֵר or בּוֹר in 𝔊.

[2] Root חמר, 'to be red.' On the form cp Lag. *Uebers.* 11, Barth, *NB* 192.

[3] The Ar. verb '*atana* = 'contracto brevique gressu incessit'; but this may he denominative. אתון has of course no connection with *asinus:* see Lag. *Arm. St.* 817.

[4] Lag. derives ערוד from '*arada*, 'he threw a stone far,' referring to the effect of the animal's trampling hoofs (*Uebers.* 38 *f.*). פרא seems to be connected with the notion of swift flight.

[1] Cp Plutarch's statement that the Egyptians execrate the ass διὰ τὸ πυῤῥὸν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα, καὶ ὀνώδη τὴν χροάν (quoted by Bochart).

[2] אֲתֹנוֹת צְחֹרוֹת, not strictly *white*, but white spotted with red, as the same word means in Arabic, where it is specially applied to the she-ass.

ASSASSINS, the RV rendering, of CIKAPIOI [Ti. WH], *sicarii—i.e.*, 'daggermen : Acts **2138** (AV murderers). They are so called from the *sīca* or small curved sword, resembling the Persian acīnăces (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 10), which they carried under their cloaks. Though used generally without any political meaning (cp Schür. *GVI* 1480, note), the term *sicarii* came to be employed to denote the baser and more fanatical associates of the zealots, whose policy it was to eliminate their antagonists by assassination. See ZEALOT.

ASSEMBLY (קָהָל)[1] is frequently used, especially in post-exilic literature, to denote the theocratic convocation of Israel, the gathering of the people in their religious capacity. It thus becomes synonymous with ἐκκλησία (so generally 𝔊; in Nu. **204** 6 10 12 συναγωγή, so Lk. **4** 13 14), which in the NT is used of the Christian church, in contrast to the Jewish *ḳāhāl* of the Mosaic dispensation. See CHURCH, § 1. Closely allied in meaning and usage is עֵדָה (from יעד, 'to appoint': a company assembled together by appointment), employed to denote the national body politic, Mosaic Israel encamped in the desert (cp Kue. *Einl.* § **15**, n. **12**). Both, *e.g.*, include the *gēr* (cp for 'y Ex. 1219, for 'ק Nu. 15 15; see STRANGER AND SOJOURNER), but are sometimes interchanged (cp Nu. 16 46 *f.* [17 10 *f.*] **20**). The distinction between the two, which was doubtless always observed, is clearly seen, *e.g.*, in Lev. 4 13 *f.* ('if the whole *congregation* of Israel shall sin, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the *assembly* . . . when the sin therein is known then the *assembly* shall offer' . . .), where the *ḳāhāl* is composed of the judicial representatives, the picked members of the עדה (cp also Dt. **23** 1 *f.* where certain classes of the people —*i.e.*, the *'ēdāh*— may not enter into the ḳāhāl). See SYNEDRIUM.

Apart from their occurrence in the more secular meaning of 'multitude, number, swarm,' both קהל and עדה occur but rarely in pre-Deuteronomic literature.

קהל (1) EV 'assembly': cp Ex. 16 3 Lev. 4 13 *ff.* and Jer. 26 17 (συναγωγη) 50 9 (-γωγαι) Ez. 23 24 (ὄχλος), etc. (2) EV 'congregation': 1 K. **81465** 12 3 (see KINGS, § 5) Ezra 10 8 (of the *gōlāh*) Pr. 5 14 Mi. **2** 5. (3) AV 'congregation,' RV 'assembly': Nu. 15 15[2] 16 47 [17 12][2] Dt. 23 1 *ff.* 31 30 **Josh. 835**; Judg. 215 (see JUDGES, § 13) Job 30 28 Ps. 89 5 [6] 107 32. The collocation 'day of assembly' Dt. 9 10 10 4 (𝔊 om.) 18 16, refers *to* the day on which the Law was given upon Sinai. For its more secular meaning cp Gen. **35** 11 (P)[2] Ez. **17** 17 (𝔊 ὄχλος EV 'company'); Gen. 28 3[2] 484 (P)[2] Nu. 22 4 (E)[2] AV 'multitude,' RV 'company' (in Ez. 16 40 **2346**, 𝔊 ὄχλος, RV 'assembly'). Cp also 1 S. 17 47: the assembly of Israel present at the fight between David and Goliath (E? see **SAMUEL**, § *4*). The earliest occurrence is probably Gen. **496** (@ σύστασις) the *ḳāhāl* of Simeon and Levi (parallel to סוד). Closely related *is* קְהִלָּה 'assembly,' Neh. **5** 7; cp Dt. 33 4[2] (AV 'congregation'), and 1 S. 19 20 (after 𝔊; cp *SBOT ad loc.* The passage is Midrashic). The verb (𝔊 ἐξεκκλησιάζειν, ἐκκλ.) is equally rare in pre-exilic literature; cp Jer. **2G9** Dt. 4 10 31 12 28 also 1 **K.** 8 1 *f.* **12** 21 (see KINGS, § 5) Judg. **201** (see JUDGES, § 13) Ex. **321** (E) (συνιστάναι) 16 46 (παρεμβολή) and 2 S. 20 14 (E? cp under **SHEBA**).

עֵדָה, 'congregation' (𝔊 usually συναγωγή) EV **Ex.** 16 1 *ff.* Nu. **2011**, etc. EV 'assembly,' Ps. 22 16 [17] Pr. 5 14; but RV 'congregation,' Lev. **84** Nu. 89 10 2 *f.* 16 2 208 Ps. 86 14. In pre-exilic literature cp Nu. 20 11 (R?); Jer. 6 18 (𝔊 ποίμνια) and Hos. 7 12 (𝔊 θλίψεως) (in both corrupt?) 1 K. 8 5 12 20 (cp above) Judg. **20** 1 **21** 10 13 16 (cp above). In a wholly secular sense, cp Judg. **148** swarm (of bees), Ps. 68 30 [31] multitude (of bulls).

'Assembly' also represents the following :—

1. a % ~עֲצֶרֶת[3] *ăṣārāh, ăṣereth*, apart from Jer. 9 2 [1] where it is used of a 'band' of evil doers (σύνοδος, EV. 'assembly'; Che. emends to חֲבֶרֶת, *JQR*, July 1898), is a technical term for some public religious convocation imposing restraints on the individual (EV, SOLEMN ASSEMBLY); cp 2 K. 10 20 (in honour of Baal, ἱερ[ε]α [BA], θεραπεία [L]), Joel 1 14 2 15 ('y קראו parallel to קדשו צום, θεραπ[ε]ία = עֲבֹדָה), Am. 5 21 (parallel to חג, πανήγυρις), and Is. 1 13 ('yi און, read צום וע', and see Jastrow, *Amer. J. Theol.* '**98**, p. **336**; νηστεία κ. ἀργία?).

Technically, *'ăṣārāh* is used almost wholly in post-exilic writings (@ invariably ἐξόδιον, finale, close; cp 𝔊's title Ps. **28** [29]), of *(a)* the assembling upon the seventh day of unleavened cakes, Dt. 16 8[1] (RV^mg. CLOSING FESTIVAL); *(b)* the eighth or supernumerary day—in ecclesiastical language the octave—of the Feast of Booths, Lev. **2336** Nu. **2935** (RV^mg. as above) Neh. 818; similarly the eighth day at the close of Solomon's dedicatory festival (2 Ch. 7 9), and (c) the Feast of Weeks, Jos. *Ant.* iii. **106** (ασαρθα) and in the Mishna.

2. מוֹעֵד, *mō'ēd* (Nu. 16 2); קְרִאֵי מ', famous in the congregation, RV, preferably 'called to the assembly'; 𝔊 βουλή; cp also Ps. 748 RV^mg. (EV synagogues, 𝔊 ἑορτή). The locution אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, 'tent of congregation (RV meeting)' (𝔊 σκηνὴ μαρτυρίου), occurs frequently in P, also **Ex.** 33 7 Nu. 12 4 Dt. **31** 14 (E), Nu. **11** 16 (J); and outside Hex. in 1 S. *222 b*; but 𝔊^B om.) 1 **K.** 8 4 (𝔊 τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦ μαρτυρίου) (see KINGS, § 5). Cp also CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF; SYNAGOGUE; and see TABERNACLE.

מוֹעֵד is properly an *appointed time* or *place* (like עֵדָה from יעד); cp Gen. 18 14 (𝔊 καιρός), etc., Lam. 2 6 (𝔊 ἑορτή), etc.; hence used of a sacred season or set feast (Hos. **95**, 𝔊 πανήγυρις, etc.), probably also one set by the moon's appearance (cp Gen. 1 14 𝔊 καιρός). In designating feasts it is employed in a much wider sense than חג (see **FEASTS**, § *6*, DANCE, § 3). It is used not only of the year of Release (Dt. 31 10 𝔊 καιρός), and of the Passover (Hos. 12 9 [10] 𝔊 ἑορτή),[2] hot also of the Sabbath, New Year, and Day of Atonement (cp Lev. **23** 𝔊 ἑορτή).

3. מִקְרָא, *miḳrā'*; Is. 1 13 קרא מ', the calling of assemblies (𝔊 ἡμέρα μεγάλη); cp Is. 4 15 (𝔊 τὰ περικύκλῳ). The locution מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, 'holy convocation' (𝔊 κλητή, or ἐπίκλητος ἁγία), only in P (Ex. 12 16 Lev. 23 2 *ff.* Nu. **28** 18 25 *f.* 29 1 7 12†).

4. סוֹד, *sōd*, Jer. 6 11 (𝔊 συναγωγή) 15 17 (𝔊 συνέδριον); Ps. **897** [8] 111 1, RV 'council,' 𝔊 βουλή; also in Ez. 13 9, AV^mg. RV 'council,' RV^mg. 'secret,' 𝔊 παιδεία. See COUNCIL, 3.

5. בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת, *ba'ălē ăsuppōth*, Eccl. 12 11 (𝔊 παρὰ τῶν συνθεμάτων), masters of assemblies, a reference to the convocations of the wise men (cp Ph. בן אספה, 'member of an assembly'); RV^mg. 'collectors of sentences'; Tyler, 'editors of collections'; Haupt, 'verses of a collection'; Che. 'framers of collections'—*i.e.*, בַּעֲלֵי א' (*Jew. Rel. Life*, **182**).

6. ἐκκλησία (cp above) Mt.1618 1817 Acts19323941 Heb. 12 23; see CHURCH.

7. συναγωγή (cp above) Ja. **22** AV, RV^mg.; RV SYNAGOGUE (*q.v.*).

ASSHUR. See ASSYRIA.

ASSHUR, CITY OF. See TELASSAR.

ASSHURIM (אַשּׁוּרִם, ACOYPIM [A]; ACCOYPIEIM [DL]; ACCOYPIHΛ *[E]*), the first born of DEDAN (Gen. 25 3). The name is enigmatical. Hommel (*AHT* 239 *f.*) thinks that we should read Ashurim, not Asshurim, and that Ashur is the fuller and older form of SHUR. In a Minæan inscription (Glaser, 1155; cp Wi. *AOF* 28 *f.* and see *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 527) Egypt, Ashur and 'Ibr Naharān are grouped together (see EBER). The same territory, extending from the 'River of Egypt' (?) to the country between Beersheba and Hebron, may perhaps be meant in Gen. **25** 18, where the gloss 'in the direction

[1] קהל (to call) ≐ Ar. *ḳāla* (to speak); cp Syr. *ḳehal* to call, collect; *ḳahlānā* brawler. The change from 'calling' to 'assembling' is easy; cp use of Heb. נצעק. The relation between קהל (assembly) and Ar. *ḳāla* is analogous to that between סוֹד, council, etc., and Syr. *sewādhā*, talk, conversation (in Gen. **496** they are parallel). 'ק finds an interesting parallel in Sab. קהלת עתתר, the assembly of 'Athtar (Ashtoreth). On the usage of *ḳāhāl* see Holzinger, *ZATW* 9 105 *f.* ['89].

[2] In these passages 𝔊 has συναγωγη.

[3] From עצר, to press, restrain; cp נעצר 'detained' (1 S. 21 7 Jer. 36 5); perh. 'ע a taboo, *tempus clausum*; cp WRS, *Sem.* **456**, who notes the proverbial עָצוּר וְעָזוּב 'one under a taboo and one free.' Cp Ass. *eṣeru*, to bind, enclose; *uṣurtu*, magical spell, constellation (Muss-Arnolt).

[1] The only pre-exilic occurrence **of 'y** in a technical sense; but note that according to St. *GVI* 1 658, *vv.* 1-4 5-8 are doublets; cp Nowack, *Arch.* 2 154 note.

[2] We., however (*Kl. Proph.*(5)), reads נעוריך, and Now. עולם

of אשור ("Ashur")' was misunderstood by the authors of the vowel-points. The reference intended was, according to Hommel, to Ashur in S. Palestine; he proposes to read Ashur, not Asshur, also in Nu. 24 22 24. The latter view, at any rate, is very improbable (see BALAAM, § 6). Cp also GESHUR, 2.

ASSIDEANS, RV 'Hasidæans,' RVmg. 'that is Chasidim' (ασιδαιοι [AKV]), is a transcription of the Hebrew *ḥasīdīm, pious ones* (AV, generally, *'saints*). It is often used of faithful Israelites in the Psalms (17 times in plur., 5 times in sing.), and sometimes unquestionably of the so-called Assideans (*e.g.*, 116 15 149 1 5 9). In 1 Macc. the name appears as the designation of a society of men zealous for the law (1 Macc. 2 42—according to the correct text as given by Fritzsche), and closely connected with the scribes (1 Macc. 7 12 *f.*). It is plain from these passages that this society of 'pious ones,' who held fast to the law under the guidance of the scribes in opposition to the 'godless' Hellenising party, was properly a religious, not a political, organisation. For a time they joined the revolt against the Seleucids. The direct identification of the Assideans with the Maccabee party in 2 Macc. 146, however, is one of the many false statements of that book, and directly contradictory to the trustworthy narrative of 1 Macc. 7, which shows that they were strictly a religions party., who scrupled to oppose the legitimate high priest, even when he was on the Greek side, and withdrew from the war of freedom as soon as the attempt to interfere with the exercise of the Jewish religion was given up. We are not to suppose that the Assidean society first arose in the time of the Maccabees. The need of protesting against heathen culture was donbtless felt earlier in the Greek period. The 'former *ḥasīdīm*,' as a Jewish tradition (*Nedarim*, 10 *a*) assures us, were ascetic legalists. Under the Asmonean rule the Assideans developed into the better known party of the Pharisees, and assymed new relations to the ruling dynasty. It appears, from the *Psalter of Solomon*, which represents the views of the Pharisees, that the party continued to affect the title of 'pious ones' (ὅσιοι), but less frequently than that of 'righteous ones' (δίκαιοι). Indeed, the third Jewish party of the Asmonean period had already appropriated the former name, if we may adopt Schurer's derivation of ESSENE (*q.v.*). See We. *Ph. u. Sadd.* ('74), p. 76 *ff.*, whose results WRS adopted, and cp Schür. *Hist. ET* 1 212; Che. *OPs*, 56 (on the use of 'Assideans'), and other passages (index under *khasîdîm*). W. R. S.—T. K. C.

ASSIR (אַסִּיר, 'prisoner'; but perhaps rather אֹסִיר = Osiris;[1] cp HuR).

1. (In Ex. ασειρ [BF], ασηρ [AL]; in 1 Ch. αρεσει, ασερει, ασειρ [B], ασειρ [A], ασηρ ασερ [L]; *Asir*). The eponym of one of the families or divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites; Ex. 624 [P]. Cp 1 Ch. 6 22 *f.* 37 [7 *f.* 20], and for the interpretation of these discrepant genealogies see KORAH.

2. Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3 17; ασειρ [BAL]). So AV, following a Jewish view that Assir and Shealtiel are the names of two different sons of Jehoiachin (*Sanhedrin*, 37 *a*; Midrash *Vayikra*, par. x.; Midr. *Shir ha-Shirim*, on 86; so Kimchi); but the best texts (Ba., Ginsb.) make 'Jeconiah-Assir' the name of one man. Kau. *HS* and *SBOT* rightly restore the article before Assir (the preceding word ends in ה). Render, therefore, 'Jeconiah the captive' (so RV). Cp SHEALTIEL.

ASSOS, or ASSUS (ασσος [Ti. WH]), Acts 20 13,[1] a town and seaport in the Roman province of Asia; now *Behram Kalessi*. Strabo, who ranks Assus and Adramyteum together as 'cities of note,' pithily describes the former as lying in a lofty sitnation, with splendid fortifications, and communicating with its harbours by means of a long flight of steps (610, 614). So strong was the position that it gave rise to a pun by the musician Stratonicus, who applied to it the line

ἄσσον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἵκηαι.

'Come anigh, that anon thou mayest enter the toils of death' (Hom. *Il.* vi. 143). The joke lay in reading "Ἄσσον ἴθ' = 'Come to Assus.' The town was always singularly Greek in character. Leake observes that its ruins give 'perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists.' The material is granite, which partly accounts for their immunity from spoliation. One of the most interesting parts is the Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, extending to a great distance to the NW. from the gate of the city. It is bordered by granite coffins, some of them of great size. In Roman times, owing to its supposed pow-er of accelerating the decay of corpses (Pl. *HN* 298 36 27), the stone of Assns received the name *sarcophagus*. Paul must have entered the city by the Street of Tombs on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20 13 14). The apostle had landed at Troas and walked or rode the 20 m. thence to Assns in time to join his companions, who had meanwhile sailed round Cape Lectum.

A good account of Assos is given in Fellows, *Asia Minor*, 52; Murray's *Handbook of A. M.* 64: for its inscriptions see *Report* of the American Expedition, 1882. W. J. W.

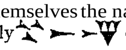
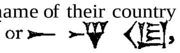
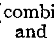
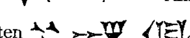
ASSUERUS (ασυηρος [B] etc.) Tob. 14 15† AV, RV AHASUERUS (*q.v.*, no. 3).

ASSUR (1) (אַשּׁוּר) Ezra 4 2 Ps. 838 AV, 4 Esd. 2 8 EV (*Assur* [ed. Bensly]) Judith 2 14 etc. AV, RV ASSHUR; elsewhere RV ASSYRIA (*q.v.*).

2. (ασουρ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 51, HARHUR.

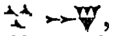
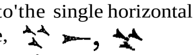
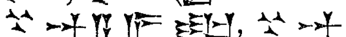
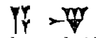
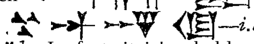
Aššur, the name of the country known to us as Assyria, was written in Hebrew אַשּׁוּר, EV ASSHUR, 1. Names. or more fully אֶרֶץ אַשּׁוּר, in the LXX ασσουρ and ασσυριος (𝔊L sometimes ασουρ) by Josephus and the Greek historians Ἀσσυρία, in the Greek of the Alexandrian epoch Ἀτουρία, and in Aramaic *Āthūr*, *Āthūrīyā*, in which form the name survived as that of a diocese of the Nestorian Church.

Other forms occurring once in 𝔊 are:—ασουρ in E and in A; ασσουριειμ in D, in A, and in L respectively; -ριηλ in E; ασσυρος in A[1]; ασουριμ in A; συριοι in B*; σουρ in Bab ℵa? a.b c.a (and twice in A); τουρ in ℵ*.

By the Assyrians themselves the name of their country was written phonetically  or , or (combining the two) , the signs  and  being determinatives respectively for 'land' and 'place.' Subsequently, the two signs that formed the word,  (= *aš*) and  (= *šur*), were run together and the name was written ,

1 In 20 13 Vg. translates ἄραντες ἄσσον (Ti. WH) by *cum sustulissent de Asson*, taking the word (incorrectly) as the name of the city.

2 For literature see, BABYLONIA, § 19 *ff.*

, and finally the writing of the name was abbreviated to'the single horizontal stroke that forms its first syllable, . The name was also written ,  or —*i.e.*, 'land of the god Ašur." [1] In fact, it is'probable that the city of Ašur, from which the land of Aššur was named, received its title. from the national god. Other instances are known in which a god has given his name to the country or city that worshipped him. The land of Guti that lay to the E. of Assyria beyond the Lower Zāb appears to have taken its name from Guti its national god, whilst the god Sušinak gave his name to the city of Šušinak or Susa, the principal town on the banks of the Eulæus. The general term among the Greeks for all subjects of the Assyrian empire was Ἀσσύριοι, which was more usually shortened into Σύριοι or Σὔροι. [2] The abbreviated form of the word was, however, gradually confined to the western Aramaic nations, being at last adopted by the Aramaeans themselves. These people, on becoming Christians, dropped their old name in consequence of the heathen associations it had acquired in their translation of the NT, and styled themselves *Sūrᵉyāyē*, whence the modern term ' Syriac.' The nnabbreviated name was used to designate the district on the banks of the Tigris, and this form of the word, passing from the Greeks to the Romans, finally reached the nations of northern Europe.

2. Biblical references.

References to Assyria or the Assyrians in the OT are very numerous, though they are in the main confined to the historical and the prophetic books ; the former describing the relations of Assyria with the later kings of Israel and Judah, the latter commenting on these relations and offering advice. The prophets, in their denunciations and predictions, sometimes rcfcr to the Assyrians by name ; at other times, though not actually naming them, they describe them in terms which their hearers could not possibly mistake.

The principal references may he classified under the following three headings : *(a)* Geographical use of the name Assyria : to describe the course of the Tigris in the account of the garden of Eden (Gen. 2 14), and to indicate the region inhabited by the sons of Ishmael *(25* 18). (*b*) References to matters of history : the foundation of the Assyrian empire (Gen. **10** 11), and its classification among the nations **(10** 22**)**; Menahem's tribute (2 K. 15 19 *f.*); thecaptivityofnorthern Israel (Is. 9 1 [8 23]; 2 K. 15 29 ; 1 Ch. **5** 26); the assistance of Ahaz by Tiglath-pileser, followed by the capture and captivity of Damascus (2 K. 16 5-18 ; 2 Ch. 28 20 *f.*) ; Hoshea's subjection to Shalmaneser (2 K. **17** 3) ; his treachery and punishment **(174)**; the siege and capture of Samaria (17 5 *f.* 18 9-12), and the colonisation of the country by foreigners (17 24 *ff.*); Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and Hezekiah's payment of tribute, his refusal to submit to further demands, the escape of Jerusalem from the Assyrian vengeance, and Sennacheribs death (2 K. 18 13-19 **37** ; Is. **3G** and 37 ; 2 Ch. **32** 1-23); the trade of Assyria with Tyre (Ezek. 27 23); general references to past captivity or oppression by Assyria (Is. 52 4 ; Jer. *50* 17 ; Lam. **5** 6; Ezek. 23 9 *ff.* 23); reference to the punishment that overtook Assyria (Jer. 50 18) : reference to the colonization of Palestine by Esarhaddon (Ezra 4 2). (c) Prophetic criticism and forecasts : evil or captivity threatened or foretold as coming from Assyria (Nu. **24** 22 ; **Hos. 9** 3 **11** 5 ; Is. 7 17 *ff.* **10** 5 **23** 13 ; Ezek. **23 23** 32 22 ; **Ps.** 83 8); the futility of depending on Assyrian help (Hos. 5 13 7 11 *f.* 8 9 *f.* 10 4-6 12 1 ; Jer. 2 18 36); the participation of Israel in Assyrian idolatry (Ezek. 16 28 *23* 5 *ff.*); prophecies of the return from captivity in Assyria (Hos. 11 11 ; Mic. 7 12 ; **Is. 11** 11 **16** ; Zech. **10** 10) ; predictions of overthrow or misfortune for Assyria (Nu. **24** *24* : Mic. 5 5 *f.* : **Is. 10** 24 *ff.* **14** 25 **30** 31 '318 ; Ezek. **31** 3 *ff.* ; the prophecy of Nahum ; Zeph. 2 13; Zech. 10 11); references to Assyria as taking part in the final conversion and reconciliation of mankind (**Is. 19** 23 *ff.* **27** 13). In some'of these passages, however, Assyria may = SYRIA (*q.v.*).

3. Position and extent.

It is difficult to define exactly the boundaries of Assyria. The extent of the country varied from time to time according to the additional territory acquired in conquest by its monarchs, and the name itself has at times suffered from a somewhat vague and general application. The classical writers employed it in a conventional sense for the whole area watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, including northern Babylonia, whilst its use has even been extended *so* as to cover the entire tract of country from the coast of the Mediterranean to the mountains of Kurdistan. In a definition of the extent of Assyria proper, however, any vague use of the name may be ignored, for, although at one time the Assyrian empire embraced the greater part of western Asia. the provinces she included in her rule were merely foreign states not attached to herself by any organic connection, but retained by force of arms. In general terms, therefore, the land of Assyria may be said to have been situated in the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley about the middle course of the river Tigris, and here we may trace certain natural limits which may be regarded as the proper boundaries of the country. The mountain chains of Armenia and Kurdistan form natural barriers on the N. and E. On the *S.* the boundary that divided Assyria from Babylonia was in a constant state of fluctuation ; but the point at which the character of the country changes from the flat alluvial soil of the Babylonian plain into the slightly higher, and more undulating tracts to the N. gives a sufficiently well-defined line of demarcation. On the W., Assyria in its earliest period did not extend beyond the territory watered by the Tigris; but, finding no check to its advance in that direction, it gradually absorbed the whole of Mesopotamia as far *S.* as Babylon, until it found a frontier in the waters of the Euphrates.

4. Description.

The chief feature of the country is the river' TIGRIS (*q.v.*), which, rising in the mountains of Armenia, runs southward and divides Assyria into an E. and a W. district. That part of Assyria which is situated on the E. or left bank of the Tigris, though the smaller, has always been much the more important. The country on that side of the river consists of a continuous plain broken up by low detached ranges of limestone hills into a series of shallow valleys through which small streams run. All the main tributaries, too, that feed the Tigris rise in the Kurdish mountains, and flow through this E. division of the country. The E. Khābūr, the Great or Upper Zāb, the Little or Lower Zāb, the Adhem, and the Diyālā join the Tigris on its left or E. bank. Being therefore so amply supplied with water, this portion of the country is very fertile, and well suited by nature for the rise of important cities. On the other hand; W. Assyria, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is a much drier and more barren region. The fall of the two rivers between the point where they issue from the spurs of the Taurus and the point where they enter the Babylonian alluvium—a distance of six hundred or seven hundred miles—amounts to about one thousand feet, the Tigris having the shorter course, and being, therefore, more rapid. The country between the rivers consists of a plain, sloping gently from the NW. to the SE. In its upper part this region is somewhat rugged ; it is intersected by many streams, which unite to form the Belikh and W. Khābūr. The rivers flowing S. join the Euphrates, and the district through which they pass is watered sufficiently for purposes of cultivation. In the SW., however, the supply of water is scanty, and the country tends to become a desert, its slightly undulating surface being broken only by the Sinjār range, a single row *of* limestone hills. The district

[1] Throughout the present article the form Ašur is employed for the name of the god and city, Aššur for that of the land. In the inscriptions the name of the land is written with the doubled sibilant, an original Assyrian form that is not inconsistent with the later Greek and Aramaic renderings of the name (see Nöldeke, *ZA* 1 268 *ff.*). The name of the god, however, is written in the inscriptions both with the single and doubled sibilant, of which the former may he regarded as the more correct on the basis of the Greek and Hebrew transliteration of certain proper names, in which the name Ašur occurs (see Jensen, *ZA* 1 1 *ff.* and Schrader, *ib.* 209 *ff.*).

[2] On this see SYRIA.

S. of these hills is waterless for the greater part of the year; the few streams and springs are for the most part brackish, while in some places the country consists of salt deserts, and in others vegetation is rendered impossible by the nitrous character of the soil. It is true that on the edges of this waterless region there are gullies (from one to two miles wide) which present a more fertile appearance. These have been hollowed out by the streams in the rainy season, and, being submerged when the river rises, have in the course of time been filled with alluvial soil. At the present day they are the only spots between the hill-country in the north and the Babylonian plain in the south where permanent cultivation is possible. It has been urged that this portion of the country may have changed its character since the time of the Assyrian empire, and it is possible that in certain districts extensive irrigation may have considerably increased its productiveness; but at best this portion of Assyria is fitted rather for the hunter than for the tiller of the soil. The land to the left of the Tigris is, therefore, much better suited for sustaining a large population, and it is in this district that the mounds marking the sites of the ancient cities are to be found.

5. Cities. Ašur, the earliest city of Assyria, is indeed situated to the west of the Tigris, near the spot where Ḳal'at Sherkāt now stands; but its site is within a short distance of the river, and it was the only city of importance on that side of the stream. Apart from its earliest capital, the chief cities of Assyria were Nineveh, Calah, and Dūr-Šargina. Nineveh, whose foundation must date from a period not much more recent than that of Ašur, was considerably to the N. of that city, opposite the modern town of Mosul (*Mawṣil*), on the E. bank of the Tigris, at the point where the small stream of the Khosr empties its waters; its site is marked by the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yūnus (cp NINEVEH). Calah, founded by Shalmaneser I., corresponds to the modern Nimrūd, occupying a position to the S. of Nineveh on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Upper Zāb with the Tigris (cp CALAH). Dūr-Šargina, 'the wall of Sargon,' was founded by that monarch, who removed his court thither; the site of the city is marked by the modern village of Khorsabād, to the NE. of Nineveh (cp SARGON). It will be seen that there was a tendency throughout Assyrian history to move the centre of the kingdom northwards, following the course of the Tigris. Other cities of importance were Arba'il or Irba'il (Arbēla) on the E. of the Upper Zāb; Ingur-Bēl (corresponding to the modern Tell-Balawāt), situated to the SE. of Nineveh; and Tarbis, its site now marked by the village of Sherīf-Khān, lying to the NW. of Nineveh.

From the above brief description of the country, it may be inferred that Assyria presents considerable differences of climate.

6. Natural resources. E. Assyria was the most favoured region, possessing a good rainfall during winter and even in the spring, and having, in virtue of its proximity to the Kurdish mountains and its abundant supply of water, a climate cooler and moister than was generally enjoyed to the W. of the Tigris. In this latter region the somewhat rigorous climate of the mountainous district in the N. presents a strong contrast to the arid character of the waterless steppes in the centre and the S. The frequent descriptions of the extreme fertility of Assyria in the classical writers may, therefore, be regarded as in part referring to the rich alluvial plains of Babylonia. Not that Assyria was by any means a barren land. She supplemented her rainfall by extensive artificial irrigation, and thus secured for her fields in the hot season a continual supply of water. Her cereal crops were good. Olives were not uncommon, and the citrons of Assyria were famous in antiquity. Fruit trees were extensively cultivated, and, although the dates of Assyria were much inferior to those of Babylonia, orange, lemon, pomegranate, apricot, mulberry, vine, and fig were grown successfully. The tamarisk was an exceedingly common shrub; oleanders and myrtles grew in the eastern district; but, except along the rivers and on the mountain slopes, trees were scanty. The trees, however, included the silver poplar, the dwarf oak, the plane, the sycamore, and the walnut. Vegetables such as beans, peas, cucumbers, onions, and lentils were grown throughout the country. Though Assyria could not compete with Babylonia in fertility, her supply of stone and minerals far exceeded that of the southern country. Dig where you will in the alluvial soil of the south, you come upon no strata of rock or stone to reward your efforts. In Assyria limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate rock were common, whilst gray alabaster of a soft kind, an excellent material for sculpture in relief, abounds on the left bank of the Tigris; hard basaltic rock and various marbles were also accessible in the mountains of Kurdistan. Iron, copper, and lead were to be found in the hill country not far from Nineveh, while lead and copper were obtained from the region of the upper Tigris in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Diārbekr. Sulphur, alum, salt, naphtha, and bitumen were also common; bitumen was extensively employed, in place of mortar or cement, in building (cp BITUMEN). Of the wild animals of Assyria the lion and the wild hull are those most often mentioned in the historical inscriptions as affording big game for the Assyrian kings. Less ambitious sportsmen might content themselves with the wild boar and the deer, the gazelle, the ibex, and the hare; while the wild ass, the bear, the fox, the jackal, the wild cat, and wild sheep were to be found. The most common of the birds were the kite or eagle, the vulture, the bustard, the crane, the stork, the wild goose, wild duck, teal, tern, partridge (red and black), the sand grouse, and the plover. We know from the monuments that fish were common. Of the domestic animals of the Assyrians the principal were camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, and goats. Dogs, resembling the mastiff in appearance, were employed for hunting. From the fact that heavy stone weights carved in the form of ducks have been found, it may he assumed that the duck was domesticated.

The Assyrians belonged to the northern family of Semites, and were closely akin to the Phœnicians, the Aramæans, and the Hebrews.

7. National character. Their robust physical proportions and facial characteristics are well known from the monuments, and tally with what we know of their character from their own inscriptions and the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Is. 33 19 describes the Assyrians as 'a fierce people'—an epithet that fits a nation whose history is one perpetual warfare. The dividing line between courage and ferocity is easily overpassed, and in a military nation, such as the Assyrians were, it was but natural that there should be customs which to a later age seem barbarous. The practice of impaling the defenders of a captured city was almost universal with the Assyrians; the torturing of prisoners was common; and the practice of beheading the slain, whilst adding insult to the vanquished, was adopted as a convenient method of computing the enemy's loss, for it was easier to count heads than to count bodies. The difference in character between the Assyrians and the milder Babylonians was due partly to the absence of that non-Semitic element which gave rise to and continued to influence the more ancient civilisation of the latter (see BABYLONIA, § 5); partly, also, to differences of climate and geographical position. The ferocity and the courage of the Assyrians are to a great extent absent from the Babylonian character. It has been asserted that the Semites never make great soldiers, yet there have been two prominent exceptions to this generalisation—the Assyrians and the Carthaginians. The former indeed not

MAP OF SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA

INDEX TO NAMES (A-J)

Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement ignores prefixes el (the), J. (Jebel, mt.), Kh. (Khirbat, 'ruin'), L. (lake), Mt., N. (Nahr, 'river'), R. (river).

only displayed the energy of conquest; but also combined with it a great power of administration by which they organised the empire they had acquired. It was, however, the custom of the Greek historians, and afterwards of the Romans, to paint the Assyrians as a singularly luxurious and sensual nation. Their monarchs, from the founder of the empire down to the last king who held the throne, were described as given up to pleasure. It is possible that as regards the later empire this tradition contains a substratum of truth, for the growing luxury of Assyria may well have been one of the causes that brougbt about her fall. For the earlier and the middle period of Assyrian history, however, the statement is proved to be untrue, both by the records of Assyria herself and by the negative evidence of the Hebrew prophets. These contemporaries of Assyria, who hated her with the bitter hatred which the oppressed must always feel for their oppressors, rarely, if ever, denounce her luxury; it was her violence and robbery that impressed her victims. In the language of prophecy the nation is pictured as a lion (Nah. 2 12), and it is not as a centre of vice but as 'the bloody city' that Nahum foretells the destruction of her capital (3 1).

8. Language, etc. The Assyrians spoke a Semitic language, which they inherited from the Babylonians—a language that was more closely allied to Hebrew and Aramaic than to Arabic and the other dialects of the S. Semitic group. They wrote a non-Semitic character, one of the varieties of the cuneiform writing (see BABYLONIA, § 5 *ff.*). Like their language, this system of writing came to them from the Babylonians, who had themselves inherited it from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. The Assyrians, although retaining the Babylonian signs, made sundry changes in the formation of them, and in some it is possible to trace a steady development throughout the whole period covered by the Assyrian inscriptions. The forms of some of the characters in the inscriptions of almost every Assyrian king display slight variations from those employed by his predecessors. Indeed, in some few cases, the forms used at different periods differ more widely from one another than they do from their Babylonian original. The literature of the Assyrians was borrowed. In a sense they were without a literature, for they were not a literary people. They were a nation of warriors, not of scholars. In this they present the greatest contrast to their kindred in the S. Possessed of abundant practical energy, they were without the meditative temperament which fostered the growth of Babylonian literature; and, although displaying courage in battle and devotion to the chase, they lacked the epic spirit in which to tell the tales of their enterprise. The majority of the historical inscriptions which they have left behind them are not literature: they are merely lists of conquered cities, catalogues of captured spoil, and statistics of the slain. Though not original, however, the Assyrians were far from being illiterate. They took over, root and branch, the whole literature of Babylonia, in the copying, the collection, and the arrangement of which they displayed the same energy and vigour with which they prosecuted a campaign. It was natural that the priests and scribes, whose duty it was to copy and collate, should attempt compositions of their own; but they merely reproduced the matter and the methods of their predecessors. In a word, the Assyrians made excellent librarians, and it is to their powers of organisation that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian literature. Since, therefore, the language, the system of writing, and the literature of the Assyrians were not of their own making, but merely an inheritance into which they entered, the description of them in greater detail falls more naturally under the article BABYLONIA (see § 19 *ff.*).

9. Religion. The religion of the Assyrians resembles in the main that of the Babylonians, from which it was derived. The early colonists from the south carried with them the gods of the country which they were leaving; but from the very first they appear to have somewhat modified the system and to have given a distinctly national character to the pantheon they borrowed. This end they achieved by the introduction of the worship of Ašur, their peculiarly national god, who was for them the symbol of their separate Existence. Ašur they set above all the Babylonian deities, even Anu, Bēl, and En taking a subordinate position in the hierarchy. It is true that we find Bēl mentioned at times as though he were on an equal footing with Ašur, especially in the double royal title 'Governor of Bēl, Representative of Ašur,' while Assyria is sometimes termed 'the land of Bēl' and Nineveh 'the city of Bel.' These titles, however, were not inconsistent with Ašur's supremacy. He was 'the king of all the gods,' and any national success was regarded as the result of his initiative. It was Ašur who marked out the kings of Assyria from their birth, and in due time called them to the throne. It was he who invested them with power and gave them victory over their enemiks, listened to their prayers, and dictated the policy they should pursue. The Assyrian army were 'the troops of Ašur'; the national foe was 'Ašur's enemy'; and every expedition is stated to have been undertaken only at his direct command. In fact, the life of the nation was consecrated to his service, and its energies were spent in the attempt to vindicate his majesty among the nations that surrounded them. His symbol was the winged circle in which was frequently enclosed a draped male figure wearing a headdress with three horns and with his hand extended; at other times he is represented as holding a bow or drawing it to its full extent. The symbol may, perhaps, be explained as a visible representation that Ašur's might had no equal, his influence no limit, and his existence no end. This symbol is often to be found on the monuments as the accompaniment of royalty, signifying that, the Assyrian king, as Ašur's representative, was under his especial protection; and we find it not only sculptured above the king's image but also graven on his seal and even embroidered on his garment. It is possible that we may trace in this exaltation of the god Ašur the Semitic tendency to monotheism, the complete vindication of which first found expression in the Hebrew prophets. It must not be supposed, however, that the new deity stood in any opposition to the older gods. These retained the respect and worship of the Assyrians, and stood by Ašur's side—not so powerful, it is true, but retaining considerable influence and lending their aid without prejudice to the advancement of the nation's interests.

The spouse of Ašur was Belit—that is, 'the Lady' *par excellence*—and she was identified with the goddess Ištar (see especially 3 R. 24, 80; 53, n. 2, 36 *f.*), and in particular with Ištar of Nineveh. Another goddess who enjoyed especial veneration in Assyria was Ištar of Arbela, who became particularly prominent under Sennacherib and his successors, and was generally mentioned by the side of her namesake of Nineveh. She was especially the goddess of battle, and from Ašur-bāni-pal we know the conventional form in which she was presented. This monarch, on the eve of an engagement with the Elamites, feeling far from confident of his own success, appealed for encouragement and guidance to Ištar of Arbela. The goddess answered the king's prayer by appearing that night in a vision to a certain seer while he slept. On recounting his dream to the king, the seer described the appearance of the goddess in these words: 'Ištar, who dwells in Arbela, entered. On the left and the right of her hung quivers; in her hand she held a bow; and a sharp sword did she draw for the waging of battle.'

Besides Ašur and Ištar, two other gods were held in particular respect by the Assyrians—Ninib, the god of battle, and Nergal, the god of the chase. Almost all

the Assyrian kings, however, had their own pantheons, to whom they owed especial allegiance. In many cases the names constituting the pantheon occur in the king's inscriptions in a set order that does not often vary.

Such were the principal changes which the Assyrians made in the pantheon of Babylonia, the majority of whose gods they inherited, with their functions and attributes to a great extent unchanged. It is true that our knowledge of Babylonian religion, like that of Babylonian literature, comes to us mainly through Assyrian sources; but though it passed to them, its origin and development are closely interwoven with the history of the older country. The cosmology of the Assyrians and their conception of the universe were entirely Babylonian (see BABYLONIA, § 25); their astrology (*id.* § 34), their science of omens (§ 32), their system of ritual and their ceremonial observances (§ 29 *f.*) were an inheritance from the temples and worships of the south.

Though in language, writing, and literature Assyria so closely resembles Babylonia, in her architecture she presents a striking contrast. The alluvial plains of the southern country contained no stone, and the Babylonian buildings were, therefore, mainly composed of brick. The resources of Assyria were not so poor; the limestone and the alabaster with which her land abounded stood her in good stead.

10*a*. Architecture.

The palace was the most important building among the Assyrians, for the principal builders were the kings. It was erected, usually, on an artificial platform of bricks or earth; in which fact we may possibly see a survival of a custom of Babylonia, where such precautions against inundation were necessary. The platform was generally faced with stone, and was at times built in terraces which were connected by steps. The palace itself was composed of halls, galleries, and smaller chambers built round open courts, the walls of the former being ornamented with elaborate sculptures in relief. It is only from their foundations that our knowledge of the Assyrian palaces has been obtained. From these remains a good idea of their extent can be gathered; but there is no means of telling the appearance they presented when complete. Their upper portion has been totally destroyed: it is a matter of conjecture whether they consisted of more than one story. The paving of the open courts was as a rule composed of brick; but sometimes stone slabs, covered with shallow carving in conventional patterns, were employed.

The temple was subordinate to the palace. Our knowledge of its appearance is based mainly on its representation on the monuments, from which it would appear that the Assyrians inherited the Babylonian *ziḳḳurratu* (temple-tower), a building in stages which diminish as they ascend (see BABYLONIA, § 16, beg.). Unmistakable remains of a building of this description were uncovered on the N. side of the mound at Nimrūd. Another type of building depicted on the monuments has been identified as a shrine or a temple; it was a single-storied structure, with a broad entablature supported by columns or pilasters.

The domestic architecture of the Assyrians has perished. The dwellings of the more wealthy must have resembled the royal residence. On the bas-reliefs are to be found villages which bear a striking resemblance to those of modern Mesopotamia; and, having regard to the eternal nature of things eastern, we may regard it as not unlikely that the humbler subjects of Assyria were housed neither better nor worse than the villagers of to-day.

It was to adorn their palaces and temples that the Assyrians employed the sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs with which their name is peculiarly associated. The majority of these have come from the palaces of Ašur-nâṣir-pal, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Ašur-bāni-pal. The work of the earliest of these kings is distinguished from that of his successors by a certain breadth and grandeur of treatment; but the constant repetition of his own figure, accompanied by attendants, human or divine, becomes monotonous. The work of Sargon presents a greater variety of subject and treatment; but it is in the sculptures of Sennacherib and Ašur-bāni-pal that the most varied episodes of Assyrian life and history are portrayed. It was natural that battle-scenes should chiefly occupy the sculptor; yet even here the artist could give his fancy play. Whilst he was bound by convention to depict the vulture devouring the slain, he could carve at the top of his slab a sow with her litter trampling through a reed-bed. Armies in camp or on the march, the siege of cities or battles in the open, the counting of the slain and the treatment of prisoners—all are rendered with absolute fidelity. When an army crosses a river and boats for transport are not to be had, the troops are represented as swimming over with the help of inflated skins[1]—a custom that survives on the banks of the Tigris to the present day.

10*b*. Sculpture.

Though the sculptures of Sennacherib and Ašur-bāni-pal have much in common, as regards both their matter and the method of their treatment, each king had his own favourite subject for portrayal on his monuments. Sennacherib liked most to perpetuate his building operations; Ašur-bāni-pal, his own deeds of valour in the chase. Sennacherib erected two palaces at Nineveh—the one at Nebi Yūnus, the other at Kuyunjik—but it is only at Kuyunjik that the palace has been thoroughly explored. On the walls of this latter edifice he caused to be carved a series of scenes in which his builders are represented at their work. Stone and timber are being carried down the Tigris upon rafts; gangs of slaves are collecting smaller stones in baskets, and piling them up to form the terrace on which the palace is to stand; others are wheeling hand-carts full of tools and ropes for scaffolding, or transporting on sledges huge blocks of stone for the colossal statues. The hunting-scenes of Ašur-bāni-pal may be regarded as marking the acme of Assyrian art. Background and accessories are for the most part absent. Thus, grotesque efforts at perspective, common to the most of early art, are avoided, with the result that the limitations in the methods of the early artist are not so apparent. The scenes portrayed are always spirited. The figures are all in motion. Whilst the elaboration of detail is not carried to an extreme, action is represented with complete success. This series of hunting-scenes contains pieces of great beauty. It is in striking contrast to the large majority of Assyrian sculptures, which tend to excite interest rather than admiration. Still, even the earlier work has not entirely failed in its purpose—ornamentation. The stiff arrangement of a battlefield has often a decorative effect; and the representation of a river with the curves and scrolls of its water contrasting with the stiff symmetrical line of reeds upon its bank, is always pleasing. Indeed, from a decorative point of view, Assyrian art attained no small success. Traces of colour are still to be found on some of the bas-reliefs, on the hair and beards of figures, on parts of the clothing, on the belts, the sandals, etc.; but the question whether the whole stone-work was originally covered

1 A singular detail may be noticed with reference to the representation of these skins. The soldier places the skin beneath his belly, and by means of his arms and legs paddles himself across the water. Even with this assistance he would need all his breath before his efforts landed him on the opposite bank, but in the sculptures each soldier is represented as retaining in his mouth one of the legs of the inflated skin, into which he continues to blow as into a bagpipe. The inflation of the skin could be accomplished far more effectually on land before he started, and the last leg of the beast could then be tied up so that the swimmer need not trouble himself further about his apparatus, but devote his entire attention to his stroke. This, no doubt, was what actually happened; but the sculptor wishes to indicate that his skins are not solid bodies but full of air, and he can find no better way of showing it than by making his swimmers continue blowing out the skins, though in the act of crossing. This instance may be taken as typical of the spirit of primitive art, which, diffident of its own powers of portrayal, or distrusting the imagination of the beholder, seeks to make its meaning clear by means of conventional devices.

with paint, or only parts of it picked out in colour, cannot be decided.

Even more famous than their sculptured slabs are the colossal winged lions and human-headed bulls of the Assyrians. They fired the imagination of the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, and they impress the beholder of to-day. These creatures were set on either side of a doorway or entrance, and were intended to be viewed both from the front and from the side—a fact that explains why they are invariably represented with five legs. A very curious effect was often produced by running inscriptions across the bodies of these beasts without regard to any detail of carving or design. ASur-nāṣir-pal was a great offender in this respect. Not content with scarring his colossi in this manner, he ran inscriptions over his bas-reliefs as well, and displayed a lack of imagination by repeating the same short inscription again and again with but few variations.

Carving in the round was rarely practised. A stone statuette of Ašur-nāṣir-pal, a seated stone figure of Shalmaneser II., and some colossal statues of the god Nebo have been found; but, though the proportions of the figure are more or less correct, their treatment is exceedingly stiff and formal. Modelling in clay, however, was common. A few small clay figures of gods have been discovered, and we possess clay models of the favourite hounds of Ašur-bāni-pal. We know, too, that the stone bas-reliefs were first of all designed and modelled on a smaller scale in clay: the British Museum possesses fragments of these clay designs, as well as the rough drafts on clay tablets which the Assyrian masons copied when they chiselled the inscriptions.

11. Metal work.

In their metal work the Assyrians were very skilful. This we may gather both from the monuments and from the actual examples of the art that have come down to us. A good majority of the originals of the metal trappings, ornaments, etc., that are represented on the monuments must have been cast. The metal weights in the form of lions are among the best actual examples of casting that we possess. In the British Museum, moreover, there is to be seen an ancient mould that was employed for casting. It was found near Mōṣul, and, although it must be assigned to a period about two centuries subsequent to the fall of Nineveh, it probably represents the traditional form of that class of matrix, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that such moulds were extensively employed in the Assyrian foundries of at least the later empire. The mould in question is made of bronze, and is formed in four pieces which fit together accurately. Three holes may be observed on the flat upper surface. Into these holes the molten metal was poured. When the mould was opened after its contents had been given time to cool, there would be seen lying within it three barbed arrow-heads.

It was, however, in the more legitimate art of metal-beating that the Assyrians excelled. Much of the embossed work that adorned their thrones, their weapons, and their armour was wrought with the hammer, while the dishes and bowls from Nimriid and the shields from the neighbourhood of Lake Van are covered with delicate *repoussé* work, the design on the upper side being finished and defined by means of a graving tool. The largest and finest examples of this class of work that have been preserved are the bronze sheathings of the gates of Shalmaneser II., which were excavated at Tell-Balawrlt in 1879 and are now to be seen in the British Museum. The bronze gates of nations in antiquity were not cast in solid metal. They would have been too heavy to move, and metal was not obtained, in sufficient quantities to warrant such an extravagance. The gate was built principally of wood, on which plates of metal were fastened; the object being to strengthen the gate against an enemy's assault, and especially to protect its wooden interior from destruction by fire. The metal coverings of Shalmaneser's gate consist of bronze. bands which at one time strengthened and adorned it. A brief inscription runs round them, while the space is filled with designs in delicate relief illustrating the battles and conquests of the king and in general treatment resembling the bas-reliefs of stone to which reference has been made.

Iron was used by the Assyrians; but bronze was the favourite substance of the metal-worker. Specimens of the bronze employed have been analysed. and it has been ascertained that it consists roughly of one part of tin to ten parts of copper. We know from the jewels represented on the monuments that ornamental work in silver and in gold was not uncommon, and specimens of inlaid work and of work in ivory have been found at Nimrūd. Many of the examples we possess, however, betray a strong Egyptian influence, apparent in the general method of treatment and in the occurrence of the scarabæus, the cartouche, and a few hieroglyphs. Thus they must be regarded not as genuine Assyrian productions, but rather as the work of Phcenician artists copying Egyptian designs. Enamelling of bricks was extensively employed as a means of decoration. The designs consist sometimes of patterns, and sometimes of scenes in which men and animals take part. The colouring is subdued, and the general effect is harmonious. The fact that the tones of the colouring are so subdued is regarded by some as a proof that they have fadecl. Some excellent examples of enamelled architectural ornamentation in terra-cotta have been found at Nimrūd. They bear the name of Ašur-nāṣir-pal.

12. Seals, etc.

Engraving on gems and the rarer stones and marbles was an art to which the Assyrians especially devoted themselves. There have been found a few gems and seals that are oval in shape; but the general form adopted was that of a cylinder. Those of cylindrical form vary from about an inch and a half to two inches in length and from about half an inch to an inch in diameter. They were pierced along the centre so that the wearer could suspend them from his person by a cord. The use to which they were put was precisely similar to that of the signet ring. A Babylonian or an Assyrian, instead of signing a document, ran his cylinder over the damp clay tablet on which the deed he was attesting had been inscribed. No two cylinder seals were precisely alike, and thus this method of signature worked very well. As every wealthy Assyrian carried his own seal-cylinder, it is not surprising that time has spared a good many of them. (It may be noticed in passing that the class of poorer merchants and artisans did not carry cylinders. When they attested a document they did so by impressing their thumb-nail on the clay of the tablet. Whether a certain social status brought with it the privilege of carrying a cylinder, or whether the possession of one depended solely on the choice or rather on the wealth of its possessor, is a question that has never been solved.)

The work on the cylinders is always intaglio, the engraver aiming at rendering beautiful the seal impression rather than the seal itself. The subjects represented, which are various, include acts of worship, such as the introduction by a priest of a worshipper to his god, mythological episodes, emblems of gods, animals, trees, etc.: the engravings are generally religions or symbolical. The official seal of the Assyrian kings forms the principal exception to this general rule; it is circular and represents a royal personage slaying a lion with his hands. The character of the work itself varies from the rudest scratches to the most polished workmanship, and it may be regarded as a general rule that the more excellent the workmanship the later the date. The earlier seals are inscribed by means of the simplest form of drill and graver, and the marks of the tools employed for hollowing are not obliterated, the heads of the figures being represented by mere holes, while the bodies resemble fish-bones; it should be noted, however, that

early Babylonian seals of great beautv have been found at Telloh.

It' is strange that the Babylonian and the Assyrian, living in a land of clay, building their houses of brick and writing on clay tablets — in fact, with plastic clay constantly passing through their hands — produced no striking specimens of pottery. They employed clay for all their vessels; but the forms these assumed do not show great originality, and ornamentation was but niggardly applied. That the Assyrians were glass-blowers is shown by the discovery of small glass bottles and bowls.[1]

13. Pottery.

The domestic furniture of the Assyrians does not demand a detailed description. All that was made of wood has perished. Only the metal fittings survive; but these, with the evidence of the bas-reliefs, point to a high development of art in this direction. Perhaps the most sumptuous specimens of Assyrian furniture that the monuments portray are the throne in which Sennacherib is seated before Lachish, the furniture in the 'garden-scene' of Ašur-bāni-pal (both in the British Museum), and the chair of state or throne of Sargon on a slab from Khorsabad in the Louvre.

14. Furniture and embroidery.

Of the art of embroidery, also, as practised by the Assyrian ladies, the invaluable evidence of the monuments gives **us** an idea. The clothes of the sculptured figures are richly covered with needle-work, especially on the sleeves and along the bottom of robes and tunics, while the royal robes of Ašur-nāṣir-pal are embroidered from edge to edge. The general character of the designs, whether consisting of patterns or of figures, resembles that of the monuments themselves.

One other subject must be noted in this connection, — it does not strictly fall under the heading either of art or of architecture, though it is closely connected with branches of both, — the knowledge of mechanics that the Assyrians display. To those who have had any experience in the removal or fixing of Assyrian sculpture, and know the thickness of the bas-reliefs and the weight of even the smallest slab, the energy and skill required by the Assyrians to quarry, transport, and fix them in position is little short of marvellous. Yet all this **was** accomplished with the aid of only a wedge, a lever, a roller, and a rope. Representations of three of these implements in use are to be seen in the building-slabs of Sennacherib.

15. Mechanics.

Among mechanical contrivances may be mentioned the crane for raising water from the rivers to irrigate the fields, and the pulley employed for lowering or raising **a** bucket in a well. The ingenuity of the Assyrians is apparent also in their various engines of war and the elaborate siege-train that accompanied their armies. The battering-rams, the scaling-ladders, the shields and pent-houses to protect sappers while undermining a wall — not to mention their chariots, weapons, and defensive armour — all testify to their mechanical skill.

The position of Assyria was favourable for commerce. Occupying part of the most fertile valley of W. Asia, she formed the highway between E. and W. Of her two great rivers, the Euphrates approaches within one hundred miles of the Mediterranean coast, yet empties its waters into the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Assyrian empire a highway of commerce must have lain from the Phcenician coast to Damascus and thence along the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Many important caravan routes also lay through Assyria. Nineveh maintained commercial relations with the districts around Lake Urŭniyah, and with Ecbatăna, while to the west the Phœnician traders journeyed by the Sinjar range to Thapsăcus on the Euphrates, thence south to Tadmor and through Damascus into Phcenicia: a second western caravan route lay through Ḥarrān into upper Syria and Asia Minor, while Egypt's trade with Assyria as early as the fifteenth century is attested by the Amarna tablets. The prophet Ezekiel has borne witness to the presence of Assyrian merchants at Tyre in his time; yet it was the nations that traded with Assyria rather than Assyria with the nations, for the Assyrians were essentially a people who preferred to acquire their wealth by conquest rather than in the market-place. The internal trade of Assyria is represented by the contract tablets dating from the ninth century to the end of the empire, that have been found at Kuyunjik. These tablets — not nearly so many as those discovered throughout Babylonia (*q.v.*, § 19, beg.) — deal with the sale of slaves, cattle, and produce, the purchase of land, etc., and bear witness to the internal prosperity of Assyria. They are written more carefully than the majority of those of Babylonia; and the Babylonian device of wrapping the tablet in an envelope of clay on which the contract was inscribed in duplicate, with a view to its safer preservation, was not often adopted.

16. Commerce.

The form of government in Assyria throughout the whole course of her history was that of a military despotism. The king was supreme. He was Ašur's representative on earth and under the special protection of the gods. Whatever policy he might aaopt was Ašur's policy, and it was the duty of every subject of Assyria to carry out his will. The nation therefore existed for the monarchy, not the monarchy for the nation. The kingship rested on the army, on which it relied to quell rebellion and maintain authority as well as to conquer foreign lands. The army was in consequence the greatest power in the state. Its commander-in-chief, the *turtan* or *tartan*, held a position next to that of the king himself, in whose absence he led the troops and directed operations (cp TARTAN). The *šaḳū* was an important lower officer; the *rab-ḳiṣir* was his superior; and the *šud-šaḳē* and *rab-šaḳē* were only second to the tartan (cp RABSHAKEH). The titles of many court officers are known; but it is difficult to ascertain their functions. The more important were eligible for the office of the *limmu*, to which they succeeded in order, each giving his name to the year during which he held office (see § 19 and CHRONOLOGY, § 23). In a military state such as Assyria a system of civil administration, it may be said, had almost disappeared. The governors of the various cities in the realm, whose duty it was to maintain order and send periodical accounts to the king, were not civilians. In fact, every position of importance in the empire was filled from the army. Priests and judges exercised a certain authority; but it was small in comparison with that of similar classes in Babylonia.

17. Government.

It was Assyria that at first attracted the attention of explorers, though within recent years Babylonia has enjoyed a monopoly of excavation and discovery

18. Excavations.

In the year 1820 Rich, the resident of the East India Company at Bagdad, visited Mōṣul and made a superficial examination of the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yiinus. He obtained some fragments of pottery and a few bricks inscribed in cuneiform characters, and he published an account of what he bad seen. It was not until 1842 that attention was again attracted to these mounds. Botta, the French Consul at Mōṣul, then began to explore Kuyuniik. His efforts, however, did not meet with much success, and next year he transferred **his** attention to Khorsabad, 15 m. to the N. of Mōṣul. There he came across the remains of a large building that subsequently proved to be the palace of Sargon, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.). The majority of the sculptures that he and Victor Place excavated on this site are to be found in the Louvre, some, however, were obtained for the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

In 1845 Sir Henry Layard explored the mounds at Nimrūd

[1] They shine with beautiful prismatic tints. Most glass that has been buried for a considerable period, indeed, whether of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman manufacture, presents this iridescent appearance. It is a popular error to suppose that it possessed these tints from the beginning and that the art by which the colouring was attained has perished with those who practised it. The ancients must not he allowed to take the credit due to nature. The earth and the atmosphere acting on the surface of the glass have liberated the silex, and the process of decomposition is attended with the iridescent appearance.

and Kuyunjik, undertaking excavations at these places for the trustees of the British Museum ; these diggings were continued by Loftus, Rassam, and others, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then serving as Consul-General and political agent at Bagdad, and they resulted in the discovery of the principal remains of Assyrian art that have been recovered. At Nimriid the palaces of Ašur-nāṣir-pal (884-860 B.C.), Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) have been unearthed (cp CALAH), and at Kuyunjik (cp NINEVEH) the palace of Sennacherib (705-681), and that of Ašur-bāni-pal (669-625). The bas-reliefs, inscriptions, etc., from that palace are preserved in the British Museum. At Kuynnjik (1852-54) the famous library of Ašur-bāni-pal, from which the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature is derived, was discovered. At Kal'at Sherkāt and at Sherif Khān excavations were successful ;'important stone inscriptions and clay cylinders of the early kings were found at Karat Sherkāt.

The years 1878-79 were times of remarkable discoveries. During this period the 'finds' at Kuyunjik included the great cylinder of Ašur-bāni-pal (*q.v.*), the most perfect specimen of its kind extant; at Nimrūd a large temple dating from the time of Ašur-nāṣir-pal was nnearthed, while excavation at Tell-Balawāt resulted'in the recovery of a second temple of Ašur-nāṣir-pal and the bronze coverings of the gate of Shalmaneser II. (cp *supra*). Besides the excavators and explorers of Assyria to whom reference has been made, two others should he mentioned —George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge. George Smith in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875-76, undertook three expeditions to that country, on the last of which he lost his life. The most recent additions to the collection of cuneiform tablets from Kuyunjik were made by Budge in the years 1888 and 1891.

Of the Assyrian antiquities which have been recovered, most of the sculptures of Sargon from Khorsabād are in the Louvre ; Berlin possesses a stele of Sargon found at Cyprus (cp SARGON) and a stele of Esarhaddon ; a few slabs from the palace of ASur-nāṣir-pal have found their way into the museums at Edinburgh, the Hague, Munich, Ziirich, and Constantinople, and others from Kuyunjik into private galleries ; almost all else is to be found within the walls of the British Museum.

19. Chronology. There are four main sources of information for the settlement of Assvrian chronology—the so-called 'Eponymlists' (seebelow),thechronological notices scattered throughout the historical inscriptions (see § 20, beg.), the &ealogies some of the kings give of themselves (see § 20, end), and lastly those two most important documents which have been styled the 'Synchronous History' (§ 21, beg.) and the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (§ 21, end).

The early Babylonians had counted time by great events, such as the taking of a city, or the construction of a canal (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 2, beg.). This primitive system of reckoning, by which a period or date could be but roughly estimated, gave place among the later Babylonians to the fashion of counting time according to the years of the reigning king.

The Assyrians adopted neither of these methods. They invented a system of their own. They named the years after certain officers, each of whom may possibly have been termed, a *līmu* or *limmu*, though the majority of scholars agree in regarding this term as referring not to the officer himself, but to his period of office. These officers or eponyms were appointed in a general rotation ; each in succession held office for a year and gave his name to that year; the office was similar to that of the archonate at Athens or the consulate at Rome. Lists of the *limmus* have been preserved from the reign of Rammān-nirari II. (911-890 B.C.) down to that of Ašur-bāni-pal (669-625 B.c.). Some of them merely state the name of the eponym ; others add short accounts of the principal events during his term of office. Now, it is obvious that the dates of all the years in this known succession will be known if there be any of them that can be determined independently. It fortunately happens that there is such a year. From the list we know that in the eponymy of Pur-Šagali in the month of Sivan (May-June) the sun was eclipsed, and astronomers have calculated that there was a total eclipse at Nineveh on the 15th of June 763 B.C. Hence the year of Pur-Šagali is fixed as 763, and the dates of the eponyms for the whole period covered by the lists are determined (see further CHRONOLOGY, § 24, and cp below, § 32).

For the chronology before this period other sources must be sought. Approximately it can sometimes be determined by means of data supplied by the inscriptions of the kings in the form of chronological notices or remarks.

20. Earlier period. For example, Sennacherib in his inscription engraved on the rock at Bavian (see *KB* 2 116 *ff.*), in recounting his conquest of Babylon (689 B.c.), adds that Rammān and Sala. the gods of the city of Ekallāti which Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Aklrad, in the time of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had carried away to Babylon, he now recovered and restored to their place after a lapse of 418 years (cp below, § 28). According to Sennacherib's computation, therefore, Tiglath-pileser I. must have been reigning in the year 1107 B.C., and from the inscription of Tiglath-pileser himself on his cylinders (cp below, § 28, beg.) we know that this year is probably not among the first five of his reign (cp below, § 28). Moreover, Tiglath-pileser himself tells us that he rebuilt the temple of Anu and Rammān, which sixty years previously had been pulled down by Ašur-dān because it had fallen into decay in the course of 641 years since its foundation by Šamši-Rammān (cp below, § 25). This notice, therefore, proves that Ašur-dān must have been on the throne about the years 1170 or 1180 B.C., and further approximately fixes the date of Šamši-Rammān as about the year 1820. The date of one other Assyrian king can be fixed by means of a reference made to him by one of his successors. Sennacherib narrates (cp below, § 27) that a seal of Tukulti-Ninib I. had been brought from Assyria to Babylon, where after 600 years he found it on his conquest of that city. Sennacherib conquered Babylon twice, once in 702 and again in 689 ; it may be concluded, therefore, that Tukulti-Ninib reigned in any case before 1289 B.c., and possibly before 1302 B.C. We thus have four settled points or pegs on which to hang the early history of Assyria.

Further assistance in the arrangement of the earlier kings is obtained from genealogies. Rammān-nirari I., for example, styles himself the son of Pudil (=Pudi-ilu), grandson of Bēl-nirari, great grandson of Ašur-uballiṭ, all of whom, he states, preceded him on the throne of Assyria. Most of the Assyrian kings of whom we possess inscriptions at least state the name of their father, while in one instance we know the relationship between two early kings from a considerably later occupant of the throne, Tiglath-pileser I., informing us that Šamši-Rammān was the son of Išmi-Dagan and that each was an early *patesi* of Assyria. We thus know to a great extent the order in which the kings must be arranged, and in cases where a son succeeds his father we can assign approximately the possible limits of their respective rules.

21. Synchronous history. A further aid is found in the 'Synchronous History' of Assyria and Babylonia. This inscription was an official document drawn- up with the aim of giving a brief summary of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria from the earliest times in regard to the boundary line dividing the two countries. The chief tablet on which this record is inscribed is, unfortunately, broken; but much still remains which renders the document one of the most important sources for Babylonian and Assyrian history. From it we ascertain for considerable periods which kings of Babylonia and Assyria were contemporaries.

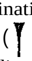
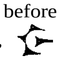
Similar information for the period from about 775 to 669 B.C. is obtained from the Babylonian Chronicle.

Now, we know the order and the length of the reigns of a great majority of the Babylonian kings from the Babylonian lists of kings that have been discovered, and the dates of some can be fixed, like those of the earlier Assyrian kings, from subsequent chronological notices (cp BABYLONIA, § 38). The dates and order, therefore, of the kings of both Babylonia and Assyria can to some extent be approximately settled independently of one another, and each line of kings can be controlled

from the other by means of the bridges thrown across between the two by the 'Synchronous History' and the 'Hnbylonian Chronicle.'

A further means of control is supplied by the points of contact that we can trace between Assyria and Egypt. Such are the Egyptian campaigns of Ašur-bāni-pal recounted on his cylinder inscription and the letter from Ašur-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., recently found at Tell el-'Amārna, and now preserved in the Gizeh Museum. These points of contact are not, however, sufficient to warrant a separate classification; and to go to Egyptian chronology to fetch help for that of Assyria would be to embark on an explanation *ignoti per ignotius* (cp EGYPT, § 55 *f.*, and CHRONOLOGY, § 19).

Assyrian chronology, therefore, unlike that of early Babylonia, may be regarded as tolerably fixed. The dates of the later Assyrian kings, with the exception of the successors of Ašur-bāni-pal, can be settled almost to a year, while the dates assigned by various scholars to the earlier Assyrian kings, though differing, do not differ very widely. The data summarised above, which must form the basis of every system of Assyrian chronology, are not elastic beyond a certain point. Thus, whilst no two historians agree precisely as to the dates to be assigned to many of these earlier kings, the maximum of their disagreement is inconsiderable, and the results arrived at by almost any one of them may be considered approximately correct.

22. Names. With the Semitic races in general and the Babylonians and Assyrians in particular proper names retained their original forms with great persistency. Among these two nations, in fact, many names consist of short sentences, complete and perfectly grammatical; indeed, were it not for the determinatives placed before them to show that they are names ( for males,  for females) the difficulty of reading Assyrian texts would be considerably increased.

The following are translations of some of the names of Assyrian kings the interpretation of which may be regarded as certain. Where the real Assyrian form of the name differs from the form now in common use it is added in brackets:—

Išmi-Dagan . . . . 'Dagon hath heard.'
Šamši-Rammān . . . 'My sun is Rimmon.'
Ašur-bēl-nišišu . . . 'Ašur is lord of his people.
Puzur-Ašur . . . . 'Hidden in Ašur.
Ašur-nādin-aḫē . . . 'Ašur giveth brethren.'
Ašur-uballiṭ . . . . Ašur hath quickened to life.
Bēl-nirari . . . . . 'Bel is my helper.
Rammān-nirari . . . 'Rimmon is my helper.
Shalmaneser (Šulmanu-ašaridu) 'Šulman is chief.
Tukulti-Ninib . . . 'My help is Ninib.'
Bēl-kudur-uṣur . . . 'Bel, protect the boundary!
Ninib-pal-Ešara . . . 'Ninib is the son of Ešara.'
Ašur-dān . . . . . 'Ašur is judge.'
Ašur-rēš-iši . . . . 'Ašur, raise the head!'
Tiglath-pileser (Tukulti-pal-Ešara) 'My help is the son of Ešara.
Ašur-bēl-kala . . . . 'Ašur is lord of all.'
Ašur-nāṣir-pal . . . 'Ašur protecteth the son.'
Ašur-nirari . . . . 'Ašur is my helper.'
Sargon (Šarru-kīnu) . 'The legitimate king.'
Sennacherib (Sin-aḫē-erba) 'Sin (*i.e.*, the Moon-god) hath increased "brethren."'
Esarhaddon (Ašur-aḫ-iddina) 'Ašur hath given a brother.'
Ašur-bāni-pal . . . 'Ašur is the creator of a son.
Ašur-etil-ilāni . . . 'Ašur is prince of the gods.'
Sin-šar-iškun . . . . 'Sin hath established the king.'

23. History. The beginnings of the Assyrian empire are not, like those of Babylonia, lost in remote antiquity. It is far more recent in its origin. The account contained in Gen. 10 11 to the effect that the Assyrians went forth from the Babylonians and founded their own cities is supported by all the evidence we can gather from the inscriptions. It is true that no actual account of this emigration has yet been found among the archives of either nation; but every indication of their origin tends to support the biblical account, for the Assyrians in all that they have left behind them betray their Babylonian origin. Their language and method of writing, their literature, their religion, and their science were taken over from their southern neighbours with but little modification, and their very history is so interwoven with that of Babylonia that it is often difficult to treat the two countries separately.

24. Settlement. The period at which the Assyrian offshoot left its parent stem, though not accurately known, can be set within certain limits. It must have been at least before 2300 B.C. The Babylonian emigrants, pushing northwards along the course of the Tigris, formed their first important settlement on its W. bank some distance to the N. of its point of junction with the Lower Zāb. Here they founded a city, and called it Ašur after the name of their national god,—a city that long continued to be the royal capital of the kingdom.

25. Earliest rulers. The oldest Assyrian rulers did not bear the title of king. They bore that of *iššakku*, a term equivalent to the title *patesi*, assumed by many rulers of the old Babylonian cities in the S. The phrase '*iššakku* of the god Ašur' is not to be taken in the sense of 'priest.' In all probability it implies that the ruler was the representative of his god—an explanation that is quite in accordance with the theocratic feeling of the period.

The earliest iššakkus at present known to us are Išmi-Dagan and his son Šamši-Rammān. The latter built a temple to the gods Anu and Rammān, which, Tiglath-pileser I. tells us, fell into decay; 641 years afterwards Ašur-dān pulled it down, and 60 years later it was rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser himself. This reference enables us to fix the date of Šamši-Rammān at about 1820, and it is usual to assign to Ilmi-Dagan, his father, a date some twenty years earlier, *circa* 1840 B.C. In addition to his buildings at Ašur, Šamši-Rammān restored a temple of Iltar at Nineveh. The names of other iššakkus are known, although their dates cannot be determined.

Bricks, for example have been found at Ḳal'at-Sherḳāt, the site of the ancient city of Ašur, which bear the name of a second Šamši-Rammān, the son of Igur-kapkapu, and record that he erected a temple to the national god in that city. Another brick from the same place is inscribed with the name of Irišum, the son of Ḫallu, commemorating his dedication of a building to the god Ašur for the preservation of his own life and that of his son.

There are no data for determining the relation of Assyria to Babylonia at this period. Whether the early iššakkus still owed allegiance to their mother country or had already repudiated her claims of control is a question that cannot be decided with certainty. It is generally supposed, however, that at some period between 1700 and 1600 B.C. Assyria finally attained her independence.

26. First kings. The oldest Assyrian king whose name is known to us is Bēl-kapkapu. Rammān-nirari III., in an obscure passage in one of his inscriptions, mentions Bēl-kapkapu as one of his earliest predecessors on the throne of Assyria. This passage is, however, the only indication we possess of the time at which he ruled. The first Assyrian king of whom we have more certain information is Ašur-bēl-nišišu. With this king our knowledge of Assyrian history becomes more connected, and we can trace in greater detail the doings of the various kings and the relations they maintained with Babylonia. The source of information that now becomes available is the 'Synchronous History' (see above, § 21). *circa* 1480.

From this document we learn that Ašur-bēl-nišišu was on friendly terms with Kara-indaš, a king of the third Babylonian dynasty, with whom he formed a compact and determined the boundary that should divide their respective kingdoms. These friendly relations were maintained by Puzur-Ašur, king of Assyria, who concluded similar treaties with Burna-Buriaš, king of Babylonia. Puzur-Ašur was probably succeeded by Ašur-nādin-aḫē (*circa* 1420). This king is mentioned in a letter of Ašur-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, in which he refers to Ašur-nādin-aḫē as his father. How long the friendly relations between Assyria and Babylonia continued we *circa* 1440.

cannot say; hut it was impossible that friction should always he avoided. Assyria was proud of her independence, while Babyloniacould not hut be jealous of her growing strength. Thus it was not long before their relations became hostile. **It** is under *circa* 1410. Ašur-uballiṭ that we first find the two nations in open conflict. Ašur-uballiṭ, to cement his friendship with Babylonia, had given his daughter Muballiṭat-šerũa in marriage to **a** Babylonian king, and Kara-ḫardaš, the offspring of this union, in time succeeded his father on the throne. He was slain, however, in **a** revolt, and Nazi-bugaš, ***a*** man of unknown origin, was set up in his stead. To avenge the death of his grandson, Ašur-uballiṭ invaded Babylonia, slew Nazi-bugaš, and set the youngest son of Burna-Buriaš, Kurigalzu II., on the throne. (Such is the account given **in** the 'Synchronous History' of Ašur-uballiṭ's intervention in Babylonian affairs. It may he mentioned, however, that a parallel text contains a somewhat different version of the affair, with which the account in the 'Synchronous History' has not yet heen satisfactorily reconciled.) Kurigalzu did not long maintain friendship with Assyria. Soon we find him at war with Ašur-uballiṭ's sou *circa* 1380. and successor, Eel-nirari. Bēl-nirari, however, defeated him at the city of Sugagu, and after plundering his camp added to the Assyrian territory half of the country from the land of Šubaru to Babylonia. Bel-nirari's son Pudi-ilu ***(circa*** 1360) retained the territory his father had acquired, but did not attempt to make further encroachments on the S. He undertook successful expeditions, however, against the tribes on the E. and SE. of Assyria. **We** possess an inscription on a brick from his palace at Ašur, and another inscription of his on **a** six-sided stone (in the Eritish Museum) records that he erected a temple to Šamaš the Sun-god. His son *circa* 1345. Rammān-nirarı I., after strengthening the Assyrian rule in the territory recently acquired by his father, turned his attention to his S. boundary. He conquered the Babylonian king Nazi-maruttaš in Kār-Ištar-Akarsallu, and added considerably to his empire.

Rammān-nirari was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser I. He has left us no account of the expeditions he *circa* 1330. undertook; but that he was a great conqueror we gather from a reference in the annals of Ašur-nāṣir-pal. This king relates that in his reign the Assyrians whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded him, had settled in the city of Ḫalzidipḫa revolted under Ḫulai, their governor, and took the royal Assyrian city of Damdamnsa. These places lay on the upper course of the Tigris; and it is evident from Ašur-nāṣir-pal's account that Shalmaneser had formed a sort of military outpost *at* this spot which shows that he must have undertaken successful expeditions against the countries to the NW. of Assyria. We may conclude that it was in consequence of this extension of his territory along the Tigris that Shalmaneser transferred his capital from ASur in the south, which had formed the royal residence of Assyria, to Calah, a city of which he was the founder, as we learn from Ašur-nāṣir-pal. This new capital was situated about eighteen miles S. of Nineveh (cp CALAH). Shalmaneser, however, did not neglect the older capital. He enlarged its royal palace and restored the great temples.' We know also that he restored the great temple of Ištar at Nineveh.

27. Shalmaneser I., etc.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninih, who, like his father, busied himself in extending *circa* 1290. the NW. limits of his kingdom. At the sources of the Subnat, a river that joins the Tigris some distance above the modern Diār-bekr, he caused an image of himself to be hewn in the rock. He conquered Babylonia, and for seven years governed the country by means of tributary princes. Though we have not recovered any actual inscription of this king, we possess a copy of one made by the orders of Sennacherib, on a clay tablet in the British Museum. The original was inscribed on a seal of lapis-lazuli, and Sennacherib tells us it had been carried from Assyria *to* Babylon. Six hundred years later, says Sennacherib, on his conquest of that city, he found the seal among the treasures of Babylon and brought it back (cp above, § 20). The inscription itself is short, merely containing the name and titles of Tukulti-Ninib, and calling down the vengeance of ASur and Rammān on any one who should destroy the record. How or at what period the seal was brought to Babylon cannot be said with certainty; but it is not improbable that it found its way there during Tukulti-Ninib's occupation of the country. This occupation was not permanent. At the end of seven years the nobles of Babylon revolted, and set Rammān-šum-uṣur, or Rammān-šum-nāṣir (the name may be read in either way), on the throne there as an independent king. Tukulti-Ninib was *not* a popular ruler, for he was slain in **a** revolt by his own nobles, who set his son, Ašur-nāsir-pal, upon the throne. We possess an Assyrian copy of a letter written by a Babylonian king named Rammān-šum-nāṣir to Ašur-narara and Nabū-daian, kings of Assyria. If, as has been suggested, the writer of this letter and the king who succeeded Tulcnlti-Ninib on the throne of Babylon are identical, we obtain the names of two other Assyrian kings of this period.

A few years later, under Bēl-kudur-uṣur ***(circa*** 1210), we find the Assyrians and Babylonians again in conflict. Bēl-kudur-uṣur, *circa* 1205. the Assyrian king, was slain in the battle; but Ninib-pal-ESara retreated with the Assyrian army, and when the Babylonians followed up their advantage by an invasion of Assyria he defeated them and drove them from the country. The Babylonians, however, though repulsed, appear to have regained **a** considerable part of their former territory from the Assyrians. The next occupant of the throne ***was*** *circa* 1200. Ašur-dān, the son of Ninib-pal-Ebara. He retrieved the disasters which his father had sustained at the hands of the Babylonians. He invaded Babylonia against Zamama-šum-iddin, captured the cities of Zaban, Irria, and Akarsallu, and returned with rich booty to Assyria. The only other fact that **we** know of this king **was** that he pulled down the temple of Rammān and Ašur which had heen erected by Šamši-Rammān, hut had since fallen into decay. His must have been an energetic reign, to justify the eulogy pronounced on him by his great-grandson Tiglath-pileser I. This monarch describes him as one 'who wielded a shining sceptre, who ruled the men of Bel, whose deeds and offerings pleased the great gods, and who lived to **a** good old age. Ashur-dān was succeeded by his son Mutakkil-Nusku ***(circa*** 1150), of whose reign we know nothing. He in turn was succeeded by his son *circa* 1140. Ašur-rēš-iši, whom Tiglath-pileser calls 'the mighty king who conquered the lands of the foe and overthrew all the exalted'; and from **a** clay howl of his, hearing an inscription, we learn that the peoples of Liillumi and Kuti were among those he overthrew. He **was** victorious against the Babylonians. The Babylonian king, Nehuchadrezzar I., desiring to extend the northern limits of his country invaded Assyria and besieged **a** border fortress. Ašur-rēš-iši, however, summoned his chariots of war, and on his advance the Babylonians retreated burning their siege-train. Nehuchadrezzar, with fresh chadots and troops, soon returned; hut Ašur-rēš-iši, after reinforcing his own army, gave him battle and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. The Babylonian camp was plundered, and forty chariots fell into the hands of the Assyrians.

On the death of Ašur-rēš-iši the throne passed to his *circa* 1120. son Tiglath-pileser I., whose reign marks an epoch in Assyrian history. He is, moreover, the first Assyrian monarch who has left us a detailed record of his achievements. The great inscription of this king is contained on four octagonal cylinders of clay which he buried at the four corners of the temple of Rammān at ABur *to* serve as a permanent record of his greatness and of the extent of the Assyrian empire during his reign. Each of the four cylinders contains the same inscription. Where one is broken or obscure the text can be made out from the others.[1]

28. Tiglath-pileser I.

In the course of the introduction with which he prefaces the account of his expeditions he gives the following description of himself: 'Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the king of hosts who has no rival, the king of the four quarters, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, . . . the king of kings, the excellent priest who, at the command of the Sun-god, was entrusted with the shining sceptre and has ruled all men who are subject to Bēl, the true shepherd whose name has heen proclaimed unto the rulers, the exalted governor whose weapons ASur has commanded and whose name for the rule of the four quarters he has proclaimed for ever, . . . the mighty one, the destroyer who like the blast of **a** hurricane over the hostile land has proved his power, who by the will of Bēl has no rival and has destroyed the foes of ASur.' On the conclusion of this preface the inscription goes on to recount the various campaigns in which Tiglath-pileser was engaged during the first five years of his reign. He first advanced against the inhabitants of Mušku (the Meshech of the OT; see TUBAL), who had overrun and conquered the land of Ḳummuḫ, which lay on hoth sides of the Euphrates to the NW. of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser, therefore, crossed the intervening mountainous region and defeated their

[1] Translation in *KB* 114-47.

five kings with great slaughter. 'The bodies of their warriors,' he says, 'in the destructive battle did I cast down like a tempest. Their blood I caused to flow over the valleys and heights of the mountains. Their heads I cut off, and around their cities I heaped them like . . . Their spoil, their possessions, their property without limit, I brought out. Six thousand men, the remainder of their armies, who before my weapons had fled, clasped my feet (*i.e.*, tendered their submission). I carried them away and reckoned them as the inhabitants of my land.' Tiglath-pileser then attacked the land of Ḳummuḫ, burnt the cities, besieged and destroyed the fortress of Šeriše on the Tigris, and captured the king. He defeated the tribes that came to the assistance of Kummuḫ, and after receiving the subiission of the neighbouring city of Urarṭinaš returned to Assyria with great booty, part of which he dedicated to the gods ASur and Rammān. This expedition was followed by one against the land of Šubari (or Šubarti), in the course of which he defeated four thousand warriors of the Ḫatti (see HITTITES) and captured one hundred and twenty chariots. Another campaign in the mountainous regions of the NW. met with similar success, and resulted in the submission of many small states and cities. Tiglath-pileser now devoted his energies to extending his border in another direction. He crossed the Lower Zāb and overran the districts of Murattaš and Sarada'uš to the S. of Assyria. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to the N., whence he hrought back with him the captured images of twenty-five gods, which he set up as trophies in the temples of his own land. Tiglath-pileser next extended his conquests still farther north into the district around the upper course of the Euphrates. The mountains he passed with great difficulty, and crossed the Euphrates itself on rafts which his troops constructed out of the trees that clothed the hill-sides. Here twenty-three kings of the land of Na'iri, alarmed at his approach, assembled their combined forces to give him battle. 'But,' writes Tiglath-pileser, 'with the violence of my mighty weapons I oppressed them, and the destruction of their numerous host I accomplished like the onslaught of the Storm-god. The corpses of their warriors I scattered in the plains and on the mountain-heights.' After completing the subjugation of the district he restored the kings he had captured, and in addition to the spoil he had taken he received from them as tribute twelve thousand horses and two thousand oxen. The Assyrian king now turned his troops against the region of the W. Euphrates. He subdued the district around the city of Carchemish, and even extended his conquests beyond the river, which his army crossed on rafts buoyed up by inflated skins. The last campaign of which we have a detailed account is that against the land of Muṣri to the N. of Assyria, the inhahitants of which, when at length driven into their chief city of Arini, tendered their submission. Tiglath-pileser then marched through the neighbouring country carrying with him fire and sword, burning the cities he took and digging up their foundations. The royal scribe, speaking in his master's name, concludes his record of these early conquests of Tiglath-pileser with the following summary: 'In all forty-two lands and their kings from beyond the Lower Zāb, from the border of the distant mountains as far as the farther side of the Euphrates up to the land of Hatti and as far as the upper sea of the setting sun (*i.e.*, Lake Van), from the beginning of my sovereignty until my fifth year, has my hand conquered. One command have I caused them to hear; their hostages have I taken; tribute and tax have I imposed upon them.'

The cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-pileser does not recount the later expeditions of his reign. From the Synchronous History,' however, which deals with his relations with Babylonia, we learn that Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Babylonia, had 'a second time' set in battle array their chariots of war that were assembled above the Lower Zāb in Arzuḫina. 'In the second year' they fought in Akkad, where Tiglath-pileser 'captured the cities of Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of the Sun-god, Sippar of Anunitu, Babylon, Opis, the great cities together with their fortifications: at the same time he plundered Akarsallu as far as the city of Lubdi, and the land of Suḫi (on the Euphrates to the NW. of Babylon) in its entirety up to the city of Rapiḳu he subdued.'[1] The phrase 'a second time' is puzzling, for the 'Synchronous History' does not relate a previous campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Babylon. Some scholars therefore suggest that it refers merely to the former struggle of Ašur-rēš-iši, Tiglath-pileser's father, with the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar I.; but it must be remembered that Tiglath-pileser did not meet with unvarying success in his relations with Babylonia, for Sennacherib mentions that during his reign Rammān and Sala, the gods of the city of Ekallāti, had been carried off by Marduk-nādin-aḫē, king of Akkad (cp above, § 20). The question whether this conquest of Ekallāti was before or after Tiglath-pileser's successful Babylonian campaign is still indeed an open one: hut the supposition is plausible that Marduk-nādin-aḫē's advance against Assyria was in the first year of hostilities between the two countries, and that his success was merely temporary, being followed 'in the second year' by Tiglath-pileser's extensive conquests in Babylonia as related in the 'Synchronous History.'

Tiglath-pileser was a great hunter. He kept a record of the beasts be slew in the desert. This was inserted in the cylinder-inscription after the account of his campaigns. From it we learn that with the help of the gods Ninih and Nergal he slew 'four wild oxen, mighty and terrible in the desert of the land of Mitāni and in Araziḳi, which is in front of the and of Hatti,' ten elephants in the district of Ḫarrān and on the bank of the Khahiir, one hundred and twenty lions on foot, and eight hundred with spears while in his chariot. He caught four elephants alive, and brought them hack, together with the hides and tusks of those he had slain, to the city of Sur. No less energetic was the king in his building operations. The temples of the gods in ASur that were in ruins he restored; he repaired the palaces throughout the country that his predecessors had allowed to fall into decay; he extended his water-supply by the construction of canals; he accumulated considerable quantities of grain. As a result of his conquests, he kept Assyria supplied with horses, cattle, and sheep, and brought back from his campaigns foreign trees and plants, which became acclimatised.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser was a period of great prosperity for Assyria. He pushed his conquests until the bounds of his empire extended from below the Lower Zāb to Lake Van and the district of the Upper Euphrates, and from the mountains to the E. of Assyria to Syria on the W., including the region watered by the Khābūr. He was a good warrior; yet he did not neglect the internal administration of his realm. devoting the spoil of his campaigns to the general improvement of the country. In fact, the summary he gives of his own reign is a just one: 'To the land of ASur I added land; to its people I added people. The condition of my people I improved: I caused them to dwell in a peaceful habitation.'

The prosperity which Assyria had enjoyed under Tiglath-pileser does not appear to have long survived his death.

At the time of Ašur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's son, relations between Assyria and Babylonia were of a friendly nature. Ašur-bēl-kala at first made treaties with Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti, king of Babylon; and later, when Rammān-aplu-iddina, a man of obscure extraction, ascended the throne of Babylonia, he further strengthened the connection between the two countries by contracting an alliance with the daughter of the Babylonian king. Šamši-Rammān, another son of Tiglath-pileser I., also succeeded to the throne, hut whether before or after his brother Ašur-bēl-kala cannot be determined. The only inscription of this king that we possess records that he restored the temple of the goddess Ištar in Nineveh.

Such are the only facts we know concerning the immediate successors of Tiglath-pileser I., and at this point a gap of more than one hundred years occurs in our knowledge of the history of Assyria. We may surmise that the period was one of misfortune for the empire. What little can be gathered from the inscriptions concerning these years speaks of disaster.

29. Gap. *circa* 1070-950.

Shalmaneser II., in his monolith-inscription,[1] states that he recaptured the cities of Pethor and Motkinu (beyond the Euphrates), which had been originally taken by Tiglath-pileser I., but had meanwhile been lost by Assyria in the time of a king named ASur- . . . (the latter half of the name being broken). This king may he identified with Ašur-erbi, and in that case he must have met with at least some success in the W., for we know that at a place on the coast of Phœnicia Ašur-erbi cut an image of himself in the rock, near which at a later time Shalmaneser II. caused his own to be set. The names of two other kings are known: Erba-Rammān and Ašur-nādin-aḫē, whose reigns must have fallen during this period: They are mentioned in the so-called 'hunting inscription' of Ašur-nāṣir-pal as having erected buildings in the city of Ašur, which were restored by Ašur-nāṣir-pal.

No direct light is thrown on this dark period by the 'Synchronous History.' As, however, it is written with a strong Assyrian bias, its silence is an additional testimony that during this period Assyria must have suffered misfortunes.

When we once more take up the thread of Assyria's history, our knowledge of the succession of her kings is unbroken down to the time of Ašurbānipal.

30. Predecessors of A.

Tiglath-pileser II. heads this succession of rulers; hut of him we know nothing heyond his name, which occurs in an inscription of his grandson Rammān-nirari II.,[2] who styles him 'king of hosts, king of Assyria.' Tiglath-pileser II. was succeeded by his son Ašur-dān II. Of this king we know that he constructed a canal, which, however, in the course of thirty years fell into disrepair, and was therefore made good by Ašur-nāṣir-pal. Rammān-nirari II. who succeeded his father, has left behind him only the short inscription (just

circa 930.

911.

[1] *KB* 1 198.

[1] *KB* 1 150 *ff.* [2] *KB* 1 48.

mentioned) recording his own name and those of his father and grandfather. He was an energetic ruler, as is evinced by the 'Synchronous History,' which records various successes of his against the Babylonians—first against the Babylonian king, Šamaš-mudammiḳ, and later against his successor, Nabu-šum-iškun, who had set himself by force upon the throne. From this latter monarch he captured many cities and much spoil. He did not however, press his victory. He concluded a truce with the Babylonian king, either Nabū-šum-iškun or his successor, and each added the other's daughter to his harem. His
890. son, Tukulti-Ninib, succeeded him, and from an inscription of this monarch at Seheneh-Su we may infer that he undertook successful expeditions to the N. of Assyria, at least.

Tukulti-Ninib was succeeded by his son Ašur-nāṣir-pal,
884. one of the greatest monarchs Assyria ever produced. The annals of his reign he inscribed on a slab of stone, which he set up in the temple of the god Ninib at Calah. In this inscription,[1] one of the longest historical inscriptions of Assyria, he gives an account of the various campaigns he undertook.

31. Ašur-nāṣir-pal.

In the first years of his reign, he tells us, he went against the land of Numme, a mountainous tract of country to the N. of Assyria, and subdued the lands and cities in its neighbourhood. The king then proceeded against the district of Kirruri that lay along the W. shores of Lake Urŭmīyah. Turning W. from Kirruri, he passed through the land of Kirḫi on the Upper Tigris, and city after city fell into his hands. He returned to Assyria with the booty he had collected, and brought with him Būbu, the son of Bubā, the governor of Ništun, a city where he had met with an obstinate resistance. This wretch he flayed alive in Arbēla, nailing his skin to the city wall. In the same year he again repaired to the region of the Upper Tigris, against the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Paṣatu. He then passed westward to the land of Kummuḫ, quelling a revolt in the city of Sūru on the Khābūr, and seizing the rebel leader Aḫiababa who was brought back to Nineveh, where he was flayed. The tribes surrounding the disaffected region tendered their submission. In the next year the first act of the king was to stamp out another rebellion. News was brought to him that the city of Ḫalzidipḫa, which Shalmaneser II. had colonised (see above, § 27, beg.), was in a state of revolution, and had attacked the Assyrian city of Damdamusa. While on his way against the rebels he set up an image of himself at the source of the river Subnat, beside images of two of his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser I. and Tukulti-Ninib. He then defeated the rebels at the city of Kinahu, which he captured, and proceeded to punish the revolt with severity, flaying the rebel leader Ḫulai. Next he attacked the city of Tēla and burnt it, mutilating the prisoners by cutting off their ears and hands and putting out their eyes. These wretches, while still alive, he piled up in a great heap; he made another heap out of the heads of the slain, while other heads he fastened to trees round the city; the youths and maidens he burnt alive. These details may suffice to show the brutal practices of this great conqueror. Ašur-nāṣir-pal next proceeded to the city of Tušḫa, which had been deserted by the Assyrians in consequence of a famine. After restoring and strengthening its walls, he built a palace for himself and brought back the former inhabitants of the city. After his return he again undertook a pillaging expedition in the mountainous regions of the north. The next two years were mainly taken up with campaigns in Dagara and Zamua, which were in a state of insurrection, Nūr-Rammān, the chief of Dagara, leading the revolt. The war was a protracted one, and three expeditions were required before order was completely restored. These expeditions were followed by others in the region of Kummuḫ, and in the land of Na'iri. From his residence at Tušḫa, the king then crossed the Tigris and captured Pitura and certain towns round the city of Arhaki. Ašur-nāṣir-pal records at this point the death of Ammeha'la, one of his nobles, who was murdered by his subordinates. The king's anger, however, was appeased by a large tribute although, according to one account, he flayed Bur-Rammān, the chief rebel, and nailed his skin to the wall of Sinabu.

One of the most important campaigns in the reign of Ašur-nāṣir-pal was that against the land of Suḫi. Although Šadudu, the ruler of that land, obtained help from Nabū-aplu-iddina, king of Babylonia, his capital Sūru was taken and he himself escaped only by flight. A second campaign led to the subjugation of the whole district and a considerable extension of the Assyrian sphere of influence along the Euphrates. Ašur-nāṣir-pal next crossed the river and carried his arms into N. Syria. He first made his way to Carchemish and received the submission of Sangara, king of the land of Ḫatti. Proceeding SW. and exacting tribute from the districts through which he passed, he crossed the Orontes and marched S. into the district of Lebanon. The cities on the coast of the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Armad (Arvad), sent presents. In the N. districts he cut down cedars, which he used on his return in building temples to the gods. One more expedition Ašur-nāṣir-pal undertook on the N. of Assyria, traversing the land of Ḳummuḫ and again penetrating to the upper reaches of the Tigris.

[1] *KB* 1 50 *ff.*, *RP*(2) 2 134 *ff.*

Ašur-nāṣir-pal firmly established the rule of Assyria in the NW. and the N., while he extended his empire eastwards and laid the foundations of Assyria's later supremacy in the W. on the coast of the Mediterranean. He was one of Assyria's greatest conquerors; but his rule was one of iron, and his barbarity was exceptional even for his time. He was a great builder. At Nineveh he restored the royal palace and rebuilt the temple of Ištar. The city of Calah, which Shalmaneser I. had founded, he rebuilt, peopling it with captives taken on his expeditions. He connected it with the Upper Zāb by means of a canal, and erected two temples and a huge palace, from which his bas-reliefs, now in the British Museum, were obtained (cp above, § 18).

Ašur-nāṣir-pal was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser II. who extended the kingdom of his father beyond Lake
860. Van and Lake Urŭmīyah. He exercised a protectorate over Babylonia in the S., and his kingdom included Damascus, which he had conquered. During his reign, for the first time in history, Assyria came into direct contact with Israel: he mentions Ahab of Israel as one of the allies of Benhadad of Damascus (cp SHALMANESER II.). His later years were troubled by the revolt of his son Ab-dānin-pal; but his younger son, Šamši-Rammān, put down the rebellion, and on his father's death succeeded to the throne.

32. Shalmaneser II. and successors.

On a monolith of Šamši-Rammān II., now in the British Museum, is an inscription in archaistic characters narrating
824. four campaigns of this monarch. He restored order to the kingdom, which had been thrown into confusion by the rebellion of his brother, and, having established his own authority over the territory subjugated by his father, extended it on the E. He routed the Babylonian king, Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi, in spite of the large army the latter had collected, comprising drafts from Elam and Chaldea in addition to his regular troops.

Šamši-Rammān II. was succeeded by his son, Rammān-nirari III.

Two inscriptions on stone slabs from Calah, an inscription on some statues of the god Nebo, and an inscription on a brick
811. from the mound of Nebi-Yūnūs, are the records actually dating from his reign; but these are supplemented by a short notice in the 'Synchronous History,' and by the Eponym Canon, which adds short notices of the principal events during each year of his reign.

Rammān-nirari III. undertook expeditions in Media, Parsua, and the region of Lake Urŭmiyah on the E.; conquered the land of Na'iri on the N.; and subjugated all the coastlands on the W., including Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Mari', king of Damascus (see BENHADAD, § 3), attempted no defence of his capital. He sent to Rammān-nirari his submission, paying a heavy tribute in silver, gold, copper, and iron, besides quantities of cloth and furniture. A considerable portion of Babylonia also owned the supremacy of Rammān-nirari. In his inscription on the statues of Nebo, he mentions the name of his wife Sammuramat (the Assyrian form of the Greek Semiramis). He was a great monarch. His energetic rule and extensive conquests recall those of Shalmaneser II. his grandfather.

Of the three kings that follow not much is known.
782. Shalmaneser III. succeeded Rammān-nirari, and from the Eponym Canon we gather that he undertook campaigns against Urarṭu (Armenia), Itu', Damascus, and Hatarika (Hadrach). He was succeeded
772. by Ašur-dān III. This king made foreign expeditions. His was a troubled reign. The most important event recorded in his time was the eclipse of the sun in 763 (cp above, § 19, end; AMOS, § 4; ECLIPSE, § 1). The same year saw the outbreak of civil war: the ancient city of Ašur had revolted. In 761 the rebellion was joined by the city of Arapḫa, and in 759 by the city of Gozan. In 758, however, after it had lasted six years, the revolt was brought to an end; Gozan was captured, and order once more restored. The troubles of Assyria during the reign of Ašur-dān

were aggravated in the years 765 and 759 by visitations of the plague. On his death he was succeeded by Ašur-nirari.
754. Although at the beginning of his reign this king undertook expeditions against Hadrach and Arpad, and later two campaigns against the Zimri, for the greater part of his reign he was inactive. In 746 the city of Calah revolted, and next year a man of unusual energy usurped the throne, and, assuming the name of Tiglath-pileser, extended Assyrian supremacy farther than it had ever reached. In the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Assyria came into close contact with the Hebrews, a contact that continued under each of his successors until the reign of Esarhaddon. The events of their reigns and the influence they exerted on the history of Israel and Judah are described in the separate articles on these successive kings.

33. Tiglath-pileser III. [Suc]cessors.
745.

Tiglath-pileser III. was succeeded, in 727 by SHALMANESER IV. (*q.v.*), and he in 722 by the
727-669. usurper SARGON (*q.v.*), to whom succeeded in 705 his son SENNACHERIB (*q.v.*), in 680 his grandson ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), and in 669 his great-grandson Ašur-bāni-pal. For the expeditions of the last-named monarch in Egypt, Elam, Arabia, etc. see AŠUR-BANI-PAL. His literary tastes found expression in the collecting of a great library at Nineveh. The Eponym list and his own inscriptions cover only the first part of his reign; his later years are clouded in uncertainty, and the date of his death is a matter of conjecture. The period from his death until the fall of Nineveh is equally obscure. We know the names of two of his sons, Ašur-etil-ilāni and Sin-šar-iškun, who both occupied the throne; but the length of their respective reigns and even the order of their succession are matters of dispute. It used to be assumed that during this period Assyria was entirely stripped of her power and foreign possessions; but this view has now been modified in consequence of recently discovered contract-tablets dated from both northern and southern Babylonian cities according to the regnal years of the last two Assyrian kings. These prove that the Assyrian supremacy in Babylonia continued for some little time at least. Assyria's power, however, was waning. A long career of conquest had been followed by an age of luxury, and her strength was sapped. The Scythian hordes that had swept across W. Asia had further weakened her. Thus, when Nabopolassar, repudiating Assyrian control, allied himself with Cyaxares. king of Media, and their combined forces invaded the country, her resistance met with no success.
circa 606. Though Nineveh held out for two years, the city was at last captured and destroyed, and Assyria was annexed to the empire of the Medes.

34. Decline and fall.

36. Bibliography. The most recent, and at the same time most scientific, work on Assyrian art and architecture is Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. de l'art duns l'antiquité* vol. ii., *Chaldée et Assyrie*, Paris, 1884. 'Of works which appeared soon'after the discovery of the remains of Assyrian art, and do not attempt a scientific treatment, one of the earliest was Botta and Flandin's *Monuments de Ninive*, 5 vols., Paris, 1849-50. The two works of Sir Henry Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* and *Monuments of Nineveh*, contain a good account of his discoveries. In *Assyrian Discoveries*, Lond. 1875, George Smith has described the results of his own explorations.

For the history of Assyria the principal work is Tiele's *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* Gotha, 1886-88. Reference may also be made to Hommel's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Berlin, 1885-88, the *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* by Miirdter and Delitzsch, Calw and Stüttgart, 1891, and' Winckler's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* Leipz. 1892. Among English works dealing with the history of Assyria, see George' Smith's *Assyria* (*SPCK*, Oxf. 1875), and Prof. G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. Lond. 1871. Both these works have been superseded on several points in consequence of later discoveries.

Assyrian history can be rightly understood only if followed in the inscriptions themselves. Translations of most of the historical inscriptions of Assyria are given in Schrader's *KB* i. and ii. Berlin, 1889-90, each of which contains an explanatory map. A series of popular English translations of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments was founded and edited hy Dr. S. Birch of the British Museum and entitled *RP* (12 vols. Lond. 1873-81), of which vols. i. iii. v. vii. ix. and xi. deal with Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. These translations have now, of course, been superseded. In a new series edited by A. H. Sayce (6 vols. Lond. 1888-92) the old methods and plan were not modified. As a collection of all the points in the OT illustrated or explained by the monuments, Schrader's *COT* is still unrivalled.

For works treating of the religion of the Assyrians see **BABYLONIA, § 71.**

For the student who would gain a more than superficial knowledge of Assyriology it is needless to give a list of works, as this has already been done in Bezold's *Bab. Ass. Zit.* Leipz. 1886; the literature since 1886 can be ascertained from the bibliographies appended to the *ZA* and to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and from the *Or. Bibliographie.*

L. W. K.

ASTAD (ασταα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 13 RV = Ezra 2 12, AZGAD.

ASTAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרֹת), Dt. 1 4; RV ASHTAROTH.

ASTARTE. See ASHTORETH.

ASTATH (ασταθ [BA] αζγαδ [L]), 1 Esd. 8 38 = Ezra 8 12, AZGAD.

ASTROLOGER (Dan. 1 20 etc., אַשָּׁף), RV ENCHANTER; and Is. 47 13† (הֹבְרֵ שָׁמַיִם), RV^mg. 'divider of the heavens.' See STARS, § 5; also DIVINATION, § 2 (5) and MAGIC, § 3 (4).

ASTYAGES (αστυαγης [BAQ]), according to Theodotion's text of Bel and the Dragon (*v.* 1), was the predecessor of Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. See CYRUS.

ASUPPIM and HOUSE OF ASUPPIM (1 Ch. 26 17, לָאֲסֻפִּים; εις το ασαφειν [A], ε.τ. εσεφ. [B]; τοις ασαφειμ [L]; *v.* 15 בֵּית הָאֲ', οικου ασαφειν [A], ο. εσεφειν [B], ο. ασαφ [L]; [illegible] [Pesh.]; RV in each case 'the storehouse.' In Neh. 12 25† AV renders the same word 'the thresholds' [marg. 'treasuries,' 'assemblies']; 𝔊^BNAL, *ἐν τῷ συναγαγεῖν με* [different vocalisation]; RV 'the storehouses'), a word used by the Chronicler to describe certain storehouses situated at the temple gates (Nch. 12 25), perhaps specially the southern gate (1 Ch. 26 15). See TEMPLE.

ASUR (ασουρ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 RV = Ezra 2 51, HARHUR.

AŠUR-BANI-PAL. Though mentioned by name only once or twice in OT (see ASNAPPER), Ašur-bāni-pal is important to OT literature from his deportation of troublesome populations to the region of Samaria (see SAMARIA, SAMARITANS, and cp below, § 12); also from references to his campaigns in Egypt and Arabia in the prophecies (see ISAIAH, ii. § 9, and NAHUM, § 2). He was one of Assyria's greatest kings, and famous not less for his devotion to art and literature than for his extensive conquests. His name, which is best read Ašur-bāni (or bani)-apli, means 'Ašur is the creator of a son.' He was the eldest son of Esarhaddon, and ascended the throne in 668 B.C. His succession had been secured by his having been publicly proclaimed king before his father's death, while his brother., Šamaš-šum-ukīn, was installed in Babylon as viceroy or tributary prince.

1. 1st Egyptian campaign. From the moment of his accession he was plunged into a prolonged war in Egypt, for Tarḳū (TIRHAKAH), king of Ethiopia, in the words of Ašur-bāni-pal, 'forgot the might of Ašur, IStar. and the great gods my lords, and trusted in his own strength': that is, he raised a large army and descended upon Egypt. The prefects and governors appointed by Esarhaddon fled at Tarḳū's approach. He captured Thebes, descended the Nile to Memphis where he fixed his capital, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. On receiving the news of this disaster, Ašur-bāni-pal determined to recover Egypt. During the passage of his army through Syria and along the coast of the Mediterranean, reinforcements in men and ships, in addition to the customary tribute, were received from twenty-two subject Icings of

Palestine and Cyprus, among whom Manasseh, king of Judah, is mentioned (cp ESARHADDON). Tarkii, hearing of the advance of the Assyrians, sent out his own forces from Memphis. At Kārbānīti, within the Egyptian border, the forces of Tarḳū were utterly routed, while the king himself abandoned Memphis and escaped by boat to Thebes, leaving his capital and the whole of Lower Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians. The various governors and petty kings, who had formerly been tributary to Esarhaddon and had been expelled by Tarḳū, now returned, and joined their own forces to those of the Assyrians, upon which the combined armies ascended the Nile in a fleet of boats to dislodge Tarḳū from Thebes. In forty days the journey was accomplished. Tarḳū abandoned the city without striking a blow, and retreated into Ethiopia, leaving the whole of Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians.

He did not, however, abandon his designs upon Egypt, and, as his former attempt at open opposition had proved unsuccessful, he now resorted to stratagem. Perceiving that the native Egyptian princes were far from contented under the military sway of the Assyrians, he opened secret negotiations with them, Nikū (NECHO), Šarrulūdāri, and Pakruru leading the conspiracy on the Egyptian side. It was agreed that they should transfer their allegiance to Tarḳū, who in return would leave them in undisturbed possession of their principalities, and that, while he attacked Egypt from the south, they would raise a revolt in the interior. The Assyrian generals, however, suspecting that some treachery was afoot, intercepted their messengers, and learnt the full extent of the plot. Nikū and Šarrulūdāri were hound hand and foot and sent to Nineveh, while their fellow-conspirators were slain. The revolt, thus prematurely hastened, was quelled without difficulty. Tarḳū was once more driven from Upper Egypt, and soon afterwards died.

2. Revolt suppressed.

Ašur-bāni-pal, in restoring the country again to order, appears to have mitigated his former rigour, seeking to conciliate rather than to suppress the native rulers. Nikū was pardoned. He was clothed in costly raiment; a ring was set upon his finger, and a fillet of gold about his head (as an emblem of his restoration); and with presents of chariots, horses, and mules, he returned to Egypt, where he was once more installed as governor in Saïs, while his son Nabū-šēzibanni was appointed governor of Athribis.

Ethiopia, however, could not long keep her eyes from Egypt; and, although Tarḳū was dead, the ambitions of his country did not die with him. It was not long before Urdamanē, his successor, marched northwards' and took Upper Egypt (cp EGYPT, § 66). He advanced from Thebes to meet the Assyrian expedition sent against him, hut was worsted in the battle, returned to the city, and thence fled farther south to Kipkip. The Assyrians marched on Thebes, and the city itself, together with immense booty, fell into their hands. They carried back with them to-Assyria two huge obelisks, and thus set the fashion, adopted by all the later conquerors of Egypt, of perpetuating their victory by means of the monuments of the conquered country itself. 'With full hands,' writes Ašur-bāni-pal, 'I safely returned to Nineveh, the city of my rule.' This successful expedition, however, had no lasting effect. Egypt was too far off to remain for any length of time the vassal of Assyria. Psammetichus, the son of Nikii, obtained the supremacy over the whole country, and permanently shook off the Assyrian yoke.

3. 2nd Egyptian expedition.

After his second Egyptian campaign Ašur-bāni-pal directed his forces against Ba'al, king of Tyre, 'who dwelt in the midst of the sea'—a good description of the city (see TYRE). Like his predecessors, Ašur-bāni-pal failed to capture a stronghold so favoured by nature. He erected towers and earthworks, however, and attempted *to* cut off communication from the sea as well as from the land, and maintained so effectual a blockade that Ba'al, at last reduced to extremities, sent Yaḫi-milki to ask for terms. Ašur-bāni-pal contented himself with levying tribute on the city, and with demanding the king's daughter and nieces for his harem, together with their dowries. After humbling Tyre, it was no hard matter to obtain the submission of the less important princes of the Mediterranean coast. Among these were Yakinlū, king of the island-city of ARVAD, Mugallu, king of Tabal, and Sandašarmū, king of Cilicia (CILICIA, § 2).

4. Siege of Tyre.

Gyges (Gugu), king of Lydia, also appears to have heard of the success of the Assyrian;, and to have sent in his submission. For some years he maintained these friendly relations, and to this fact attributed his success over the Cimmerians, in proof of which he sent to Nineveh two captive Cimmerian chiefs bound hand and foot with fetters of iron. Towards the end of the reign of ASur-bāni-pal, however, Gyges severed his connection with Assyria. and aided Psammetichus (Psanietik) in his struggle for Egyptian independence (cp EGYPT, § 67).

5. Gyges of Lydia, etc.

Ašur-bāni-pal was now free to turn his attention to the eastern borders of his kingdom.

During the absence of the Assyrian army in its distant campaigns, the E. frontier of Assyria had been constantly violated by the king of Mannai (see MINNI). Ašur-bāni-pal determined to chastise Aḫšēri. He marched northwards, and foiled an attempt of his opponent to surprise the Assyrians by a night attack. Aḫšēri fled to his capital Izirtu, while Ašur-bāni-pal laid waste the country. On his death in a revolt he was succeeded by his son Ualli, who bought terms of peace from Ašur-bāni-pal.

The most warlike nation on the E. of Assyria, however, and indeed her most powerful enemy, was ELAM (q.v.). Urtalcu its king had shown his hostility to Assyria already in the reign of Esarhaddon, by attempting to stir up a rebellion in Chaldea; and although, when his people were suffering from famine, he had received assistance from Ašur-bāni-pal himself, he now proposed an invasion of Babylonia, hoping thereby to cripple the Assyrian power.

6. Elam.

Acting on the advice of his general, Mardnk-gum-ibni, he formed an alliance with Bēl-iḳīša king of Gambulu—a conntry situated in the lower basin of thk Tigris, on the shores of the Persian Gulf—and having won over to his side Nabū-šum-īriš, a governor in Chaldea, he crossed the Babylonian border. On news being brought to Ašur-bāni-pal that the Elamites had advanced 'like a flight of locusts' and were encamped against Babylon, he set on foot an expedition, and, marching southwards, drove Urtaku beyond the frontier.

On the death of Urtaku, shortly afterwards, the throne was seized by Teumman, who immediately sought to rid himself of the sons of the former kings, Urtaku and Ummanaldaš I. His intended victims, however, escaped with their friends to the court of Ašur-bāni-pal, where they were in kindliness received, and protected. This incident caused a renewal of the war between Elam and Assyria. An interesting fact, which throws light on Assyrian prophecy, is related. On the eve of the campaign Ašur-bāni-pal prayed solemnly to the goddess Ištar, who to encourage him appeared in a vision to a seer, and promised victory to the Assyrian arms.[1] Confident of success, Ašur-bāni-pal set out for Elam, and pressed on up to the walls of Susa. Here, on the banks of the Eulæus, there was a decisive battle, in which the Elamites were utterly routed.

'The land of Elam,' writes Ašur-bāni-pal, 'through its extent I covered, as when a mighty storm approaches; I cut off the head of Teumman, their king, the rebel who had plotted evil. Beyond number I slew his warriors; alive in my hands I took his fighting men; with their corpses as with thorns and thistles I filled the vicinity of Susa; their blood I caused to flow in the Eulæus, and I stained its waters like wool.'[2]

Ašur-bāni-pal divided the land, proclaimed as vassal kings Ummanigaš and Tammaritu, the two sons of Urtaku who had cast themselves on his protection, and,

[1] See the striking passage in the annals (Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.* 123-126).

[2] [5 R 3, 43, *aṣrup kīma nabāsi. Nabāsu* = 'red-coloured wool.' The adverb *nabāsiš* 'like red wool,' acc. to Ruben, *JQR* 10 553, is an 'Ass. loan-word in the Song of Deborah, corrupted in our text.]

returning by way of Gambulu, exacted a terrible vengeance from that land.

We now approach the greatest crisis in the history of Ašur-bāni-pal. On ascending the throne of Assyria he had appointed his younger brother Šamaš-Sum-ukin king of Babylon, without renouncing his own suzerainty. Šamaš-Sum-ulcin, however, was dissatisfied with his dependent position, and resolved to revive, if possible, the relations between Assyria and Babylon. His own resources being insufficient for subjugating Assyria, he began to form a coalition of the neighbouring nations, all glad of an opportunity to strike a blow at their powerful neighbour. The Chaldeans and the Aramæan tribes of the coast gave assistance; Ummanigaš, king of Elam, threw over his patron Ašur-bāni-pal, and joined the revolt ; Arabia, Ethiopia, and possibly Egypt, sent help. Ašur-bāni-pal did not lose an instant, but set out with the whole of his force to the SE., where he successfully kept his enemies in check.

7. Revolt of Babylon suppressed.

Fortune favoured him by neutralising to some extent the assistance which Šamaš-šum-ukīn expected to receive from Elam, his most powerful ally. That country was thrown by internal revolution into a state bordering on anarchy, Ummanigaš and the whole of his family having been slain by Tammaritu, who in turn was dethroned by Indabigaš, and only saved his life by flight to Assyria.

Ašur-bāni-pal hastened to attack the allied forces, easily defeated them, and proceeded to besiege the four cities —Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha—in which they had sought shelter after their defeat. The defenders held out stubbornly for some time. When all was over, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, to avoid his brother's vengeance, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

After stamping out the rest *of* the rebellion and restoring order throughout Babylonia and Chaldea, Ašur-bāni-pal directed his forces against Elam, where for the next two or three years he carried on a war with Ummanaldaš II., who had ascended the throne of Elam after slaying Indabigaš, his predecessor. It is true that for a short time during this period Ummanaldaš was driven into the mountains by Ašur-bāni-pal, who set Tammaritu on the throne of Elam in his stead; but, as soon as the Assyrian army had withdrawn, Ummanaldaš came out from his retirement, gathered his 'forces, and compelled Ašur-bāni-pal again to take the field against him. On the appearance of the Assyrian army Ummanaldaš retired, allowing Ašur-bāni-pal to capture the cities and lay waste the country on his march. At length, however, he hazarded a battle. He met with a signal defeat and was again driven to take refuge in the mountains, while Susa and its accumulated riches fell into the hands of the Conquerors.

8. Subjugation of Elam.

'By the will of ASur and Ištar,' boasts Ašur-bāni-pal, 'into its palaces I entered and sat myself down rejoicing. Then opened I their treasure-houses, within which silver and gold, furniture and goods, were stored, which the former kings of Elam and the kings who had ruled even to these days had collected and placed therein, whereon no other foe besides myself had set his hands: I brought it forth and as spoil I counted it.' He recovered also all the treasures with which Šamaš-šum-ukīn and his Predecessors had purchased Elamite support. Susa itself was rased to the ground ; the royal statues were carried to Assyria ; the groves were cut down and burnt, and the temples violated.

After the subjugation of Elam the annals of Ašur-bāni-pal relate a series of conflicts with Arabia (Smith, *Hist. of Assurb.* 256 *ff.*). This was the last great war in which this monarch is known to have engaged. At the beginning of his reign he appears to have had friendly relations with the Arabian king Uaite' ; but on the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn the latter joined the coalition against Assyria. Uaite' himself attacked Palestine, overrunning Edom and Moab, and penetrating almost as far N. as Damascus. Here, however, he was defeated by the Assyrians.

9. Arabia.

Leaving his camp standing, Uaite' fled alone to Nabatæa. He appears, however, to have surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal, who threw him into chains, and kept him a prisoner in a kennel with his hounds—Adiyā his wife and the king of Ḳedar, his ally sharing the same fate. The othkr division of the Arabian army: which had joined the forces of Šamaš-šum-ukīn shared his defeat and perished in Babylonia. Abiyate', their leader, surrendered to Ašur-bāni-pal kissed his foot in token of submission and was appointed king 'of Arabia in the place of Uaite'. Nb sooner, however, had he returned to his country, than he associated himself with the Nabatæans in aseries of joint attacks on the frontier of Assyria. Ašur-bāni-pal, therefore, crossed the Tigris with his army, and embarked on a difficult march through the Syrian desert. The Assyrians, after some minor conflicts in which they were successful, eventually engaged the main body of the Arabian army in the mountains of Ḫukkuruna, to the SE. of Damascus. The Arabians were defeated, Ahiyate' and Ayamu were taken, and Ašur-bāni-pal set out for Assyria with immense numbers of captives and herds of cattle; on his return camels were distributed throughout Assyria 'like sheep.'

The annals conclude their record of the wars of Ašur-bāni-pal with an account of his triumphal procession through Nineveh in celebration of his victories.

10. Closing years.

Ummanaldaš, the Elamite, who had shortly before been captured, Tammaritu and Pa'e, two other captive Elamite kings, with Uaite', the king of Arabia, were fastened to the yoke of the chariot in which he rode. He then entered the temple of his gods, offering sacrifices and praising them for the triumphs they had vouchsafed him over his enemies.

Ašur-bāṇi-pal probably reigned till *625* B.C.; but of his later years the royal records do not speak. It is impossible to assign with certainty a reason for this silence. Possibly the kingdom, which had been shaken to its foundations by the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn during these years, showed signs of its approaching end. It is certain, at any rate, that the Medes, whom Ašur-bstni-pal had earlier in his reign defeated, again showed signs of activity (see PERSIA) ; and it is probable that during his reign the wild hordes of the Scythians descended from the N. and the NE., slaying and plundering and carrying all before them. The question whether the empire of Assyria declined only under Ašur-bstni-pal's successors, or had already become disintegrated before his death, is one that cannot be answered with certainty.

Turning from foreign politics to the internal condition of Assyria during the reign of Ašur-bāni-pal, we find the country superficially, at least, prosperous. Though the constant wars of Ašur-bāni-pal must have been a great drain on the manhood of'the nation, his almost unvarying success resulted in a great accumulation of wealth—the spoil of the conquered cities. Not only did his generals carry off the gold and silver, and anything else of value that was portable; not only did they drive to Assyria the flocks and herds of the whole country : the population itself they deported. It was the Assyrian policy (see above, § 1) to weaken the patriotic feeling of the conquered races in this way, and so to lessen the chances of revolt. A secondary object of the conquerors, however, had reference to Assyria herself, for huge bands of captives were brought back in chains to replenish the labouring populace at home. Many of these wretches found their way into the possession of private owners; but the majority of them were retained as slaves by the king himself, who, like his predecessors, sought to gratify his desire for splendour and to perpetuate his name by the erection of huge buildings in the capital. The most important of these buildings of Ašur-bāni-pal was his own palace, which he built to the north of that of his grandfather Sennacherib —the remains exist at the present day in the mound of Kuyunjik opposite the modern town of Mōṣul. The walls of its chambers he lined with sculptures in relief, representing his own exploits on the field of battle and in the chase, in which the details are most carefully and elaborately carved, while the designs themselves mark the acme of Assyrian art. Ašur-bāni-pal restored the palace of Sennacherib, strengthened the fortifications of Nineveh, and built

11. Policy and buildings, etc.

or restored various temples throughout Assyria and Babylonia.

It was the custom of the classical historians to represent Ašur-bāni-pal as of an effeminate and luxurious disposition, spending his life 'at Nineveh in idleness and dissipation. The Assyrian records have dissipated this illusion. Though it is probable that many of his campaigns were conducted by his generals, the king's personal valour in the field and in the hunt is undoubted. His skill as an administrator is testified by his organisation of the immense territory acquired in his victorious campaigns. His palaces and buildings, even to this day, bear witness to his love for art and architecture. It is for none of these things, however, that his memory is honoured above that of other kings of Assyria. He was the first of his nation to make a systematic and universal study and collection of his country's literature, and it is to the library he collected in his palace that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature and language. L. W. K.

ASYLUM, a sanctuary, within whose precincts those who take refuge may not be harmed without sacrilege.

1. General principle. In early times, holy places, as the homes or haunts of the gods, extended over everything in them the protection of their own inviolability. Wild animals, and sometimes even domestic animals which strayed into them, shared this protection with debtors, fugitive slaves, and criminals, as well as the victims of unjust pursuit or violence. Manslayers sought refuge in them from the sword of the avenging kinsmen, and the right of asylum had an especial importance among those peoples in which the primitive law of blood vengeance was most persistently maintained.[1] The right of asylum was possessed by different sanctuaries in various degrees, depending on prescription, the holiness of the place, and other circumstances; it sometimes extended to an entire city, or even to a mark beyond its walls. Even within the same sanctuary it was, of course, a greater sacrilege to drag the suppliant away from the altar or from the image of the god, or to slay him there, than merely to violate the sacred precincts. In later times the abuse of these privileges led to legal regulation and restriction (cp, *e.g.*, Tac. *Ann.* 3 60-64 4 14).

In Israel the oldest law (Ex. 21 12-14) recoguises the right of asylum, but denies its protection to the

2. Early practice. murderer with malice aforethought : 'from beside my altar thou shalt take him to die.' Doubtless every altar of Yahwè (Ex. 20 24 *f.*) was an asylum; but not all were equally venerated, nor would the village high-place protect the suppliant as securely as the more famous sanctuaries. The only historical instances in the OT in which men who fear for their lives take refuge at Gods altar are those of Adonijah (1 K. 1 50-53) and Joab (1 K. 2 28-34; on the text cp 𝔊 and Klo.). Adonijah was persuaded to leave the asylum; Joab, by Solonion's orders, was slain at the very altar.

When the drastic reforms of Josiah (621 B.C.) destroyed and desecrated all the old holy places of

3. In Dt. Yahwè in his kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem, one of the necessary measures of the reform laws was to provide a substitute for the asyla thus abolished; since it was obviously impossible that manslayers from the remote parts of the land should escape to Jerusalem. Accordingly, six cities of refuge are appointed — three E. of the Jordan (Dt. 4 41-43),[2] three W. of it (Dt. 19 2 *f.*)—with eventual provision for three more, in Philistia, Phcenicia, and Ccele-Syria (Dt. 19 8-10). The distinction between manslaughter and murder is clearly defined and illustrated; the case is tried at the place where the offence was committed, and if the verdict be murder the elders of the city in whose territory the defendant resides are empowered to take him from the asylum and deliver him to 'the next kinsman of the murdered man, as the natural executor of the sentence.[1]

The post-exilic law also (Nu. 35 9 *ff.*, cp Josh. 20 2-6) appoints six cities of refuge (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט), and defines the

4. In P. crimes in substantially the same way; but it differs radically from the Deuteronomic legislation in providing (1) that the manslayer shall be brought from his asylum to be tried before the 'congregation' ('*ēdāh*)—*i.e.*, the religious community of the post-exilic Jerusalem (Nu. 35 12 24 *f.*)—and (2) that at the death of the high priest the manslayer may without peril return to his home and estates (*vv.* 25 28).[2] Further, it is explicitly forbidden to compound the crime by talcing a bloodwite, or to allow the homicide upon payment of a fine to leave the city of refuge before the death of the high priest.

The cities designated are, E. of the Jordan, Bezer, Ramoth in Gilead, and Golan in Bashan (Dt. 4 41-43

5. Cities of refuge. Josh. 20 8); W. of the Jordan, Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem, and Hebrou '(Josh 20 7). The last three were all venerable sanctuaries, older, indeed, than the Israelite invasion, and were probably chosen not only on account of their location, but also because they were already asyla of established sanctity. It may be assumed that this was the case also with the cities of refuge E. of the Jordan, of which, with the exception,of Ranioth, we know little. Jewish scholars, with some plausibility, maintain that, besides those, all the other Levitical cities, of which there were forty-four, many of them seats of ancient sanctuaries, possessed the right of asylum in a lower degree.[3] Whether this system was ever actually introduced in its whole extent is doubtful. Neither in the brief years between Josiah's reform and the fall of the Judæan kingdom nor after the restoration did Judah possess more than a small part of the territory contemplated by these laws.

In the Greek period, and later (under Roman rule) many Hellenistic cities in Syria enjoyed the privileges of

6. Parallels. asylums. Not to speak of the famous sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne, near Antioch, where the Jewish high priest, Onias, is said to have taken refuge (2 Macc. 4 33 *ff.*, cp Strabo, xvi. 2 6), the title ἄσυλος appears on coins of Cæsarea, Panias, Diocæsarea (Sepphoris) in Galilee, Ptolemais (Acco), Dora (Dor), Scythopolis (Beth-shean), Gadara and Abila in the Decapolis, and others. According to Josephus (Ant. xiii. 2 3), this character was conferred on Jerusalem by Demetrius I.; but 1 Macc. 10 31 knows nothing of it. Cp. ASHTORETH, ASHERAH.

There is no recent and adequate work on this subject. *The Law of Asylum in Israel*, by A. P. Bissell (Leipsic, 1882) is a laboured attempt to prove that the laws must all have originated in the age of Moses. See also S. Ohlenhurg, *Die biblischen Asyle in talmudischem Gewande*, 1895; and compare Steugel, art. 'Asylon' in *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Real-encycl. der class. Altertumswiss.* On the wide diffusion of the fundamental conception of asylums, and on its possible origin, *see* J. G. Frazer's article on 'The Origin of Totemism and Exogamy' in *Fort. Rev.*, April 1899. G. F. M.

ASYNCRITUS (ἀσύγκριτος [Ti.], -υνκ. [WH]) is one of five who, with 'the brethren that are with them,' are saluted in Rom. 16 14. They seem to have been Christian heads of households, or perhaps class leaders of some sort.

Asyncritus figures in the list of the 'seventy disciples' by the

[1] So, *e.g.*, in Greece; whilst in Rome, where blood vengeance was early abolished by law, the right of asylum was almost exclusively reserved for slaves.

[2] These verses are out of place, and probably secondary; see DEUTERONOMY, § 20.

[1] In all these particulars there is a striking and instructive resemblance to the Athenian code of Draco (624 B.C.).

[2] In this provision it is evident that the sojourn in the city of refuge is regarded as a species of exile, a punishment which was removed hy a general amnesty at the ascension of the new high priest, the real sovereign. Accordingly, in the Mishna, and in Jewish jurisprudence generally, residence in the city of refuge is called *gōlā*, 'exile,' cp *e.g.* *Makkoth*, 3 1.

[3] See Maimonides, *Yad Ḥazaḳa*, Hilkoth Roṣeah, ch. 8.

Pseudo-Dorotheus as bishop of 'Urbania,' and in that of the Pseudo-Hippolytus as bishop of 'Hyrcania' (doubtless the preferable reading). In the great Greek *Menæa* he is commemorated along with Herodion and Agahus on 8th April.

ATAD (הָאָטָד), Gen. 50 10. See ABEL-MIZRAIM.

ATAR (ατaρ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, ATER, 2.

ATARAH (עֲטָרָה, 'crown'; αταρα [BL], ετερα [A]), second wife of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2 26). In genealogical phraseology this signifies that the clan occupied a new region (cp Caleb's wife Ephrath: and see AZUBAH, CALEB), and presumably, like Caleb, it moved farther N., in which case we may compare Atarah with ATROTH-BETH-JOAB, mentioned along with Bethlehem, etc., in 1 Ch. 2 54.

ATARGATIS, TEMPLE OF (το ατεργατιον [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 26; cp 1 Macc. 5 43 *f.* In the walled enclosure of this trans-Jordanic temple the Ammonites and Arabians defeated by Judas the Maccabee, after throwing away their arms, took refuge (see ASHTAROTH, § 1). It was in **164** B.C., the year after the re-dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, which had animated the foes of the church-nation to a deadly persecution (1 Macc. 5 2). Judas had already acted with the severity of the old Israelitish law of war, dealing with the trans-Jordanic towns and the heathen part of their peoples as Joshua had dealt with Jericho (1 Macc. 5 5 28; cp Josh. 6 24, JE), but with the added zeal against idolatry justified by Dt. 7 5 12 3. Naturally, this champion of monotheism, like his successor Jonathan at Ashdod (1 Macc. 10 83), had no scruple in violating the temple precincts. The unarmed multitude he slew (2 Macc..), and the temple-buildings, with all the objects polluted by idolatry, he burned (1 Macc.).

Atargătis (עתרעתה; cp Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* n. 3; also עתרעתו; cp *ZDMG* ['52] 6 473 *f.*), to whom the temple belonged, is in *The Speaker's Commentary* (n. on 1 Macc. 5 26) identified with Astarte. This is a natural error, for Carnaim is no doubt Ashteroth-Karnaim—so called from the addiction of the town to the worship of various forms of Ashtoreth or Astarte. We know, however, that these deities were different: for at Ascalon there were temples of Astarte and of Atargătis (Derkĕto) side by side. All that is true is that the first part of the name Atargătis (*i.e.*, עתר) is the Aramaic equivalent of the Phœnician and Heb. עשתר[ת] without the fem. ending (see PHŒNICIA); but the religious significance of this Atar ('Attâr for 'Athtar) is profoundly modified by its union with 'Athe (usually written עתה or עתי), a Palmyrene divinity whose name is well attested, and occurs in many proper names.[1] Atargătis is, in fact, that form of Astar[te] which has absorbed into itself the characteristics of another deity called 'Athe (cp Ashtar-Kamosh in the inscription of Mesha). Lucian, in his *De Dea Syra*, has left us a minute account of the temple and worship of the Syrian goddess (who was no doubt Atargătis) at Hierapolis (Mabug), which illustrates the Jewish hatred of it.

The connection of this 'omnipotent and all-producing goddess' (Apuleius) with sacred life-giving waters has been studied by Prof. W. R. Smith (*RS*(2) 172-175). *See* also Prof. W. Wright *TSBA* 6 438 *f.*; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 68 *ff.* 256 *f.*; Baudissin, art: 'Atargatis,' in Herzog-Plitt, *PRE* vol. i. (who notices the different forms under which the goddess was represented); Puchstein, *ZA* 9 420; Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* 'Astarte,' 4 *(a)*. T. K. C.

ATAROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, 'crowns' or 'wreaths,' cp Is. 28 1 Zech. 6 11 14, etc.; αταρωθ [BAL]).

1. 1 Ch. 2 54. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAB.

2. **Ataroth-Addar** (עַטְרוֹת אַדָּר, Josh. 16 5, *ασταρωθ και εροκ [B], υτ. κ. αδαρ [A]*, υτ. *asap* [L]; 18 13, AV **Ataroth-Adar**, *μααταρωθορεχ* [B], *υτ. αδδαρ* [A], *ατ. εδδαρ* [L], called also simply ATAROTH, Josh. 16 2, *χαταρωθει* [B, where χ is all that is left of ארכי]), perhaps the present *'Aṭārā* on the high road from Jerusalem to Bethel, 3½ m. S. of Bethel, and 6 E. of the upper Beth-horon (see Guérin, *Judée*, 3 6 *f.*; but on the other side Robinson, 2 314). As it is a Benjamite locality, we might plausibly identify ADDAR with the Benjamite clan-name ADDAR, ARD [*q.v.*].

3. An unknown site (עֲטָרוֹת, Josh. 16 7, *ασταρωθ* [B]) between Janoah and Naarah, on the north-eastern frontier of the territory of Ephraim.

4. A city of Gad (עֲטָרוֹת, Nu. 32 3 34, *αταρων [A]* 34, *ασταρωθ* [F$^{1\,vid.}$]), mentioned in the inscription of Mesha (*l.* 11, עטרת) as reconquered by him, along with a 'land of 'Ataroth (*l.* 10) dwelt in from of old by the men of Gad.' The name survives as that of a mountain, and a ruined site *'Attārūs*, at the top of the Wady Zerḳā Ma'in, 10 m. E. of the Dead Sea. (Tristram, *Moab*, 272-276.) The *OS* (Eus. 214 51, *ασταρωθ* : Jer. 87 17) wrongly identify with no. 1, presumably confusing Joab with Job, whom tradition associates with Ashtaroth-Karnaim. See ATROTH-SHOPHAN. G. A. S.

ATER (אָטֵר, § 66; ατηρ [BA]; 'left-handed'? cp Judg. 3 15 Heb., and the Lat. name Scævola).

1. The B'ne Ater of Hezekiah (בְּנֵי־אָטֵר לְיחִזְקִיָּה; *ατηρ τῳ εζεκια* [BNA]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), Ezra 2 16 (*αζερ τῳ εζεκι* [L]) = Neh. 7 21 (*αζηρ τῳ εζεκια* [L] = 1 Esd. 5 15 (*ατηρ εζεκιου* [A], *αζηρ ε.* [B], *αζηρ τῳ εζεκια* (L), Aterezias, RV ATER OF EZEKIAS. ATER HEZEKIAH, AV ATER HIZKIJAH (אָטֵר חִזְקִיָּה), appears also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 17 [18] (*αδηρ ε.* [BN], *ατηρ ε.* [A], *αζηρ εζεκιας* [L]).

2. The B'ne Ater (υἱοὶ *ατήρ* (BNAI, υἱοὶ *αζήρ* [L]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) (בְּנֵי הַשֹּׁעֲרִים), Ezra 2 42 (υἱοὶ *ατт.* [A]) = Neh. 7 45 (υἱοὶ *ατηρ* υἱοῦ *ατηρ* [B]) = 1 Esd. 5 28, JATAL, RV ATAR (om. B, *αταρ* [A] *αζηρ* [L]).

ATERGATIS (το ατεργατιον [VA]), 2 Macc. 12 26 RV, AV ATARGATIS.

ATETA (ιτητα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, HATITA.

ATMACH (עֲתָךְ, 'inn'? [Ges.]; νοο [B], νομβε [TR], αθαγ [A], ναγεβ [L]), one of the towns of Judah to which David sent a part of the Amalekite spoil (1 S. 30 30†). According to Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, it is the ETHER (*q.v.*) of Josh. 15 42 (*ιθακ* [B], *αθερ* [AL]), 19 7 (*ιεθερ* [B], *βεθ.* [A], *εσερ* [L]); these scholars decline to decide which of the variants is correct, though Budde retains עתך in the text of 1 S. The *νοο*, *νομβε*, and *ναγεβ* of certain MSS may, however, point to a various reading NOB. Guérin visited a place called *Nūbā*, near *Kharās*, and W. of the *Kh. Ḳīlā* (Keilah), which, he thinks, may be meant by *νομβε* (*Judée*, 3 349). That there must have been several places called Nob is generally admitted. Klostermann suggests עֲנָב, *ANAB* (Josh. 11 21), a place near Hebron (Hebron follows), and the question arises whether Nob itself may not be a shortened form of Anāb (see NOB). In Josh. 11 21 𝔊^{n} gives *αναβωθ* = ענבת, out of which both תכן TOCHEN [*q.v.*] and עתך Athach may perhaps have arisen by the loss of one letter and the transposition and slight corruption of other letters. It so happens that there are to-day two 'Anābs S. of Hebron called the great and little. These may represent the Anaboth or Grape-towns. T. K. C.

ATHAIAH (עֲתָיָה, § 39, meaning obscure; cp Gray, *HPN* 297; αθεα [B], -εαι [A], -εε [ℵ], αθαραcθαc [L]; *ATHAIAS*), in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 4 = 1 Ch. 9 4†, UTHAI (עוּתַי; γωθ[ε]ι [BA], ουθι [L]), where different links are given between him and Perez.

ATHALIAH (עֲתַלְיָה, עֲתַלְיָהוּ, §§ 39, 52; 'Yahwè is great'; cp with Che., Ass. *etellu*, 'great, high,' also 'lord,' used of gods and kings [Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.*]).

1. (*γοθολια [BAL]*, but -θλ. [A vid. in 2 K. 11 13]). Daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, and wife of Jehoram,

[1] The oldest centre of the worship of 'Athe is thought by Hommel (*PSBA*, 1897, p. 81) to have been the E. of Asia Minor, whence the cult spread to W. Asia Minor and N. Syria.

king of Judah (2 K. 8 18 26 11 1 *ff.* 13 20). The death of AHAZIAH (*q.v.*, 1) deprived Athaliah of her proud position as queen-mother (גְּבִירָה). Having apparently no other son whom she could place on the throne, she determined to put to death all the surviving male members of the royal family, and to govern in her own name. For six years (841-836 B.C.) she maintained herself on the throne—a singular fact which raises questions more easily asked than answered. We hear of nothing done by her for her adopted country; but whose interest was it to preserve the memory of this? On the story of her deposition and violent death, see JOASH (1). Observe that the massacre of the royal princes by Athaliah, adopted by the Chronicler in 2 Ch. 22 10, is inconsistent with the massacre attributed to Jehoram in 2 Ch. 21 4 and the captivity of all Jehoram's sons but Ahaziah, imagined in 2 Ch. 21 17.

2. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN [§ 9 ii. β], 1 Ch. 8 26 (ογοθολια [B], γοθολια [A], οθνια [L]).

3. A family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. 5 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 7 (αθελει [B], αθλια [A], γοθονιου [L])=1 Esd. 8 33. JOTHOLIAS EV (γοθολιου [BA], -θου. [L]).

ATHARIAS, RV ATTHARIAS (ατθαριας [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 40=Ezra 2 63, TIRSHATHA (*q.v.*).

ATHARIM (אֲתָרִים), in the expression דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲ׳ (Nu. 21 1†) is taken by RV for a place-name ('by the way of Atharim'; so οδον αθαρειν [B], ο. -ειμ [AFL]); by AV and RV^mg. (following Targ. and Syr.) as equivalent to הַתָּרִים ('[the way of] the spies'). That האתרים should have been substituted for התרים is, however, highly improbable. Dillmann has suggested that the word may be connected with the Arab. *athar*, 'vestige' or 'footprint,' and proposes to translate 'the caravan path.' The expression may be corrupt (see KADESH, § 3 i.).

ATHENOBIUS (αθηνοβιος [AKV]), friend of Antiochus VII. Sidētes, and his envoy to Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 15 28-36).

ATHENS (αθηναι). We must repeat the words of Strabo—ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπίπτων τῶν περὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὑμνουμένων τε καὶ διαβοωμένων ὀκνῶ πλεονάζειν (p. 396). There is, indeed, an essential impropriety involved in making Paul's visit to Athens the occasion for a *résumé* of the architectural and artistic treasures of the city.' What the apostle might have seen we can learn from Pausanias; what he did see may safely be reduced to a minimum.

1. Its art unappreciated.

'A Hebrew of the Hebrews,' who, 'after the most exact sect,' 'lived a Pharisee,' could at best feel only indifference to the history of the heathen, and his spirit could not fail to be 'stirred' at the frequent signs of ignorance of God visible on every hand in their cities, even though he had been brought up 'at the feet of' a Rabban Gamaliel, whose liberality of sentiment is, after all, largely problematical. Not one of the associations which are valuable to us crowded into the apostle's mind as he landed at Phalērum or Piræus. And the many-sided art of Athens had no message for a man of his intensity and whole-hearted devotion to the task of destroying the paganism in which that art was rooted.

Much more valuable, and more difficult also, is it to realise the spiritual atmosphere in which Paul found himself.

2. Intellectual atmosphere.

The period of Athenian greatness in politics had long been past. Athens now only a free city of the province of Achaia was not even the seat of the governor (Str. 398). In art and in literature also she was no longer the schoolmistress of nations; in every department of mental activity the creative faculty was dead. In the domain of philosophy alone the manipulation of the dry bones of logical science continued to give the semblance of life. Here also the spring of Athenian wisdom had run dry. The masters of the schools sprang from Asia, Syria, or the Eastern Archipelago; Greece proper was represented exclusively by third- or fourth-rate men. Nevertheless, for centuries Athens continued to be regarded as the chief seat of Greek philosophy; nor did she renounce her claim as a seminary of philosophy to the most important place, even when she had to share that honour with other cities, such as Alexandria, Rome, Rhodes, and Paul's own Tarsus. The whole city, indeed, resembled one of our University towns at an epoch of intellectual stagnation. The so-called education of a Roman was incomplete unless some time had been spent in loitering through the groves and porticoes of Athens. 'Two schools in particular, markedly different and decided in their peculiarities, stood opposed to each other—the school of the Stoics (who insisted almost exclusively on the universal element), and that of the Epicureans, who gave prominence to the individual element in man, pursuing happiness by looking within. The Stoics regarded man exclusively as a thinking being; the Epicureans, as a creature of feeling' (Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans,* and *Sceptics,* 27). Probably in no other city of the world at that time was it easier to meet 'certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics' (Acts 17 18). A well-known and curious parallel to the apostle's visit is afforded by the Life of Apollonius of Tyăna. On his way up from his ship to the city Apollonius met many philosophers, some reading, some perorating, some arguing, all of whom greeted him (*Philos. Vit.* 417). In a word, Athens at the time of Paul's stay, and more notably afterwards, was a city of pedagogues; and 'le pédagogue est le moins convertissable des hommes' (Renan, *St. Paul,* 199). In the midst of this academic element Paul found himself alone (1 Thess. 3 1). For his inner life at this time we must look to the Epistles, not to Acts. He was more attracted by the eager artisans of Thessalonica and the earnest men of business in Corinth than by the versatile and superficial schoolmen of Athens (cp 1 Thess. 1 9). Still, it would be unfair to attribute his failure entirely to the Athenian character[1] (Dēmădes said that the crest of Athens should have been a great tongue): allowance must be made for the inevitable exaggeration of the reformer, whether in morals or in politics: his perspective is distorted. Nor is it fair to count it blame to Athens that she was regarded as ultra-religious, δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, Acts 17 22 (this opening compliment of the apostle's speech admits of rich illustration).[2] It would be a mistake to see in the altar dedicated to the unknown god (Acts 17 23) a desire to include in their Pantheon any and every deity that might possibly be worthy of honour (see UNKNOWN GOD). Worship found expression in art, not in the minutiæ of formalism. Athens was, therefore, pre-eminently a city of statues, and Renan is right in remarking that the prejudices of Paul as a Jew blinded him: he took all the statues he saw for 'objects of worship' (σεβάσματα, Acts 17 23). We are not guilty of 'corrupt Hellenism' in attempting a true estimate of the apostle's attitude.

An explanation of the disappointing effect of Paul's teaching must be sought in the position of the Jewish colony in Athens, and not solely in exaggerated commonplaces on Athenian character and philosophy.

3. Paul's failure.

The colony was evidently not a large one; there would be little to attract Jews thither in preference to Corinth. Paul's work among his countrymen in Athens was slight: he 'conversed' with them (διελέγετο, Acts 17 17). No trace of any building which could have been a synagogue has been found, with the exception of the marble (*Inscr. Æt. Rom. Ath.* 404)

1 Still more would this remark apply to the only places in the OT where Athenians are referred to (2 Macc. 6 1 9 15): on the reading (Vg. has *Antiochenum* in 6 1) see Grimm, *ad loc.*

1 Quotations might be multiplied to illustrate Athenian loquacity (Acts 17 21; cp Thuc. i. 70, νεωτεροποιοί; Ar. *Eq.* 1263, τῇ Κεχηναίων πόλει='Gapenians'; Demosth. Phil. i. 10, 43; Menand. *Fr. Georg.* 9; Plutarch *passim*).

2 Paus. i. 17 1, θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον: *e.g.*, they erected an altar to Mercy; i. 24 3 Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς: Philos. *Vit.* vi. 2, φιλοθύτας: Jul. *Misop.* φιλόθεοι; Æl. *Var. Hist.* v. 17, τοσοῦτον ἦν Ἀθηναίοις δεισιδαιμονίας.

containing the words *αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ κυρίου* (Ps. 118 20); this might have belonged to the entrance of a synagogue. The Hellenic belief *ἅπαξ θανόντος οὔτις* ***Par'*** *ἀνάστασις* was not, in Athens, reduced by the powerful solvent of Judaism. Hence, the moment the apostle uttered the words 'raised from the dead' his audience revolted. Elsewhere his difficulties centred round another point—whether Jesus was the Messiah or not. In Athens, where Jewish thought had no hold, the idea of the resurrection of the body was unfamiliar—least so to the Stoics, although it would be an anachronism to quote here the remarkable approach made by such Stoics as Seneca to Christian modes of thought. Little wonder, then, that Paul's work at Athens was a comparative failure, and that he felt it to be **so** (Acts 17 34 1 Cor. 2 3). His visit to the city was a mistake; and perhaps it was from the first due to accident. In the hurried departure from Berœa (Acts 17 10 *ff.*), there would be little time for making plans or for choosing modes of transport, and the apostle's abode in Athens seems to have been largely, if not entirely, due to the necessity he was under of waiting for his companions (Acts 17 15 *f.*). W. J. W.

ATHLAI (עַתְלַי=עֲתַלְיָה, §§ 39, 52, ATHALIAH, *q.v.*), in list of those with foreign wives (see **EZRA**, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 28 (*θαλει* [B], *-μ* [ℵ], *οθαλι* [A], *θελεει* [L]; *ATHALAI*) = 1 Esd. **9** 29 AMATHEIS, RV EMATHEIS (*εμαθθις* [B], *-αθεις* [A], *θελεει* [L]).

ATIPHA (ατεφα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 54, HATIPHA.

ATONE, ATONEMENT (כִּפֶּר, 𝔊 εξιλαcκειν; כִּפֻּרִים, 𝔊 εξιλαcμα; NT καταλλαγη). The expression '*to* atone' (כפר) generally describes the effect of the sacrifices in removing guilt. The pure religious idea of atonement, however, as W. R. Smith remarks (*OTJC*(1) **439**) is to be found in the Prophets (and, surely, in Ps. 51; see *vv.* 1 [2] 2 [3] 7 [8] 9 [10]; also, with כפר in 65 3 78 38 79 9). There it has no relation to sacrificing. and we cannot fail to see the appropriateness of this scholar's explanation of כִּפֶּר ***Kipper*** as meaning primarily 'to wipe out.' This is in accordance with Syriac usage; but the only OT passage in which the sense of 'wipe out' is possible is in Is. 28 18, where the reading is much disputed (Houbigant, Lowth, Du. [but not Di., Che.] read וְתֻפַּר instead of וְכֻפַּר), and where it is at any rate open to us to obtain the sense 'wiped-out' indirectly from the common reading ('covered over'; cp Gen. 6 14). The usual view is that a propitiation is expressed by ***kipper*** metaphorically, as a 'covering' (cp Ar. *kafara*: in i. stem *texit*, in ii. *expiavit*), as when Jacob, fearing Esau's anger, says, 'I will ***cover*** his face with a present' (cp Gen. 20 16 Job 9 24). The Hebraistic usage of the word is well set forth by Driver, *Deut.* 425, **439.** W. R. Smith's note in *OTJC*(1) 438-440 also deserves attention; but *OTJC*(2) **381**, etc., should here be compared.

In the NT 'atonement' is given by AV for *καταλλαγή*, Rom. **5** 11; but RV, with a proper regard to consistency, substitutes 'reconciliation'; cp 2 Cor. 5 18 *f.*, 'the ministry, the word, of reconciliation.' Elsewhere *καταλλαγή* occurs in Rom. 5 10 *f.* 11 15; cp Col. 1 21; it is hardly one of 𝔊's words, being found only in 2 Macc. 5 20. See further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF, MERCY-SEAT, RANSOM, SACRIFICE; and cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 237, 320, **437**, etc.; also We. *CH* 335 *f.*

See also Ritschl, ***Die christl. Lehre von d. Rechtfertigung u. d. Versöhnung***, ii.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of* ***NT*** 1 419-452 2 202-216; Dale, ***The Doctrine of the Atonement;*** Wilson, *Hulsean Lectures* ***on the Atonement*** (1899). The semi-popular literature is extensive.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים; later, יוֹם הַכִּפֻּר; in Talmud יוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great day,' יוֹמָא, 'the day,' and צוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great fast'; cp Acts 27 9, η νηcτεια—as the only fast enjoined by the law).

1. Analysis of law.

The law relating to this day (Lev. 16), which as it now stands connects with the story of Nadab and Abihu in Lev. 10 1-7, is not in its present form a homogeneous unity.[1] This is evident, not only from the duplicate verses 6 and 11, and from peculiarities of the arrangement, but also from the contents of the law.

The chapter as a whole treats of ***two*** quite distinct subjects: viz., (1) the warning of the high priest that he is to enter the Holy of Holies not at pleasure, but only under certain specified precautions, (2) the ordering of a yearly Day of Atonement, for which an exact ritual is prescribed. 1. is contained in ***vv.*** 1-4 6 12 13 34 8, and belongs to P_2; 2. is itself composite. ***(a)*** *vv.* 29-34 ***a*** give complete directions for the annual observance of a day of fasting and humiliation, on which the sanctuary and people are to be cleansed **by** 'the priest who shall be anointed' (cp 8 12)—*i.e.*, the high priest of the time; the atonement is supposed by the lawgiver to be carried out in accordance with the ritual (which, originally, immediately preceded it) of Lev. 9, and with the law of the sin-offering laid down in Nu. 15 24. On critical grounds this law also must be held to belong to P_2. *(b)* *vv.* 5 7-10, 14-28, on the other hand, by which the quite peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement is prescribed, are the work of a much later hand.

Why and when these various portions of the present law were combined into one are questions that will be discussed elsewhere (see LEVITICUS, § 6 *f.*, and HEXATEUCH); the important fact, gained from critical analysis, is that the Day of Atonement, as far as its ceremonies are described in Lev. 16, is of comparatively recent origin, and the result of a very interesting development.

2. Stages of development.

This conclusion is supported by a variety of considerations. (*a*) That the pre-exilic worship knew of no such day as is described in Lev. 16 is evident, not only from the absence of all mention of it (an omission which cannot be accidental, the other high days being referred to), but also from the fact that consciousness of sin and sense of need of a propitiation, which are the necessary conditions of such an institution, first became prominent in the time of Ezekiel (see FEASTS, § 11). *(b)* The earliest trace of public days of fasting and humiliation in the exilic period appears in Zech. 7 3 5 8 19; the four yearly fasts there mentioned were commemorative of the national calamities at the fall of Jernsalem, and appear *to* have been still observed in post-exilic times.

Ezekiel, in this as in other respects the forerunner of the priestly law, had enjoined two atonement-days (the first day of the first month and the first of the seventh, 45 18-20).[2] A young bullock as a sin-offering was *to* be brought, and with its blood were to be smeared the posts of the house, the four corners of the altar, and the posts of the gate of the inner court—'so shall ye make atonement for the house'; together with this, certain sin-offerings for priest and people are enjoined for the passover-day (Ezek. **45** 22).

(c) When we turn to the detailed account of the reading of the law in Neh. 8 *f.*, we find mentioned a joyous celebration on the first day of the seventh month, and a celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth, without any reference to a Day of Atonement on the tenth.[3] On the twenty-fourth day, on the other hand, a general fast with confession of sin was held, by no means in accordance with the ritual of Lev. 16 14-28. This makes it clear that what stood in the Law-book used by Ezra (P_2) was not the Levitical ritual (Lev. 16 14-28), but only a precept of a yearly fast-day with sabbatic rest—in other words, the precept laid down in Lev. 16 29-34.

The change from the tenth to the twenty-fourth at the first celebration **is** intelligible enough on the assumption that the fast-day was not at first so prominent in the law-book as it afterwards became in Lev. 16 14-28.

Even in the still later list of high days in Lev. 23 27 and Nu. 29 7 we do not find any reference to the specific ritual of Lev. 16 14-28; the tenth day of the

1 See Benzinger's study, *ZATW* 9 65 *f.* ['89], and cp Stade, *GVI* 2 258, and LEVITICUS, § 2.

2 The text of Ezek. 45 20 should be emended in accordance with 𝔊BAQ, בשביעי בחדש.

3 Cp Reuss, *Gesch. der* ***heil.*** *Schr.*(2) 500 *f.* (Holzinger, ***Hex.*** 750, note, differs).

seventh month is simply marked by fasting, sabbath rest, and the usual sin-offerings. The Day of Atonement described in Lev. *16* must have been the result of a long process of development, and the pericope formed by Lev. *165* 7-10 *14-28* must belong to the very latest portions of **P.** The precept in Ex. 30 10 is, of course, a still later addition to the ritual, enjoining that the blood of the sin-offering should also be applied to the altar of incense.

It is a significant fact that, as the later title proves (see above, § 1), the Day of Atonement became the most important in the ecclesiastical year; Jewish feeling in the later age inevitably led to this. Now as to the meaning of the law. The terms of Lev. 16 permit no uncertainty. The law has reference to the thorough purification of the people and sanctuary. The sin-offerings throughout the year have left many unknown or 'secret' sins; and since the people, the land, and, above all, the sanctuary are rendered impure by sin (Lev. 15 31 Nu. 19 13-20 Ez. 45 18 Lev. 16 16), there was a danger that the sacrificial services might lose their efficacy and even that Yahwè might desert his defiled sanctuary. This was the reason for the institution of the Day of Atonement—that the Israelites might annually make a complete atonement for all sin, and that the sanctuary might be cleansed (Lev. *1633).* The leading idea of the entire Priestly Law found here its best expression. The Day of Atonement quickened, on the one hand, the people's sense of sin and dread of Yahwè's avenging holiness, and, on the other hand, their assurance of reconciliation and of their renewed holiness. This holiness was guaranteed by their religious system, the efficacy of which, marred by sin, was again restored by this solemnity of expiation. It is the key-stone of the whole system, the last consequence of the principle, 'Ye shall be [ceremonially] holy, for I am holy.'

3. Fundamental principle, etc.

If we turn to the ritual, we can without difficulty discover its fundamental ideas. The high priest, after bathing, puts on plain white linen garments instead of his elaborate vestments, for he is to appear as a humble suppliant before the Holy One whom only the pure may approach. Of course, before he can make atonement for the people he must first do so for himself and for his 'house'—*i.e.*, for the entire priesthood. On entering the Holy of Holies he is to envelop in a cloud of holy incense-smoke the place of God's personal presence, lest he die. The ritual of blood-sprinkling, as far as it is peculiar to this day, is only an elaboration, required by the extreme closeness of the approach to God, of the usual procedure in sacrificial offerings. The conception has been explained by Robertson Smith[1] as an inheritance from primitive ideas about sacrifice. See SACRIFICE, § 22. I. B.

4. Propitiatory Character.

The Day of Atonement has been called by Delitzsch the Good Friday of the Law. This can hardly be maintained with regard to its earlier period. Good Friday was not instituted to restore the impaired ceremonial holiness of the community; it had from the first a reference to the individual and to spiritual religion. It was otherwise with the *Yōm Kippūrīm*, even if its institutors were not personally opposed to the supplementing and counteracting agency of teachers of a nobler religion. We will not deny that the poetic prayers composed for the 'great day' during the Dispersion touch the Christian deeply from their extraordinary spiritual depth and their sense of individual religion. These prayers, however, are no evidence of the spirit of the original institution. It is not necessary. to dwell on the hazel-ritual. The ritual of the Day of Atonement has grown (this can be shown by literary analysis as well as by archaeological considerations),[1] and the Azazel-ritual is the latest portion of it. We might perhaps suppose that those who continued Ezra's work were not up to his level; but when we look at Lev. 16 29-34*a*, which is the earliest part of the law (cp 9 7 *ff.*), we still find in it provisions opposed in tendency to the pure religion of the greatest prophets and psalmists. The procedure with the blood may be archæologically explained so as to minimise the shock which it causes us; it may also be spiritualised, so as to assume a totally new appearance; but it is, as has been stated, out of harmony with that prophetic religion which is restated in Pss. 40 50 *51.* It is also in this part of the law that we find an expression which, when correctly explained, condenses the unspiritual elements of the law into a nutshell. It is the expression *šabbath šabbāthōn*, which may well be more ancient than the day to which it is applied. RV renders Lev. *1631* thus: 'It is a sabbath of solemn rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; it is a statute for ever.' Jastrow (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* 1 312 *ff.* ['98]) has made, it probable that *Sabbath* and *šabbāthōn* answer—the latter more exactly[2] than the former—to the Babylonian ceremonial term *šabattum*, which means a day of propitiation with reference to the ***dies** nefasti* of the kings. **If** *so*, the terms *šabbath* and ***šabbāthōn,*** which are derived from שׁבת, to rest, imply that by the usages on the day to which these terms are applied, rest is given to an angry God.[3] The expression 'to afflict the soul' (*'inn4nephesh*), used in the same verse, is not less archaic in spirit, even if much later in use;[4] it was adopted by late theologians as a synonym of the old word צוּם, 'to fast.' This, too, implies an unspiritual doctrine—viz., that by denying the body certain generally desired goods the mind of a deity can be influenced by his worshipper.

To examine the full force of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, archæologically viewed, is not our purpose. Our purpose is to emphasise their strictly propitiatory character. That same character belonged, according to the Jewish liturgy, to the ritual of New Year's Day (*Roš haš-Šanah*). It was believed,[5] through the influence of Babylonian mythology, that the fate of man was decreed on New Year's Day (the festival of Creation), and that on the Day of Atonement the decree was 'sealed.' No wonder that the nine days which intervened between the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day) and the tenth (the Day of Atonement) were regarded by the Jews as penitential days. Precisely when this view of New Year's Day as the Day of Destiny began to be taken, we know not. Probably it began among the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion. It gives a new force, however, (1) to the collocation of ***Yim** Kippūrīm* and *Roš haš-Šānāh* in the same month, and (2) to the designation of both days (see Lev. *2324)* as *šabbāthōn.* To what extent, if at all, the ritual of these days is a revival of primitive custom, is obscure. It is quite possible that in primitive times Israelitish ritual, at any rate in certain places, approxi-

1 *Rel. Sem.*(2) 40 *f.*

1 The literary analysis of Lev. 16 is passed over in ***SBOT*** (Heb.; 1894); in the article 'Day of Atonement' in Hastings, ***DE*** 1200 6 ['98], the omission has been supplied from Benzinger. Driver's moderating remarks, however, do not affect the position taken **up** by Stade and Benzinger, who are both fully awake to the incompleteness of merely literary analysis of ancient laws. The deficiencynoted in *SBOT* **is** also to be observed in the Leviticus in Kautzsch's new translation (*HS*). Cp LEVITICUS.

2 Sabbath, acc. to Jastrow, 'is the distinctively Hebrew name given to **a** particular *šabbāthōn'* (*op. cit.* 349 *f.*). Šabbathon = Bah. ***šabattum;*** the terminations correspond (Jastrow, 332).

3 The most common term for 'propitiation' was ***nūḥ libbi*** (lit. 'rest of the heart'); *ūm* (=יוֹם, 'day') ***nūḥ libbi*** has the sense **of** 'day of propitiation' (Jastrow, 330).

4 It occurs in **Is. 58** 3 5 10 **Ps.** *35* 13 . also in Lev. 16*31* **23** 27 **32** Nu. **29** 7. That the historical Isaiah, in disparaging fasts, does not use the phrase (Is. 1 13, but cp 𝔊) is significant.

5 See ***K63*** 14 *f.* (Marduk comes at Zagmuk, the beginning of the year, 'to destine the fate of my life'); cp Karppe on 'Jewish New Year' in ***Rev. Sém.***, and Jensen, *Kosmol.* 84-86, *238.*

mated rather more to Babylonian than was afterwards the case. One could wish this to be true, for it would then be easier to account for the ceremonies of the *Yōm Kippūrīm*, so archaic in spirit, and so contrary to the tendency of Jer. **31** 31-34 Ezek. **36** 25-27 Mic. **7** 19.

At any rate, the propitiation-days of the post-exilic Israelites were nobler than those of the Babvlonians. in as far as they were for the benefit of the whole people, and not merely for that of the rulers. The Babvlonian regulations of the 'days of appeasement' (*šabattum* = שַׁבָּתוֹן) bear upon the conduct of the king; but, since 'the whole congregation is holy,' those of the *Yōm Kippūrīm* necessarily touch the conduct of all faithful Jews and even of 'sojourners (Lev. 16 29). In this respect the Jewish religion has a much closer affinity with the Zoroastrian than with the Babylonian or the Assyrian. If the provision for giving the uneducated populace a visible sign of the forgiveness of all its sins and the removal of their punishment appears to us barbaric and unspiritual (see AZĀZEL, § 1)—if, too, the populace was only too likely to misinterpret the comprehensive expressions of Lev. **16** 16 21 30, and to think that all sins whatever were cancelled by the ritual—we must remember (as regards Azāzel) the compromising spirit natural to large educational churches, and (as regards the other point) the difficulty in an Eastern language of guarding against all possible misinterpretations of phrases. A misinterpretation it certainly is when a Mishua treatise declares that—

5. Comparative nobility.

'The goat which is dismissed atones for all (other) transgressions, as well the light as the grave, the intentional and the unintentional, those foreknown and those not foreknown' (*Shebu'oth* 1 6).

The analogy of Lev. 4 2 13 etc. Nu. 15 24 distinctly shows that in such propitiatory ordinances it is accidental transgressions (בשגגה), not deliberate transgressions (ביד רמה), that are referred to; and in *Yōmā* 8 9 we read, 'He who says, I will sin, the Day atones; to him the Day will bring no atonement.'[1]

In NT times the Jews had advanced religiously beyond the contemporaries of Ezra. In the Epistle to the Hebrews and in that of Barnabas we meet with a Christian gnosis : but there was, no doubt, also an allegorising gnosis that was Jewish. There must have been both poetic symbolisers (cp Ps. 51 7 [9]) and typologists. What Barnabas says (7 8) about the scarlet cloth tied on the neck of the 'scapegoat' is absurd; but it is an exquisite allegory that the Epistle to the Hebrews suggests in the words (Heb. 10 19-22)—

6. NT references.

'Having therefore boldness to use the entrance into the holy place with the blood of Jesus—the entrance which he dedicated for us—a fresh and living way—through the vail, that is to say, his flesh, and having a great priest over the house of God, let us approach,' etc.

Christians are, strictly, no priests (Christ is the 'great priest'); but the rending of the flesh of Christ, which brought him, the perfect one, near to God, enables his followers to make a nearer approach to the divine presence than the greatest priests and prophets of the age before him could make. The entrance of Christ into the heavenly regions through death is likened to the entrance of the high priest once in the year into the Holy of Holies. Of these two entrances the same epistle speaks thus (Heb. 9 12) :

'Nor yet through blood of goats and hulls,[2] but through his own blood, he entered once for all into the holy place.

The Jewish high priest entered the holiest through the blood of goats and bulls. The goat was the offering for the people; the bullock for the high priest himself (Lev. 16 11 15). Christ entered through his own blood. The high priest went in once in the year; Christ once for all, as the representative of his people, that they might ever after have free access to God. 'Once for all' (ἐφάπαξ) is to be explained by 9 25, 'the high priest enters the holy place every year with blood not his own' (ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ).

The point is not how many times in the day the high priest entered the holiest, but that he entered on one day in the year. Of course, he went in more than once on the 'great day'; the Mishua says four times—(1) with the incense; (2) with the blood of the bullock; (3) with that of the goat; (4) after the evening burnt-offering, to bring away the censer and the incense-plate. Lev. **16** 13-15 also implies more than one entrance.

There is a reference to the ritual in Heb. 13 11, where the death of Jesus outside the gate is compared with the burning of the remnants of the sin-offering without the camp. This, however, as Davidson has shown,[1] disjoints the ritual, and is really a mere isolated analogy.

The treatise *Yōmā* (cp also Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 3 and Ep. Barn. ch. 7) throws much fresh light on the details of the ritual; we must not, however, suppose that it is in all respects literally accurate. In the Cambridge MS (Palestinian recension) it is called *Masseketh Kippūrīm*, which is its true title, as the commentary of Maimonides on the Mishna also proves. J. Derenbourg has attempted a restoration of the oldest recension (see below, § 8).

7. Details in Mishna.

The minute directions for the purification of the high priest need not detain us. Three confessions of sin (*widdūy*) form the most beautiful part of the ritual; they are preserved in *Yōmā* 3 8 4 2 and 6 2, and have passed with slight changes into the Jewish liturgy. In each of these confessions the sacred Tetragrammaton (יהוה) occurs; altogether it was pronounced ten times and as often as the high priest came to the name those who stood near fell on their faces, while the multitude responded : Blessed he the Name, the Name of the glory of his kingdom, for ever and ever.' The first part of the service (including the blood-sprinkling) was gone through close to the Most Holy Place. The rest was performed close to the worshippers, in the eastern part of the court of the priests, north of the altar, where stood two goats and an urn with two lots. The high priest drew the lots, and it was held to be a good omen if his right hand drew forth the lot 'for Yahwb.' To the horn of the 'goat for Azāzel' a 'tongue' of scarlet cloth was tied. The high priest then went to the bullock, over which he had already confessed the sins of himself and his house, and now confessed those also of 'the seed of Aaron, thy holy tribe.' Hearing the censer and the incense, he was seen to disappear within the sanctuary. There he stood alone; he rested his censer on a stone called שְׁתִיָּה[2] which stood in the place of the ark. Outside the Holy of Holies he uttered a prayer; it had to he a short one, lest the people should become anxious.[3] Again the rite of blood-sprinkling is performed in the Holiest, and then the 'goat for Yahwè' is sacrificed. A third time the high priest enters the Holiest, and again there is blood-sprinkling in all parts of the sanctuary. Forty-three such sprinklings have purified the sanctuary. But the people at large have to receive the visible sign of forgiveness. The 'goat for Azāzel' now becomes prominent. A *widdūy* or confession is uttered over the animal's head, which is now to he led to the precipice marked out for the destruction of the goat. Men of rank from Jerusalem accompany it; cries and curses hasten its progress (see AZĀZEL, § 4) Meantime the high priest puts on his 'golden vestments';[4] 'then he puts them off again, and a fourth time (see above) enters the Holiest.

The evening of the 'great day' closed with a banquet for the high priest and his friends, and with dancing in the vineyards for the maidens of Jerusalem. Probably this dance was primitive; it attached itself to the Day of Atonement, as a natural mode of relief to tired human nature (*Taanith* 4 8). See, further, DANCING, § 8; CANTICLES, § 8.

8. Literature.

The treatise *Yōmā* (*Mishna* by Surenhusius; *Yōmā* alone ed. Strack; cp Wunsche, *Per Jab. Talm.* 1 340 *ff.*); J. Derenbourg, 'Essai de restitution de l'anc. rédaction de Massêchet Kippourim,' *REJ* no. 11 41-80 ('83); Maimonides, *Hilchoth yōm hak-kippurim*, in Delitzsch, *Hebrews* 2 464 *ff.*; Kuenen, *Hex.* 86, 312; Oort, *TAT* 10 142-165 ('76) : Benzinger, *ZATW* Q65-88 ('89); articles by Delitzsch in *HWB*(2), and in *ZKW* 1 173-183 ('80), reviewed by Kuenen, TAT 17 207-212 ('83); Spencer, *De*

1 So Heb. 9 7, 'not without blood which he offers for himself and for the errors (ἀγνοημάτων) of the people.'

2 So the best MSS (ABℵD).

1 See his instructive essay, *Hebrews* ('82), 196-202.

2 Commonly explained 'foundation,' and illustrated by Job 38 6.

3 Such a 'short prayer' is given in Jer. *Yōmā*, 9*b* (Del. *Gesch. der jüd. Poesie*, 187 *f.*).

4 Cp Ecclus. 50 9 11, and the verses from the Ahodah in Del. *Jüd. Poesie*, 21 *f.*

leg. rit. iii. Diss. viii. ; D. Hoffmann in Berliner's *Magazin* ('76), 1 *ff.* ; Adler, *ZATW* 3 178-184 ('83); Stade, *GVI* 2 182, 258 *ff.*; Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1 367 *f.*, 2 402 *ff.* ; Edersheim, *The Temple* ('74), 263-288 ; Driver, 'Atonement, Day of,' in Hastings, *DB* 1 199-201, and 'Leviticus' in *SBOT* (Eng.); Di. on Lev., and Nowack's and **Benzinger's** Archæologies.

§§ 1-3 I. B. ; §§ 4-8 T. K. C.

ATROTH (Nu. 32 35 AV). See ATROTH-SHOPHAN.

ATROTH-BETH-JOAB (עַטְרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב—*i.e.*, 'crowns of the house of Joab'; αταρωθ οικου ιωαβ [B], α. ο. ιωβαβ [A], αταρω κ. βηθιωαβ [L][1]), an unknown locality, mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 54 along with Bethlehem and Netophah, in a Calebite connection; its people were sons of Salma b. Hur b. Caleb (see JABEZ). Salma was the 'father' of Beth-lehem. the burial-place of Joabs father ZERUIAH [*q.v.*]. Meyer (*Ent.* 147) suggests a connection with the valley of CHARASHIM.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN, AV ATROTH, SHOPHAN (עַטְרוֹת שׁוֹפָן ; σωφαρ [BA], -αν [F], σοφαρ [L], Eus. 214 54), a town of Gad (Nu. 32 35); perhaps one of the two localities in Moab still called 'Attārūs. See ATAROTH, 4.

ATTAI (עַתַּי, perhaps abbrev. of ATHAIAH).

1. Son of **the Egyptian** Jarha by **the daughter of Sheshan the Jerahmeelite; his** son was **Nathan**; 1 **Ch.** *2* 35 *f.* (εθθει [B], ιεθει [L], ιεθθ[ε]ι [A]). **See** JARHA, JERAHMEEL.

2. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12 11 (εθοι [BN], εθθ[ε]ι [AL]). **See** DAVID, § 11, **a**, iii.

3. Son **of Rehoboam; 2 Ch. 11 20 (ιεθθ[ε]ι [BAL]).**

ATTALIA (ατταλεια [-ια Ti. WH]). A town on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, for the Syrian and Egyptian trade, which it shared with Perga. There has been some discussion about the site, as Strabo (p. 667), enumerating from west to east, mentions Olbia, the river Catarrhactes, and then Attălia; from which it would seem that Attălīa must be the modern *Laara*. Ptolemy, however, is more exact : he puts it west of the Catarrhactes. Thus, it is equivalent to the modern *Adalia*, which is still a port with considerable trade. The town has a picturesque appearance, being perched on the long line of cliffs created by the calcareous deposits of the Catarrhactes, which pours over them in torrents to the sea. The remains are almost entirely Roman. The apostle Paul passed through the town on his return from his 'first missionary tour' in the interior (Acts **1425**). It is still a bishopric. [See PERGA, and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 420.] W. J. W.

ATTALUS (ατταλος [ANV]). Three kings of Pergamus bore this name; but we are here concerned with the last two—Attalus II., Philadelphus, 159-138 B.C., and his nephew Attalus III., Philomētor, 138-133 B.C. The Pergamene kings were all allies of Rome, and the last made the Roman people his heir (see ASIA). In 1 Macc. 15 22 we read that 'Lucius, consul of the Romans,' wrote letters in favour of the Jews to Ptolemy, Attalus, Ariarathes, and others. Attalus II. is probably meant; but, as the date of the letters falls in 139-138 B.C., it is possible that they were sent to his successor. Attalus III. was the son of Eumenes by Stratonice, the daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was a close ally of the Romans, sharing the fate of Publius Licinius Crassus in the war with the Pergamene pretender Aristonicus, 130 B.C. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10 22) quotes a Pergamene decree in favour of the Jews about the time of Hyrcanus. W. J. W.

ATTHARATES (ατταρατη [B], ατθαρατης [A], αθαρασθας [L]), 1 Esd. 9 49 = Neh. 8 9, TIRSHATHA.

ATTHARIAS (ατθαριας [BA]), 1 Esd. *640*, RV = Ezra *263*, TIRSHATHA.

ATTIRE. For Ezek. 23 15 (טְבוּלִים, *ṭ*ᵉ*bûlîm*) see TURBAN; for Jer. 2 32 (קִשֻּׁרִים, *ḳiššūrîm*) see GIRDLE; for Prov. 7 10 (שִׁית, *šîth*) see DRESS, § 1 (4).

[1] **After 𝔊L we may assume a separate place-name Ataroth ; see** ATARAH.

ATTUS (αττους [AL]), 1 Esd. 8 29, RV = Ezra 8 2, HATTUSH, 1.

AUGIA (αυγ[ε]ια [BAL]), 1 Esd. 5 38. Not in ‖ Ezra 2 61 = Neh. 7 63. See BARZILLAI, 3.

AUGURY ('one who practises augury,' RV Lev. 19 26 Dt. 18 10 14 **2 K. 216**; AV 'observer of times,' מְעוֹנֵן). See DIVINATION, § 2 (2).

AUGUSTUS (αυγουστος [Ti. WH]), an honorific title bestowed upon Octavian (27 B.C.), and from him handed on to his successors. It is applied to him, along with the title of CÆSAR (*q.v.*), in Lk. 2 1 'EV. For his reign, in as far as it concerns Jewish history, see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1, and ISRAEL; and for the difficulties raised by Lk. ***2*** 1 with regard to the census, see CHRONOLOGY, § 59 *f.*

In Acts 25 21 25 the AV 'Angustus' for *σεβαστός* should rather be, as in RV, simply 'the emperor,' or, as in RVᵐᵍ·, 'the Augustus.' The reference is to Nero (see CÆSAR). For 'Augustus's band,' or rather (as in RV) 'the Augustan band' (Acts 27 1 *σπείρης Σεβαστῆς*), see ARMY, § 10.

AURANUS (αυρανου [VA]; cp AVARAN), leader of the Assassins in Jerusalem in the time of Lysimachus (2 Macc. 4 40).

AUTEAS (αυταιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7, HODIAH, 2.

AUTHORITIES (εξουσιαι, 1 Pet. 3 22). See ANGELS, §§ 1, 9.

AVA (עַוָּא), 2 K. 17 24 AV; RV AVVA.

AVARAN (αυαραν [ANV]), 1 Macc. 2 5. See ELEAZAR, 7; MACCABEES, i. § 3; cp AURANUS.

AVEN (אָוֶן; ων [BAQΓ] in Hos. 10 8 Am. 1 5, but ηλιου πολεως [BAQ] in Ezek. 30 17†). 1. In Ezek. 30 17 the reference is doubtless to the Egyptian Heliopolis (see ON).

2. In Hos. 10 8 (EV 'the high places of Aven') Targ. Jon. has בֵּיתְאֵל, Bethel, which explanation is given by all ancient and most modern interpreters; but, in consideration of the well-attested use of אָוֶן (*aven*) in the sense of 'false worship,' 'idolatry' (see, *e.g.*, Hos. 12 12 [11]), it is a question (1) whether we should not render with **G.** A. Smith, 'Destroyed are the high places of idolatry, the sin of Israel,' and (2) whether, when we have regard to the parallel passage Am. 7 9, and to the probably not infrequent occurrence of glosses in the MT of the prophetic writings (see, *e.g.*, Mic. 1 5*b*), the words און חטאת should not be either omitted or printed in a different type as an editorial insertion. The passage, as Wellhausen remarks, gains greatly by this omission. Vg.'s reading, *excelsa idoli*, favours the view here taken of אָוֶן. Ibn Ezra paraphrases במות בעלים 'the high places of the Baals.'

3. In Am. 1 5 Maundrell (1697), Grove, W. A. Wright, and G. A. Smith (with Hitzig) are inclined, in company with 𝔊, to identify the 'plain (or broad valley) of Aven' (BIKATH-AVEN; so AVᵐᵍ·) with the great plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus (the so-called *Beḳā'*), in which the famous temple of the Syrian Heliopolis (Baalbec) was situated. The vocalisation אָוֶן will then imply a play on the name.—not On, but Aven. This, however, is a far-fetched supposition. On (= Egyptian *Anu*) represents the secular, not the religious, name of the Egyptian Heliopolis (see BETH-SHEMESH, 4). It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the second Heliopolis (Baalbec) was an Aramæan city in the time of Amos, and it is a plausible view of Wellhausen that אָוֶן 'false worship,' has been substituted for the name of some god. Cp Winckler, ***A T Untersuch.*** 183, n.

AVENGER (גֹּאֵל), Nu. 35 12. See GOEL.

AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES. See AVVIM.

AVITH (עֲוִית, in 1 Ch. Kt. עיות; γεθθα[ι]μ [BADEL]), the city of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36 35 1 Ch. 1 46 (γεθθαμ [A], ευιθ [L]). 𝔊's reading of the Hebrew must have been גִּתִּים, Gittaim, which is clearly correct. The city of the next king had a name of similar meaning (Masrekah). See GITTAIM. T. K. C.

AVVA, AV AVA (עַוָּא or עַוָּה; Vg. *Avah*); 2 K. 17 24 (αια [BA], αιαν [L]), RV; also **Ivvah,** AV IVAH, עִוָּה (omitted or only represented in corrupt form in 𝔊; Vg. *AVA*), 2 K. 18 34 (αυα [A]; not in 𝔊^BL), 19 13 (ουλου [B], αυτα [A], om. L) = Is. 37 33 (ουγαυα [B ℵ OQ^mg.], εγγουγαυα [A], ουτε or ουτα [Q*]). In the latter group of passages the punctuation implies an exegetical mistake (see commentators on Is.): the name throughout should be Avva or Avvah, and it used to be thought that the city referred to the same as that from which the king of Assyria brought colonists to the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K. 17 24). It is clear, however (Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 101 *f.*), that 2 K. 17 24 31 have been interpolated by some one who supposed SEPHARVAIM [*q.v.*] in 2 K. 18 34 19 13 to be the Babylonian city of that name. It is only in the speeches of Sennacherib's envoys that Avva has a right of existence; 'Avva or 'Avvah, however, is surely a corruption of 'Azzah (עַזָּה), 'Gaza.' Tiglath-pileser, when he conquered Gaza in 734 B.C., appears to have introduced the cultus of Asur (Wi. *GBA* 228, 333). 'Where,' then, 'are the gods of Sepharvaim and of Gaza?' (So Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899.) T. K. C.

AWIM (עַוִּים, so RV; AV AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES [**Avvites,** RV]). 1. According to Dt. 2 23, the Avvim inhabited the Philistine coast 'as far as Gaza' before they were 'destroyed' by the Caphtorim—*i.e.*, the Philistines. The same late writer, in whom the antiquary's interest is prominent,[1] states that the Avvim dwelt in villages or settlements (חֲצֵרִים; see HAZOR); 𝔊 and Vg., however, read החוים, 'the Hivites' (οι ευαιοι [BAFL]; *Hevæi*). In Josh. 13 2-6 (an editorial insertion which expands the simple statement of JE in *v.* 1) we find the Avvim again introduced, and described (if RV is right) as belonging to the S. of Philistia; probably, however, 'on the south' belongs to the whole region defined in *vv.* 2*b* 3. Here 𝔊 and Vg. once more read 'the Hivites.' Sir G. Grove (in Smith's *DB*) suggests that the Avvim may be identical with the Hivites (cp 𝔊 Vg. above); but the latter name is uniformly found in the singular (החוי). The word might, to a Hebrew ear, mean, yet probably does not mean, 'ruins' (cp IIM). Not improbably it is a mutilated form of עַרְבִים, 'Arabians' (Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899). The Avvim (so-called) were Bedawin who had begun to adopt a settled life.

2. הָעַוִּים, with def. art., 'the ruins' (αιειν [B], αυειμ [AL], Vg. *Avim*), an unidentified place in Benjamin (Josh. 18 23). It is mentioned in immediate connection with Bethel and Parah, and on this account has been conjectured by Knobel to be the same as Ai.

3. In Josh. 15 29 𝔊^AL reads 'Avvim' for 'Iim.' See IIM (1).

4. The people of AVVA (*q.v.*), 2 K. 17 31. 𝔊 again οἱ ευαιοι [BAL (there is a second rendering, αιωνειμ in L)]; Vg. *Hevæi*. T. K. C.

AWL (מַרְצֵעַ, lit. 'borer'; 'οπητιον [BAFL]). An instrument for boring, mentioned in the description of the 'law of slavery' (Ex. 21 6 Dt. 15 17). It probably resembled the Egyptian boring instruments depicted in Kitto (*s.v.*), or those more recently discovered by Bliss at Tell el Hesy (see *A Mound of Many Cities*, S 1). Such instruments were used by workers in leather (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 450 *f.*). Cp SLAVERY.

AWNING (מְכַסֶּה, cp Gen. 8 13), Ezek. 27 7 RV, correcting the punctuation (מְכַסֵּךְ, AV 'that which covered thee'). Cp DRESS, § 1 (4).

1 Cp Kue. *Hex.* 117-119; Mey. *GA* 1 217 (§ 179).

AXE. From the rude stone chisels and hatchets ('Celts') of palæolithic man, bronze and iron axe, hatchet, tomahawk, and adze were gradually developed. Various early forms of these implements (needed alike in war and in peace) are found in our museums of Egyptian and Babylonian antiquities; the monuments also give ample evidence of their existence. See HANDICRAFTS and WEAPONS.

Of the OT words for 'axe,' three at least may be nearly synonymous:

1. גַּרְזֶן, *garzen* (*securis*); Dt. 19 5 (ἀξίνη); 20 19 (σίδηρος); 1 K. 6 7 (πέλεκυς); Is. 10 15 (ἀξίνη) everywhere an implement for felling trees or hewing large timber for building. The word is used thrice in the Siloam inscription (*ll.* 2 4), in the sense of a quarryman's or miner's pick. On 2 S. 12 31 2 K. 6 5, cp IRON, § 2.

2. קַרְדֹּם, *ḳardōm*, ἀξίνη, *securis* (Judg. 9 48 Ps. 74 5 1 S. 13 20 *f.* Jer. 46 22†), perhaps specially used for felling trees; if so, it would have a heavier head than the *garzen*.

3. כַּשִּׁיל, *kaššīl*, πέλεκυς, *securis*, Ps. 74 6†; in Tg. Jer. 46 22 for Heb. קַרְדֹּם. RV gives 'hatchet,' apparently to suggest a diminutive axe. 𝔊, Sym., Pesh., however, read, not פִּתּוּחֶיהָ 'its carved work,' but פְּתָחֶיהָ 'its gates.' The rather improbable word כַּשִּׁיל should perhaps be שַׂכִּין 'knife' (Che. *Ps.*(2)), and in the light of the Tg. we should emend כילפות to בַּעֲלֵפִיּוֹת 'two-edged' (Herz, Che.(2), 'with two-edged axe').

Somewhat different from these, and probably adze-shaped, is:

4. מַעֲצָד, *ma'ṣād*, χώνευμα [B ℵ AQ, reading מוצקה?], *ascia* in Jer. 10 3 Is. 44 12[1] (σκεπάρνῳ, *limâ*, AV 'tongs'), and by emendation of the text in Is. 10 33[2] (Duhm) and Zech. 11 3 [2]) (see FOREST). Ḳimḥi understands something lighter than the *ḳardōm*, or axe. In Jer. 10 3 *ma'aṣād* is a tool suitable for fashioning or carving wood.

Two other words are doubtful.

5. חֶרֶב In Ezek. 26 9, EV 'axe,' an insecure rendering. The text is possibly corrupt (see Co.; ταῖς μαχαίραις [BAQI, τοῖς ὅπλοις [Q^mg.]).

6. מְגֵרָה, 2 S. 12 31 (ὑποτομεύς [A]) = 1 Ch. 20 3, מְגֵרָה, which Berth. and Kittel conform to Sam. The text, however, perhaps needs more extensive emendation. Che. reads במגרות הברזל a marginal correction of the במגרה (after וישם) which found its way into the text (*Exp. Times*, x. 1899, p. 285). See SAW.

Of the NT names the ἀξίνη of Mt. 3 10 Lk. 3 9 is the woodman's axe; but Rev. 20 4 (πελεκίζεσθαι; cp 𝔊 1 K. 5 18) refers to the axe of the headman (πέλεκυς).

Axes were among the emblems of high rank in Egypt and at Mycenæ (see the axe figured in Erman, *Egypt*, 73; Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, 252). In the OT it is rather the mace that is the favourite emblem of sovereign power (see ROD). There is, however, a sarcastic passage in Bar. 6 15 which suggests that the axe could be an emblem of divinity; and we may perhaps illustrate it by Frazer's learned note on Paus. x. 14 1. The double-headed axe is characteristic of so-called Hittite sculptures. The Labrandean Zeus of Caria also is represented on coins as carrying a double-headed axe (*labrus* = axe in Lydian; Plut. *Quest. Græc.* 45). There appears on the coins of Tenedos a similar axe, which, being generally accompanied by a cluster of grapes, may be a symbol of the worship of Dionysus. Cp also Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 125 7.3 Of course, the bow and the sword, not the axe, are the emblems of Yahwè, though in Ezek. 9 2 the supernatural agents of Yahwè carry mauls (or like weapons). See BATTLE-AXE.

AYEPHIM (עֲיֵפִים), the rendering of RV^mg. in 2 S. 16 14, where the text has, 'and the king and all the people that were with him came weary.' So 𝔊, ἐκλελυμένοι [BL], ὁ ἐκλελυμένος [A]. The name of

1 מַעֲצָד as it stands does not make sense. For proposed emendations see Che. (*SBOT*, Isaiah, Heb.), Duhm, Di.-Ki.

2 'With a terrible crash' (במערצה) is only a conjectural rendering of MT.

3 Perhaps, however, the axe was depicted as a survival of the time, before the introduction of coined money, when it may have been the unit of barter (Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, etc., 317 *f.*). Perhaps too the 'tongue' (לשון) of gold in Josh. 7 21 was in the shape of an axe; see *Exp. Times*, Nov. 1897, p. 61.

some place seems to be required by the context. If Ayephim be indeed a place-name, the locality it indicates remains unidentified. On the other hand, it may be a corruption, or the place-name may have dropped out. Cp We. *in loc.*; 𝔊ᴸ adds *παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην*.

G. A. S.

AYYAH (עַיָּה [Bä. Gi.]), 1 Ch. 7 28† RV$^{mg.}$ = AV **GAZA** [*q.v.*, 2]. See AI, 1.

AZAEL (ΑΖΑΗΛΟΥ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, ASAHEL, 4.

AZAELUS (ΑΖΑΗΛΟC [B]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 41, RV **AZAREEL,** 5.

AZAL, or rather RV AZEL (אָצַל; ΙΑCΟΛ [BאΓ], ΑCΑΗΛ [AQ]), the point to which the cleft of the mountain is to reach when Yahwè descends upon the Mt. of Olives in battle (Zech. 14 5). This place, presumably situated near Jerusalem, is often identified with the equally obscure **BETHEZEL.** Kohler, Wright, and others (after Vg. Symm.), with less probability, take אל-אצל to be an adverbial expression, 'very near, hard by' (cp Olsh. § 167 6; but see also König, § 330 *f.* [γ]). Clermont Ganneau thinks of the Wādy Yāṣūl, a little valley on the right of the ʿAin el-Lōz, in the Wādy en-Nār (*PEFQu.*, 1871, p. 101).

AZALIAH (אֲצַלְיָהוּ, ΕCCΕΛΙΟΥ [AL]), father of Shaphan the secretary, 2 K. 22 3 (ΕΛΙΟΥ [B]) = 2 Ch. 34 8 (CΕΛΙΑ [BA]).

AZANIAH (אֲזַנְיָה, § 32, 'Yahwè weighs,' cp Jaazaniah; ΑΖΑΝ[Ε]ΙΑ [BA], -ΝΙΗΛ [א], ΑΖΑΙΟΥ [L]), a Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 9 [10].

AZAPHION (ΑCCΑΦΕΙΩΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 33 AV = Ezra 2 55 RV, HASSOPHERETH [*q.v.*].

AZARA, RV ASARA (ΑCΑΡΑ [BA]), a family of **NETHINIM** mentioned after Phinees (= P[h]aseah) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), 1 Esd. 5 31†. Unmentioned in ‖ Ezra 2 49 Neh. 7 51.

AZARAEL (ΟΖΕΙΗΛ [BA]), Neh. 12 36 **AV,** RV AZAREEL, 4.

AZARAIAS. 1. AV **SARAIAS,** 1 Esd. **8** 1 (ΑΖΑΡΑΙΟΥ [B], CΑΡΑΙΟΥ [AL]) = Ezra 7 1, **SERAIAH,** 7.

2. **AV** AZARIAS (2 Esd. 1 1); see **AZARIAH,** 3.

AZAREEL, or rather, as in RV, Azarel (עֲזַרְאֵל, § 28; 'God helps'; ΕΖΡΙΗΛ [AL], cp AZRIEL).

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 6; οζρειηλ [BN], ελιηλ [A]; ειηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, *a.* iii.

2. One of the sons of Heman (see LEVI), 1 Ch. 25 18 (αζαρια [B]; οζιηλ [L]; cp UZZIEL).

3. A Danite 'prince' under David (1 Ch. 27 22; αζαραηλ [B], αζριηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, *c.* i.

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 13 (εσδριηλ [Bא]); in the procession at the) dedication *of* the wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 36, AV AZARAEL (οζειηλ [Bא*A], οζρειηλ [א$^{c.a}$ ρ superscr.]).

5. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 41 (εζερηλ [B], εσριηλ [א]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 (ESRIL, RV EZRIL, εζρ[ε]ιλ [BA], εσριηλ [L]), apparently repeated as AZAELUS (*ib.* αζαηλ [A], -ος [B], om. L).

AZARIAH (עֲזַרְיָה, §§ 28 84 [or עֲזַרְיָהוּ; in nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20; cp Baer on 1 Ch. 2 38], 'Yahwè helps'; cp **ELEAZAR,** AZRIEL; ΑΖΑΡΙΑC [BAL]).

1. b. Zadok; priest, temp. Solomon, 1 K. 4 2 (αζαρει [B]). See **BEN-HUR.**

2. Chief priest, temp. Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 17-20).

3. Chief priest, temp. Hezelciah (2 Ch. 31 10-13).

In 1 Ch. 6 9-14 (5 35-39) the name of Azariah is borne by the twelfth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar (*vv.* 9 11 13 αζαρια [B]); of the fourteenth it is said that he 'executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem' (1 Ch. 6 10 *f.* [5 36 *f.*]). Omissions and transpositions allowed for, the three Azariahs in this series may be held to be identical with nos. 1, 2, and 3 above; at the same time, it is difficult to suppose that the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 6 13 *f.* (5 39 *f.*) should be distinguished from the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 9 11 and Ezra 7 1 (ζαρειου [B]); if we identify these, Azariah (3) was a contemporary of Josiah, not of Hezelciah. This name appears also as Azarias, Azaraias, Aziei, Ezerias, and Ezias.

4. Expounder of law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 *f.*; cp i. § 8; ii. § 16 [5], § 15 [1] *c.*), Neh. 8 7 (om. BאA) = 1 Esd. 9 48 (AZARIAS), and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 2 [3] (αζαρια [Bא$^{c.a}$A], ζαχαριας [א*]). See also Neh. 3 23 (αζαρια [BNAI), 24 (βηθαζαρ[ε]ια [BNAI, οἴκου α< [L]). He is apparently the EZRA of Neh. 12 1 13.

5. A Kobathite Levite (1 Ch. 6 36 [21], αζαρια [BL], cp 2 Ch. 29 12, עזריהו). In 1 Ch. 6 24 [9] his place is taken by UZZIAH, 2.

6. h. Nathan, supervisor of Solomon's twelve prefects (1 K. 4 5). Probably he had to see that the contributions of the different departments were punctually furnished. His father was most likely the well-known prophet who in 2 S. 12 1 is called simply Nathan (so Ew., We., Klo.). Others (*e.g.*, Bähr) make Azariah Solomon's nephew; cp 2 S. 5 14 (𝔊 ορν[ε]ια [B*L]). See however, ZABUD.

7. A son of King Jehoshaphat, twice enumerated (as Azariah and Azariahu) in 2 Ch. 21 2, but omitted in 𝔊 [B].

8. A son of Jehoram, king of Judah in 2 Ch. 22 6 (οχοζ[ε]ιας [BAL]); hut it is clear from 2 K. 8 29, as well as from 2 Ch. 22 1, that AHAZIAH [2] is meant. In 2 Ch. 21 17 he is called JEHOAHAZ (*q.v.*, 3).

9. King of Judah, otherwise known as UZZIAH (*q.v.*, 1).

10. One of the 'three children,' companions of Daniel; otherwise called ABEDNEGO [*q.v.*] (Dan. 1 6 7 11 19 Song of Three Children, *v.* 66 [𝔊, Theod. Dan. 3 88], AZARIAS, 7).

11. A Judahite, son of Ethan, 1 Ch. 2 8 (ζαρεια [B]; αζαρια [A]).

12. A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2 38 *f.* (αζαρια [B]).

13. b. ODED, a prophet of Judah, whose prophecy to King Asa is recorded in 2 Ch. 15 1-8. The prophecy is attributed to Odcd in *v.* 8.

14. Son of Jeroham; one of the captains who were associated with Jehoiada in deposing Athaliah (2 Ch. 23 1).

15. Son of Obed; another of the captains associated with Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23 1; cp 1 Ch. 2 38 *f.*).

16. Son of Hoshaiah; an opponent of Jeremiah, Jer. 43 2 (αζαχαριας [א*]). Cp JAAZANIAH, 1.

17. Leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 2) in the great post-exilic list (*ib.* ii. g), Neh. 7 7 (αζαρια [Bא], -ρεα [A]) = Ezra 2 2, SERAIAH; see EZRA (αραιας [BA*], σαραιας [A$^{a?}$L]).

18. In procession at dedication of wall (see EZRA, i. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 33, ζαχαριας [Bא] (see Baer), cp (4).

19. An Ephraimite, temp. Ahaz, who took part in restoring the captives of Judah, 2 Ch. 28 12 (ουδεια [B]).

20. h. JEHALLELEL, a Merarite Levite, 2 Ch. 29 12 (ζαχαριας [BA]).

AZARIAS (ΑΖΑΡΙΑC [BAL]), the Greek form of AZARIAH.

1. 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 21, UZZIAH, 3.

2. In list of Ezra's supporters (1 Esd. 9 43), wanting in ‖ Neh. 8 4; see Be. *ad loc.*

3. 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7 AZARIAH (4).

4. RV AZARAIAS (2 Esd. 1 1), b. Helkias; see AZARIAH (3).

5. The name assumed by the angel RAPHAEL [*q.v.*] when accompanying Tobit (Tob. 5 12 6 6 13 18 9 2).

6. A captain in the army of Judas the Maccahee, 1 Macc. 5 18 56 60 (in *v.* 56 ζαχαριας [ANI]).

7. Song of Three Children, 66 (𝔊 Theod. Dan. 3 88); see AZARIAH (10).

AZARU (ΑΖΑΡΟΥ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 15 RV; **AV** AZURAN.

AZAZ (עָזָז, ΟΖΟΥΖ [BA]; but L gives ΙΩΑΖΑΖ—*i.e.*, Joazaz): cp Azaziah, a Reubenite name (1 Ch. 5 8†).

AZĀZEL (עֲזָאזֵל).[1] Of the two goats sgt apart for the great Day of Atonement (see **ATONEMENT, DAY OF**), one was chosen by lot for a sin-offering for Yahwè, the other for ʿAzāʾzel (Lev. 16 8-10).

1. Levitical practice.

After the sin-offering had been made in behalf of the people, the high priest was to lay both hands upon the head of the goat for ʿAzāʾzel, and confess over it all the sins of the Israelites (cp the confession of sin in Mishna, *Yōmā* 6 2), laying them on its head and sending it out into the wilderness to Azāzel (*v.* 21 *f.*). The meaning of this act, which is further described in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, is clear. The goat symbolically bears away the sins of the people. Something analogous is found in Lev. 14 4 *ff.*, where, for the purification of the leper, one bird is to be killed, and the other, charged with the disease, is to be let loose

[1] AV renders 'scapegoat.' For the renderings in 𝔊, see col. 395, note 7.

into the open field. Cp also Zech. 5 5 *ff.*, where sin is carried away bodily into the land of Shinar.[1]

The meaning of AzHzel is much disputed; it is, of course, a subject closely connected with the inquiry into the origin of the custom. It is at least certain that, as AzHzel receives one goat while Yahwè receives the other, both must be personal heings.

2. Who was Azāzel?

The theory of the Jewish interpreters (Tg. ps.-Jon., Rashi, Kimḥi; cp Ibn Ezra's references to current views), that Azāzel is a place in the wilderness, is inadmissible, and equally so are the views of Aq., Symm., Jer., AV, that it means the goat itself (τράγος ἀπερχόμενος and ἀφιέμενος, *caper emissarius*, 'the scape-goat'), and of Merx in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 1 256, and others, that it is an abstract term = 'complete removal or dismissal' (from √עזל), a view probably taken by 𝔊.

It seems most natural to connect the belief in question with the demonology and angelology which developed so largely in the post-exilic age (*Enoch* 6 7 8 1 9 6 10 4). One group of interpreters, on this view, take AzHzel as a prominent member of the class of se'irim, or demons of the field and the desert, to whom sacrifices were offered in post-exilic times (Lev. 17 7; see SATYR, § 2), —to whom possibly all the sins of the people with their evil effects were symbolically sent every year (so, with various modifications, Ew., Di., Dr. [*Expos.*], Now., Benz.). We need not, however (with the first three scholars), regard the conception as a primitive one, or as having been taken over by the religion of Yahwè from an earlier stage; and least of all is there any imitation of the symbolic vengeance taken by the Egyptians on Set-Typhon[3] (see Brugsch, *Relig. u. Mythol. d. alt. Aeg.* 710). On the other hand, Cheyne ('The Date and Origin of the Ritual of 'Azâ'zel' in *ZATW* 15 153-156 ['95]) considers it to have been one of the objects of the ritual 'to do away with the cultus of se'irim by substituting a personal angel for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous se'irim.'[4] His arguments for this very attractive view are (*a*) the form of the name (deliberately altered from עזואל, 'God strengthens'; cp עֲזַזְיָהוּ, 1 Ch. 15 21), which seems to be akin to that of the other names of angels; and (*b*) more especially the passages of the Book of Enoch referring to AzHzel as a leader of the evil angels (Gen. 6 1 2 4). 'AzHzel is therefore of literary not of popnlar origin; he is due to the same school of speculative students of Scripture to which we owe the other names of angels, good and evil, in the later literature.' In any case, we must admit that the old interpreters who identified Azāzel with Satan[5] had some plausibility on their side (Orig. *c. Cels.* 6 305; Iren. *Hær.* 1 12, followed by Spencer, Hengstenberg, Kalisch, and Volck). We may at least venture to say with Reuss[6] that 'the conception of AzHzel lies on the way which led later to that of the devil.' For Azāzel is certainly described as in some sense a being hostile to God. I. B.

It is strange that so many modern critics should have failed to comprehend the ritual of the scapegoat, and

3. Recent criticism.

have rejected with much positiveness the only natural explanation of the name Azāzel, so that it has become a kind of dogma that עֲזָאזֵל is not from עזז אל, but either a weakened form of אלולל, meaning 'averruncus,' or 'porro abiens,' or 'amotio' (Ol., Merx, Stade, Kautzsch-Ges., Volck),[7] or else a broken plural of difficult interpretation 'perhaps some particular class of unfriendly demons; see Steiner in Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* 5 599, and Bochart).[1] The truth is that the old derivation of Azāzel from √עזז, 'to be strong' (see Tg. ps.-Jon., Saadia), needed to assume a new form in order to commend itself.

The explanation of the name as עֲזָאז אֵל (which was retracted by Diestel its author) implies an un-Hebraic mode of formation, says Di., and the names of angels compounded with אֵל belong to the later Jewish theology. The former objectinn is not absolutely decisive; the name Abirel in *Jubilees* seems to be אַבִּיר אֵל (see ABRECH). Still, there is no necessity to follow Diestel; the later Jews could form names correctly, and the explanation offered above, which, with the connected theory, may claim to be virtually a new one, is not open to Di.'s objection. Di.'s second objection points the way to the true reason why modern scholars have often given such far-fetched and improbable [however learnedly justified) etymologies. They felt that a name formed on the analogy of Michael and Gabriel must be late; but their theory compelled them to suppose that Azāzel was early, and that the name Azāzel in *Enoch* (like Belial and Beelzebub, Delitrsch ventures to add) was simply borrowed from the OT.[2] Thus the light thrown on the name by the Book of Enoch was missed. Nor was sufficient use made of the Mishna treatise called *Yōmā*, with its strange but not imaginary details, although the description comes from a time not very far removed from that of the later portions of the priestly code. Nor did critics give heed enough to the facts of comparative folklore, which illustrate certain details in the *Yōmā*.

The more we study the Priestly Code, the more we are struck by the combination of firmness and laxity which its compilers display. They are firmness itself as regards the essential principles of the law,[3] but very compliant to minor popular superstitions. Nothing, therefore, can be more probable than that the legal authorities to whom the later portions of Lev. 16 are due gave their sanction to a custom which it had perhaps been found impossible to root out, on condition of its being regulated and modified by themselves. Assuming this to have been the case, we can explain the name Azāzel, and even account for the spelling, which has struck many scholars as inconsistent with the etymology עזז אל. From the point of view here adopted—viz., that the priestly code is not Mosaic, but a combination of diverse elements due to many different persons in the exilic and the post-exilic periods, and framed in a statesmanlike, compromising spirit—there can be no doubt that the view here mentioned is correct. There is no uncertainty as to the meaning of the name Azāzel, and very little as to the origin and significance of the rite.

To supplement the account of the present writer's theory given above, it may be said that, like Diestel

4. Jewish superstitions.

formerly, he opposes the widely received view that AzHzel was a κακοδαίμων to whom the sin of the people and the resulting calamities were sent, and that the belief goes back to pre-exilic times.

The first part of this view was that of Benzinger (*Arch.* 478) in 1894; it is, however, scarcely tenable. The sultan of the *jinn* to whom the *se'īrīm* propitiated by the Jews in post-exilic time; correspond (see SATYR, § 2), has no personal name; he and his subjects are impersonal. If Azāzel were a demon we should hear of him in other parts of Leviticus. Nor is it likely that even a later legislator would have adopted Azāzel as an evil demon.

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1 For extra-biblical parallels, see below, § 3; also Ew. *Ant.* 158; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 422 [and for an Assyriological explanation of the reference to the wilderness, *see* RITUAL, § 10].

2 Cp however, below, note 7.

3 This view has left a trace in Smith, *DB*(2) 1 297, hut has received no sanction from Di. or Dr., whose names are mentioned. Against it see Diestel, *Zt. f. List. Theol.* ('60), pp. 159 *ff.*

4 Prof. G. F. Moore suggests a reference to Nachmanides on Lev. 16 8.

5 The Rabbinic identification of Satan with Sammael as 'chief of the Satans' (*Mid'. R.* on Dt. 11 3) may here he chronicled.

6 *Gesch. der Schriften des A T*(2), 501.

7 Some critics refer to 𝔊 as having initiated the theory of an abstract formation. Certainly in Lev. 16 10 *b*, 𝔊BAFL renders לעזואל εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν; and in *v.* 26, εἰς ἄφεσιν. What the translator means by this, however, is ἀποπεμπόμενος (so Theodoret, *Quæst.* 22 in Lev.). In short, he agrees with Aq., Symm., Jer. in deriving the name from עז and עָזַל. This gives the right interpretation of ἀποπομπαῖος [BAFL], which answers to Azāzel in *v.* 10*a*. *Averruncus* in this view of the facts, is not the equivalent of 𝔊's term', as Ew. (*Ant.* 363) supposes.

1 Del. is not happy in his explanation, 'Defier of God.' He traces the name to Arabic mythology: '*azz* is used of a horse which successfully resists its rider (*ZKW* 1 182 ['80]); hut Kdnig is no more successful—'fortis decedens' is his rendering (*Lehrgeb.* 2 *a*, 417).

2 So Driver (*Expositor*, 1885, *b*, p. 215). In Hastings' *DB* (art. 'Azazel') no very definite conclusion is reached; hut reference is duly made to the too generally neglected analogies of other popular religions.

3 Kalisch rightly says that, 'although Azazel and his goat are a stain on the Levitical legislation, they do not taint the main principle of Judaism—Gods absolute sovereignty' (*Leviticus*, 2 294).

Azāzel[1] to the Jewish theologians (including the authors of the scapegoat-ritual) was a fallen angel, evil no doubt, yet not altogether unfriendly to man, for he was the true Tubal-cain, one of the 'sons of Elōhim' mentioned in Gen. 6 1 *f.* 4[2] (see *Enoch* 6 6 *f.* 8 1 and especially 104-8 13 1). He was said to have been bound hand and foot, and placed in 'an opening in the desert which is in Dudāēl'; rough and jagged rocks have been laid upon him. Now, Dudāēl is not 'God's caldron' (Di.), but (Geiger, Charles) a fantastic modification of Hadudo in Beth Hadudo, where was the crag (צוק) down which, according to *Yōmā* (6 4; cp Tg. ps.-Jon. Lev. 16 22), the 'goat for Azāzel' was pushed, which crag Schick[3] identifies with mod. *Bēt-ḥudēdūn*, on the edge of a chalk cliff, overhanging a rocky chasm, at the right distance from Jerusalem. The coincidence seems too striking to permit a doubt as to the true character of Azāzel.

It was this personal angel (the later Jews gave a quasi-personality to the angels) that the author of the scapegoat-ritual substituted for the crowd of *se'irim* (or earth-demons) to whom the people sacrificed; just as the scapegoat was the substitute for the sacrificial victims.[4] The need must have been great indeed. In the marriage songs of the Canticles we twice find (it is probable) the strange appeal, 'I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy-hosts and by the tree-spirits.'[5] In such a poem the name of Yahwè could not be lightly used: all the world, however, knew of the supernatural beings who haunted thickets and sometimes inhabited trees, and like the *jinn* to-day, were sometimes friendly to man, sometimes unfriendly.[6] The substitution appears to have produced an effect: at least, the Chronicler, in the third century, represents the custom of sacrificing to the *se'īrīm* as pre-exilic (2 Ch. 11 15). Certainly, too, we may infer from the details respecting the שעיר המשתלח ('the dismissed goat') in *Yōmā* that the popularity of the institution was great. The cries, 'Take (them) away and get out,'[7] reported by the Gemara on *Yōmā* 6 4, show how intensely the lower classes (Babylonians they are disparagingly called) believed in the removal of their sins by the goat. See also Ep. Barn. 7; Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 37; *adv. Jud.* '14; Just. *c. Tryph.* 40. That the 'goat for Azāzel' was really pushed over the precipice (*Yōmā*, 6), we have no reason to doubt. It is instructive to notice, however, that the scribe who inserted the directions in Lev. 16 could not bring himself to put down all that actually happened. What we read is that Aaron was to confess all the sins of the Israelites (there is great emphasis on 'all') over the goat, and to send him away in the charge of a certain man into a solitary land (אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה *v.* 21 *f.*). This is explained in Tg. ps.-Jon., 'and shall send him away by a man prepared from the preceding year, to take him into a rocky desert which is Beth-hadwe' (see above). In compensation for this, it is Leviticus that gives us one detail not preserved in *Yōmā*. In *v.* 10 it is said that the goat for Azāzel is to be presented alive before Yahwè, that atoning rites may be performed over him (לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו); which recalls the direction about the 'living bird' (see § 1) that forms a parallel to the scapegoat in the law of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14 6 *f.*).

[1] Another form of the name may have been Uzziel (cp Tg. ps.-Jon. on Gen. 6 4 with *Enoch* 6). The form Azael also is found.
[2] It is not worth while to examine the Jewish inter retations of this strange passage (see *Enoch*, Tg. ps.-Jon., Jude?.
[3] *ZDPV* 3 214 *ff.* ['80].
[4] See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 418, 422, 468.
[5] Cant. 27 35, בִּצְבָאוֹת וּבְאֵילוֹת. The change in the pointing is very slight: אַיְ should be אֵי. The usual explanation is very fanciful (*see* Budde). The sacred trees (especially the locust. or carob-trees) are still reverenced in Palestine as being possessed.
[6] See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 131-133; Baldensperger, *PEFQu. St.*, July '93, p. 204 *ff.* Some of the *jinn* are believed to be dangerous to newly married people. Don't play with love, say: the passage (Cant. 2 7),—for fear of the *jinn*.
[7] טול וצא טול וצא.

To resume and to supplement: the usages described in *Yōmā* are a combination of a primitive sacrifice to the demons of untilled or (especially) mountainous country with a superstitious custom still widely prevalent, according to which evils of all kinds were sought to be got rid of by the device of lading them on some animal, which was thereupon driven away from the community like the scapegoat (see Lyall, *Fortnightly Review*, 1872, p. 131; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2 189-193; E. F. Knight, *Where Two Empires Meet*, 221 *f.*). Such customs, as Frazer points out, tend to become periodic, like the rite of the scapegoat. See, further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

Literature. Diestel,' Set-Typhon, Asasel, und Satan' in *Zt. f. hist. Theol.* 1860, p. 159 *ff.*; Oort, *Th. T* 10 150-155 ['76]; Baudissin, *Studd. zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 180 *f.*; Driver, *Expos.* 1885 6. pp. 214-217; Cheyne; *ZATW* 15 153 *ff.* ['95]; and articles by Driver in Hastings *DB*, and by Volck in Herzog, *PRE*(3). Cp also Di. and Kalisch on Leviticus, and Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* 2 136.

§ 1 *f.*: I. B.; § 3 *f.* T. K. C.

AZAZIAH (עֲזַזְיָהוּ, § 29, 'Yahwè is strong,' or 'strengthens'; οζ[ε]ιας [BKAL]).
1. A Levite musician, temp. David (see LEVI), 1 Ch. 15 21.
2. An Ephraimite, temp. David (1 Ch. 27 20).
3. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13; Ὀζαζας [A]).

AZBAZARETH (ασβασαρεθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 69 AV, RV$^{mg.}$ ASBACAPHATH.

AZBUK (עַזְבּוּק; αζαβογ [א], -χ [B], αζβογχ [A], εζλογκ [L] *AZBOC*), father of NEHEMIAH [2] (Neh. 3 16†). Possibly of non-Judæan origin; cp Mey. *Ent.* 147 167.

AZEKAH (עֲזֵקָה, αζηκα [BKAQL]), a town in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 35, Ἰαζηκα [B]), not far from the supposed scene of David's combat with Goliath (1 S. 17 1). This was in the VALE OF ELAH (*W. es-Sanṭ*, on the upper course of the Sukereir) near Socoh (Shuweikeh), which is about 12 m. S. from Aijalon and 2 m. S. from Jarmuth. Azekah is mentioned as one of the points to which the pursuit of the five kings by the Israelites extended after the battle of Beth-horon (Josh. 10 10). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 9, Ἀζεκα [L]), besieged by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 34 7), and re-inhabited by Jews in post-exilic times (Neh. 11 30). Perhaps an echo of the name survives in *Bīr ez-Zāġ*, N. of Socoh (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 90, n. 92; and see, on the other hand, Seybold, *MDPV*, 1896, p. 26).

AZEL (אָצַל), Zech. 14 5 RV=AV AZAL, *q.v.*

AZEL (אָצֵל, § 50; abbrev. from AZALIAH, *q.v.*; εσηλ [BA], ασαηλ [L]), a descendant of Saul, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 37 *f.* (ασσαηλ [L])=9 43 (εσαηλ [Bא]), 9 44 (εσαηλ [א]).

AZEM (עֶצֶם), Josh. 15 29 AV, RV EZEM.

AZEPHURITH, RV ARSIPHURITH (αρσειφογρειθ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16=Ezra 2 18, JORAH.

AZETAS (αζηταс [BA], om. L), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*) in 1 Esd. 5 15, but not in || Ezra 2 16=Neh. 7 21; perhaps the name owes its presence to some mistake (Mey. *Ent.* 155 n.).

AZGAD (עַזְגָּד, § 43—*i.e.*, 'strong is Gad' [cp Azbaal, *CIS* 1 118, and see GAD], or, 'fate is hard' (?); αζγαδ [AL]). The Bne Azgad, in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 12 (reckoned at 1222; ασγαδ [B], αβγ. [A], ασιαδ [L])=Neh. 7 17 (reckoned at 2322; ασγαδ [B], αγεταδ [A], ασταδ [K]) =1 Esd. 5 13, AV SADAS, RV ASTAD (αργαι [B, where the number of the family is given as 1322], ασταα [A]). A band of 110 males of them came up with Ezra, Ezra 8 12 (see EZRA, ii. § 5 *a*; § 3) (ασταδ [B])=1 Esd. 8 38, EV ASTATH, RV$^{mg.}$ Azgad (ασταθ [BA]), and they were represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 15 [16] (ασγαδ [B], ασταδ [א]).

AZIA (ΟΖΕΙΟΥ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = AV Ezra 2 49, UZZA, 2.

AZIEI (4 Esd. 1 2) in the genealogy of Ezra, see AZARIAH, 3.

AZIEL (עֲזִיאֵל, 1 Ch. 15 20). See JAAZIEL.

AZIZA (עֲזִיזָא, § 83; 'strong'; ΟΖΕΙ [L], -Α [BN], οζιζα [A], in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 27 = 1 Esd. 9 28, SARDEUS, RV ZARDEUS (ζεραλιας [B], ζαρδαιας [A], οζει [L]).

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת, perhaps 'Death is strong' [cp Cant. 8 6], a possible name for a hero [see AHIMOTH, and cp Gray, *HPN* 231]; acc. to Kittel the ending should be *-moth* or *-muth* [**SBOT** 1 Ch. 1 20]; om. BA, ΑΖΜΩΘ [N$^{c.a\ mg.}$], ΑΣΜ. [L]). A Benjamite place near Geba (Neh. 12 29), usually identified with *el-Ḥizmeh*, a village 4 m. NE. of Jerusalem, between Jebaʿ and ʿAnāta (*ZDPV* 2 155; *PEF Mem.* 39).

The b'ne Azmaveth occur in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 24 (υἱοὶ ασμωθ [B] . . . αζ. [A] . . . αμωθ [L]) = Neh. 7 28 (ἄνδρες βηθασμωθ [BN], *b.* βηθ'. [A], υἱοι ασθμωθ [L]), BETHAZMAVETH (בֵּית עַזְמָוֶת) = 1 Esd. 5 18, **RV** BETHASMOTH, which is preferable to AV BETHSAMOS (βαιτασμων [B], Βαιθασμωθ ζαμμωθ [A]).

AZMAVETH (עַזְמָוֶת,[1] see above; ΑΣΜΩΘ [BL], ΑΖΜ. [A]).

1. One of David's thirty mighty men, 2 S. 23 31 (ασβωθ [B*], σμω. [Bb], -ας μωθ [A], αζελμων [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 33 (αζβων [BN]), a native of BAHURIM [*q.v.*] (הַחֲרוּמִי [1 Ch.] and הַבַּרְחֻמִי [2 S.] being both miswritten for הַבַּחֻרִמִי [We. Dr.]). Azmaveth, the 'father' of JEZIEL and PELET, 2 (1 Ch. 12 3; ασμωθ [N]), two of David's warriors, may, however, be the place-name; cp above. See DAVID, § 11 (*a*) ii.

2. b. Jehoadah or Jarah; a descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 36 (σαλμω [B]) = 9 42 (γαζαωθ [BN]).

3 b. Adiel, one of David's overseers (1 Ch. 27 25). See DAVID, § 11 (*c*) i.

AZMON (עַצְמוֹן), an unidentified site, marking the western portion of the southern frontier of Judah before the point where 'it went out at the brook of Egypt' (Josh. 15 4 Nu. 34 4 5†). 𝔊 has Ασεμωνα [BAL], Σελμωνα [BA], Ασελμωνα [AFL]; Targ. has קֶסֶם, on which last precarious reading Trumbull bases his identification of Azmon with ʿAin el-Ḳasēme in the W. Ḳasēme. With Azmon cp Ezem (עֶצֶם).

AZNOTH-TABOR (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר—*i.e.*, 'ears, or outliers, of Tabor'—§ 99; cp UZZEN-SHEERAH), a landmark of Naphtali, doubtless near Mt. Tabor, Josh. 19 34 (ΕΝΑΘ ΘΑΒΩΡ [B], ΑΖΑΝΩΘ Θ. [A], ΑΖΩΘ Θ. [L]). According to *Onom.*, αζανωθ (*OS*[2] *224*, **88**) lay near Diocæsarea or Sepphoris; cp CHISLOTH-TABOR, and see TABOR.

AZOR (ΑΖΩΡ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 13; see GENEALOGIES, ii. § 2.

AZOTUS (ΑΖΩΤΟΣ [ANV], Jos. *Ant.* xii. 11 2, ΕΖΑΣ [ed. Niese], ΑΖΑΣ ΑΖΑΡΑ), the 'mount' to which Bacchides pursued the Jews in the battle (Apr. **161** B. C.) in which Judas the Maccabee lost his life (1 Macc. 9 15), is unknown. Michaelis has very plausibly conjectured that the expression may be due to a mistranslation of the Heb. inn אשדות (cp ASHDOTH-PISGAH), meaning the slopes where the hill country of Judah descends into the Shephēlah. Ewald (*Gesch.*[3] 4 422, n. 2) compares Atārā W. of Bir ez-Zēt, a small hill.

2. The Azotus (αζωτος [Ti. WH]) of Acts 8 40 1 Macc. 4 15 5 68 10 77 f. 8 41 14 14 34 16 10 Judith 2 28 is ASHDOD [*q.v.*]. Some (including Bnhl, p. **188**) also identify with Ashdod the Azotus of 1 Macc. 9 15.

AZRIEL (עַזְרִיאֵל,[2] perhaps 'help of God,' § 29).

1. One of the chiefs of Manasseh-beyond-Jordan, 1 Ch. 5 24† (εσδριηλ [B], ιεζρ. [A], εζρ. [L]).

2. A Naphtalite, 1 Ch. 27 19† (εσρειηλ [B]; but some Hebrew MSS have UZZIEL, a reading supported by 𝔊^{AL} οζιηλ).

3. Father of Seraiah [2], Jer. 36 26† (εσριηλ [BN], εσζ. [AI, εσδρ. [Q]).

AZRIKAM (עַזְרִיקָם, ΕΖΡΙΚΑΜ [AL]).

1. Levite, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. 11 15 (εζερει [B], εεχρει [N* vid], εζρικαν [N$^{c.a}$], εσζρι [A]) = 1 Ch. 9 14 (εσρεικαν [B], αζρικαμ [L]).

2. A descendant of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3 23 (εζρεικαν [B], εσρικαμ [A], ασρ. [L]).

3. Descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 38 (εζρεικαι [B*], εζρεικε [Bab]) = 1 Ch. 9 44 (εσδρεικαν [B]).

4. 'Ruler of the house' under Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28 7 (εγδρεικαν [B], εζρικαν [A]).

AZUBAH (עֲזוּבָה, 'forsaken'; ΑΖΟΥΒΑ [BAL]).

1. Wife of CALEB [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. 2 18 *f.* (γαζουβα [B, A in *v.* 19], αβουζα [L]). The names in this passage are as peculiar as the constructions. Kittel (*SBOT*) renders an ***emended*** text thus: 'And Caleb b. Hezron took Azubah (deserted one) to wife, and begat Jerioth (tent-curtains); 'and these are her sons, Jesher (uprightness), Shobab (backsliding), and Ardon.' As to the names of these sons, Jesher may be read Jojashar (Yahwè is right), and Shobab Jashub (one who turns to God), and Ardon Ornan (𝔊 ορνα). But ישר can hardly be thus used of God (in spite of Dt. 32 4 Ps. 119 137), and Ornan, or (1 Ch. 3 21 MT) Arnan, has a suspicious aspect. Hence Klostermann (***Gesch.*** 115) takes *v.* 18 to be a record of a shortlived colony of Calebites, founded on the spot where there had been a pastoral settlement. He renders 'Caleb b. Hezron made the deserted one—the woman of tent-curtains—to bear children, namely, Upright. and Backslider, and Destruction' (reading אֵשֶׁת יריעות, יָשָׁר, and אַבְדָן). The colonists began well, but 'left the paths of uprightness' (Pr. 2 13), and were given up to 'destruction' (=Sheōl, Pr. 15 11). Wellhausen also (***De Gent.*** 33 *f.*) notices the symbolic character of the names; יֵשֶׁר, according to him, = יְשֻׁרוּן, Jeshurun; בת־יריעות (so he reads) is a tent-dwelling woman; עֲזוּבָה, the desert region inhabited at first by the Calibbites.

2. Mother of Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22 42 (ἀζαεβα [B]) = 2 Ch. 20 31. T. K. C.

AZUR (עַזּוּר), Jer. **28** 1 Ezek. **11** 1 AV; RV better AZZUR [*q.v.*, 1 *f.*].

AZURAN, RV AZARU, RV$^{mg.}$ **Azuru** (ΑΖΑΡΟΥ [B], ·ζουρ. [A], om. L), family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), in 1 Esd. 5 15, but not in ‖ Ezra 2 16 = Neh. 7 21; probably identical with AZZUR, 2 (Neb. 10 17 [18]). Note in each case the occurrence of the preceding names, Adin, Ater, and Hezekiah.

AZZAH, **AV GAZA** (עַזָּה, ΓΑΙΑΝ [B], ΓΑΖΗΣ [A], ΑΔΙΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 7 28 RV. Many Hebrew MSS here **read** עַיָּה (Ayyah; cp 𝔊^{B}), a reading recommended by the context. The place was apparently N. of Shechem. *See* GAZA.

AZZAN (עַזָּן, 'gifted with strength'; ΟΖΑ [BAFL]), father of PALTIEL, 2 (Nu. 34 26†).

AZZUR (עַזּוּר [עַזֻּר in 2], 'helped [by God]'); see NAMES, § *56*, and cp Azuri of ASHDOD.

1. Father of Hananiah, the prophet, of Gibeon, Jer. 28 [𝔊 ch. 35] 1 (αζωρ [BKAQ]); AV AZUR.

2. Father of JAAZANIAH [4], Ezek. 11 1 (εζερ [B], ιαζερ [A], αζουρ [Q], αζερ [Q$^{mg.}$], ιεζερ [ΓL]); AV AZUR.

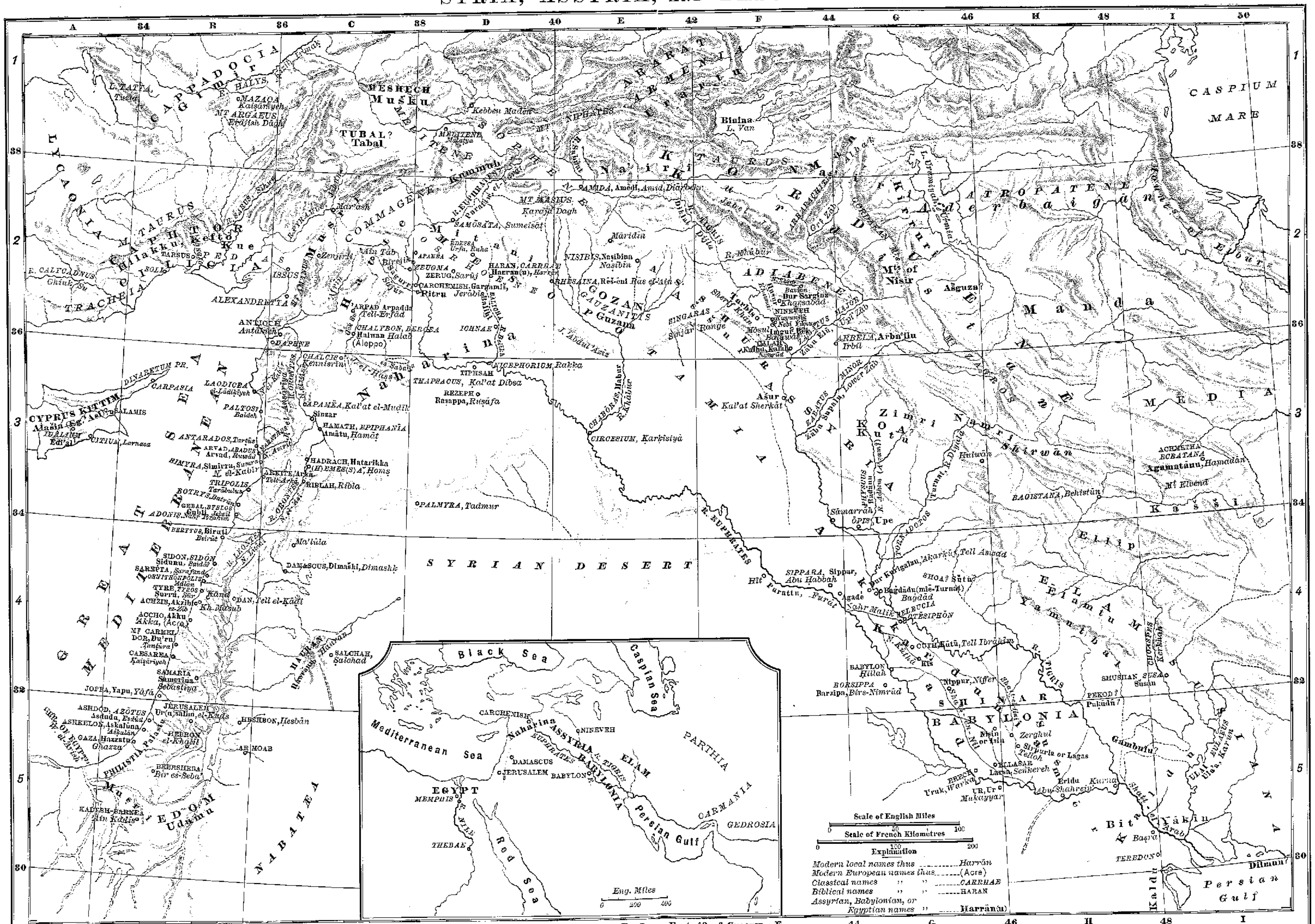
3. One of the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 17 (αδουρ [B], αζ. [NAL]); AV AZURAN; perhaps also **a** Gibeonite?

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[1] On the vocalisation and 𝔊's readings cp HAZARMAVETH.

[2] עֶזְרִי is an Aram. pronunciation (cp עַזְרִיאֵל), and it is noteworthy that here contrarily to its usual practice, 𝔊 prefers the Hebrew vocalisation (cp Kittel, **SBOT** *ad loc.*).

SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA.



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B

BAAL[1] (בַּעַל; 𝔊 often Η Βααλ, indicating that the reader is to substitute αισχυνη; the substitute has found its way into the text in 1 K. 18 19 25, as the corresponding בֹּשֶׁת has in the Heb. text of Jer. 3 24 and elsewhere; see Di. *MBBA* Phil.-hist. Kl. 1881) is a word common to all the Semitic languages, which primarily signifies *owner, proprietor, possessor.* It is used, for example, of the owner of a house, a field, cattle, and the like; the freeholders of a city are its *bĕʿālīm.* In a secondary sense *baʿal* means *husband;* but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave or of a superior to his inferior; nor is it synonymous with the Heb. and Phœn. *ādōn*, Syr. *mārā*, Arab. *rabb*, in the general sense of *lord, master.* When a divine being (*ēl*) is called *baʿal* it is not as the lord of the worshipper, but as the proprietor and inhabitant of some place or district, or the possessor of some distinctive character or attribute, and therefore a complement is always required. Each of the multitude of local Baals is distinguished by the name of his own place.

1. Meaning of name: local numina.

There was a Baal of Tyre, a Baal of Sidon, a Baal of Harran, a Baal of Tarsus; a Baal of the Lebanon, and a Baal of Mt. Hermon; a Baalat of Byblos,—and so on.[2] We know that in some cases the Baal of a place had a proper name: the Baal of Tyre was Melḳart; in Southern Arabia Dhū Samāwī was the Baal of Bāḳir, 'Athtar of Gumdān, and so on. In other cases the local Baal was distinguished in some other way. The god of Shechem was Baal-berith (perhaps as presiding over an alliance; but see BAAL-BERITH); Baalzebub (to whom was ascribed control of flies; cp BAALZEBUB) had a celebrated oracle at Ekron; a βαλμαρκως, κοίρανος κώμων (Baal-marlsod), is known from inscriptions found near Beirūt; a בעל מרפא (*sanator?*) in Cyprus, and so on. In Baal-gad and Baal-zephon the second element seems to be the name of a god (see FORTUNE, BAAL-ZEPHON). On Baal-hanimon and Baal-shamem see below, § 3 *f.* There is nothing in these peculiar forms to shake the general conclusion that Baal is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or as owner of a place.

There were thus innumerable Baals—as many as there were towns (Jer. 2 28 11 13), sanctuaries, natural objects, or qualities which had a religious significance for the worshippers. Accordingly, we frequently find in the OT the plural, Baalim, the Baals, which we must interpret not, as many still do,[3] of the multitude of idols, or of local differentiations of one god, but of originally distinct local numina. The Baals of different places were doubtless of diverse character; but in general they were regarded as the authors of the fertility of the soil and the increase of the flocks (Hos. 2 5 12), and were worshipped by agricultural festivals and offerings of the bounty of nature (Hos. 2 8 13). An interesting survival of this conception is the Talmudic phrase, field of the baal, place of the baal, and the Arab *baʿl*, for land fertilised, not by rain, but by subterraneous waters (cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 97 *ff.*). Proper names of persons such as Hannibal (Favour of Baal), Hasdrubal (Help of Baal), Baal-yatan (Baal has given), Shamaʿ-baʿal (Baal hears), compared with similar Yahwè names, Hananiah, Azariah, Jonathan, Shemaiah, show that Phœnician parents acknowledged in the gift of children the goodness of Baal, as Israelite parents that of Yahwè.

1 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 92 *ff.*
2 Cp in the OT Baal-hazor, Baal-meon, Baal-peor, Baal-tamar, and the like.
3 For example, Baethgen.

That Baal was primarily a sun-god was for a long time almost a dogma among scholars,[1] and is still often repeated. This doctrine is connected with theories of the origin of religion which are now almost universally abandoned.

2. Not sun-god.

The worship of the heavenly bodies is not the beginning of religion. Moreover, there was not, as this theory assumes, one god Baal, worshipped under different forms and names by the Semitic peoples, but a multitude of local Baals, each the inhabitant of his own place, the protector and benefactor of those who worshipped him there. Even in the astro-theology of the Babylonians the star of Bēl was not the sun: it was the planet Jupiter. There is no intimation in the OT that any of the Canaanite Baals were sun-gods, or that the worship of the sun (Shemesh), of which we have ample evidence, both early and late, was connected with that of the Baals; in 2 K. 23 5 cp 11 the cults are treated as distinct.

The *ḥammānīm* (חמנים), included in the inventory of places of idolatrous worship with *maṣṣēbas* and *ashēras* (Ez. 6 4 6 and elsewhere), have indeed, since Rashi, been connected with the late biblical and Mishnic *ḥammā (nen)*, 'sun,' and explained as *sun images* (RV), sun pillars;[2] and it has further been conjectured that the *ḥammānīm* belonged specifically to the cultus of Baal-hanimon, whose name occurs innumerable times in Punic inscriptions,[3] and is commonly explained 'the glowing Baal'—*i.e.*, the Sun.[4]

3. Baal-hammon.

This translation, however, can hardly be right: the article would be expected: according to all analogy, *ḥammōn* should be a genitive. 'The deity which dwells in the sun-pillars' would be formally possible; but with the direct connection of Baal-ḥammon with the sun, one of the chief arguments for interpreting *ḥammānīm* to mean 'sun-pillars' falls to the ground. In this state of the case we cannot be sure that Baal-hammon was a solar deity; and if fresh evidence should prove that he was, it would be unwarrantable to infer that the Baals universally bore the same character.

Another Baal, whose cultus was more widely diffused than that of Baal-hammon—in later times he rose above all the local Baals, and perhaps in many places supplanted them—was Baal-shamem, whose name we must interpret, not 'Lord of Heaven,' but 'The god who dwells in the heaven,' to whom the heavens belong.[5]

4. Baal-shamem.

Philo of Byblos identifies Baal-shamem (κύριος οὐρανοῦ) with the Sun (Ἥλιος; see *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* 3 565 *f.*); Macrobius says that the god of Heliopolis was at once Jupiter and Sol (*Sat.* 1 23); a Palmyrene bilingual (Vog., no. 16) seems to give "Ηλιος for בעלשמן, but the reading is not quite certain. The Greeks and the Hellenised Syrians identify Baal-shamem with Zeus (*e.g.*, Ζ. μέγιστος κεραύνιος), which is better in accord with the obvious significance of the name.[6]

When the Israelites invaded Western Palestine and

1 See, for example, Creuzer, *Symb. u. Myth.*(3) 2 413; Movers, *Phön.* 1 169 *ff.*
2 It is singular that this interpretation did not suggest itself to any of the ancient translators. See further, MAṢṢEBA, § 6.
3 In Phœnician also El-hammon.
4 In a Palmyrene inscription a *ḥammānā* is dedicated to the sun; De Vogüé, no. 123 *a.*
5 The name is equivalent to Dhū Samāwī in Southern Arabia.
6 Baal-shamem in Dan. 12 11 (perverted by Jewish wit to Šiḳḳūṣ šōmēm, 'the appalling abomination') was probably a Roman Jupiter (see ABOMINATION, ii.).

passed over from a nomadic to an agricultnral life, they learned from the older inhabitants not only how to plough and sow and reap, but also the religious rites which were a part of Canaanite agriculture—the worship of the Baals who gave the increase of the land, the festivals of the husbandman's year. At first, probably, this worship of the Baals of the land went side by side with that of Yahwè, the God of their nomadic fathers. When Israel came into full possession of Canaan, however, Yahwè himself became the Baal of the land. Names like Jerubaal (Gideon), Eshbaal (son of Saul), Baaljada (son of David), prove that Israelites in whom the national spirit was strongest had no scruple in calling Yahwè their Baal. The worship on the high places was worship of Yahwe in name; its rites were those of the old Baal cult. The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea, denounced this religion as pure heathenism. In whose name it is practised is to them immaterial: it is not the name but. the character of God that makes the difference between the religion of Israel and that of the heathen.

5. Israel's Baal.

In the preceding century Elijah had roused the spirit of national Yahwism in revolt against the introduction of the worship of the Tyrian Baal (Melkart) by Ahab, and Jehu had stamped out with sanguinary thoroughness the foreign religion; but this conflict was of a character wholly different from that in which the prophets of the eighth century engaged with the Canaanite Baal-religion practised in Yahwb's name. In the seventh century, with the introduction of Assyrian cults, there was a marked recrudescence of the kindred Old Israelite and Canaanite religions, which provoked the violent measures of Josiah, but was only temporarily checked by them, as we see from Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

With the cultus of the Baals in Canaan we are acquainted chiefly through the descriptions which the prophets give of the Baalised—sit *venia verbo*—worship of Yahwè. The places of worship were on the hill-tops, under the evergreen trees; they were marked by *ashēras*, *maṣṣēbas*, *ḥammānīm*. Images were not always, perhaps seldom, present: an image required a shrine or temple. At the altars on the high places, offerings of the fruits of the land and the increase of the flocks were made;[1] beside them fornication was licensed—nay, consecrated. The Baals had their priests (CHEMARIM, *q.v.*) and prophets. At the great contest on Carmel they leap upon the altar, and cry, and gash themselves with knives 'after their manner.' We may supplement these scanty notices by descriptions of Phoenician worship, especially of the Tyrian Baal, Melkart, and of the Punic 'Kronos,' in Greek authors. See, further, HIGH PLACES, IDOLATRY, and, with reference to human sacrifices, MOLECH.

6. Baal cultus.

Literature. Selden, *De Dis Syris*, 1617; Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i.; Münter, *Religion der Karthager*; Oort, *Worship of Baalim in Israel*, translated by Colenso, 1865; Baudissin, art. 'Baal,' *PRE*(3); Pietschmann, *Phönizier*, 1889 182 *ff.*; Baethgen *Beitr. z. semit. Rel.-gesch.*; E. Meyer, art. 'Baal' in Roscher,' *Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Myth.* 2867 *ff.* W. R. S.—G. F. M.

BAAL (בַּעַל, 'Lord'; cp מֶלֶךְ, 1 Ch. 835).

1. In a genealogy of REUBEN; 1 Ch. 55 (ιωηλ [B], βααλ [A], βαλα [L]).

2. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 830 (βααλακαιμ, *i.e.* βααλα και? [B], βααλ [και νηρ] [A], βαελ [και ναδαβ και νηρ] [L]) = 936 (βααλ [BA], βαελ [L]). It is more probable that MT, followed by some ancestor of 𝔊L, dropped Ner (ונרב [ונר]) in 1 Ch. 8 than that it has been added elsewhere (so *SBOT*). The conjecture (We. *TBS* 31 n.) that Baal and Nadab are to be read together as a compound name is thus unsupported; it is also unnecessary, since Melech (מֶלֶךְ) likewise occurs (1 Ch. 835 etc.) alone as a proper name. See NAMES, § 42.

[1] Punic temple inscriptions defining the dues of the priests for various kinds of sacrifice (so-called Tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage) show that both the animals offered and the classes of sacrifice were closely similar to those of the Hebrew laws.

BAAL (בַּעַל), 1 Ch. 433†. See BAALATH-BEER.

BAALAH (בַּעֲלָה, § 96). 1. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

2. A city in the Negeb of Judah, Josh. 1529 (βαλα [B], βααλα [AL]). In Josh. 193 the name is written BALAH (בָּלָה; βωλα [B], βελβωλα [A], βολα [L]), and the place is assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 429 it appears as BILHAH (בִּלְהָה; αβελλα [B], βαλαα [A], βαλααδ [L]). The reading is uncertain and the site unknown.

3. Mt. Baalah, a landmark on the boundary of Judah between Shikkeron and Jabneel, Josh. 1511 (ὅρια ἐπὶ λιβα [B], ὄρος γῆς βαλα [A'], ο. γ. γαβαλα [A? a?], ο. τῆς βααλων [L]). The site is unknown, unless with Clermont-Ganneau (*Rev. Crit.* '97, p. 902) we should read נהר for הר, and identify the 'river of the Baal' with the Nahr Rūbīn (see JABNEEL, 1). More than one river in Palestine, doubtless, was dedicated to Baal.

BAALATH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

BAALATH-BEER (בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, Josh. 198 Βαρεκ [B*], Βαλεκ [Bab], Βααλθερηρραμωθ [A], Βααλεθ Βηρραθμωθ [L]) or **Baal** (1 Ch. 433), also called RAMAH of the South (רָמַת נֶגֶב, Josh. 198) or RAMOTH of the South (1 S. 3027 ραμα [BL], -θ [A] νότου); perhaps the same as the Bealoth (בְּעָלוֹת, βαλμαιναν [B], βαλωθ [AL]) of Josh. 1524 (and 1 K. 416; see ALOTH), an unidentified site in the Negeb—probably its most southern part—of Judah. The name implies that it had a well and was a seat of Baal-worship.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית—*i.e.*, 'the [protecting] Baal of the covenant'),[1] a form of the Canaanitish Baal worshipped at Shechem (Judg. 94), called El-berith (אֵל בְּרִית, 'God of the covenant') in Judg. 946 RV.

𝔊 has in Judg. 94 Βααλβεριθ [B], βααλ διαθήκης [A], βααλβερ[ειθ] διαθήκης [L], in *v.* 46 βαιθηρ βεριθ [B], βααλ διαθήκης [A], ηλ διαθ. [L]; in 833 βααλ βεερ [A], βααλβερειθ [L], βααλ διαθήκην [B].

The covenant intended was probably that between Shechem and some neighbouring Canaanitish towns, which were originally independent, but were at length brought under Israelitish supremacy (Ew., Kue., We.). Of the rival views—viz., (*a*) that the covenant was between Baal and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce in Smith's *DB*(2)), and (*b*) that it was between the Canaanitish and the Israelitish inhabitants of Shechem (Be., Ki.)—the former gives an undue extension to a specially Israelitish idea, and the latter misconceives the relation of the Israelites within Shechem to the Canaanites. Gen. 1413 cannot possibly establish the former (Baethgen), nor can the name of Gaal's father, or the speech of GAAL (*q.v.*) in Jndg. 928, be used to support the theory of an influential Israelitish element in the population of Shechem. Any Israelites who might be dwelling in Shechem would be simply גֵּרִים or protected strangers, and not parties to a covenant. The temple of Baal-berith had a treasury from which the citizens made a contribution to Abimelech (Judg. 94). It was there that Gaal first came forward as a leader of the rebellion (927), and within its precinct the inhabitants of the tower of Shechem (the 'acropolis,' We.) found a temporary refuge from Abimelech at the close of the revolt (946). The deuteronomic editor mistakenly accuses the Israelites of apostatising to Baal-berith after Gideon's death (Judg. 833; see Moore's note). T. K. C.

BAALE JUDAH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

[1] 'Or may not Baal-berīth, El-berith, simply mean "God of the community" (cp COVENANT § 5)? The original story probably gave the name of the god of Shechem' (Prof. N. Schmidt).

BAAL-GAD (בַּעַל גָּד, 'Lord of Good Fortune'; cp Gudubal = Gud Baal [Hoffmann, *Ueber einige* **phon.** *Inschrr.* **27**]; Βααλγαδ [FL], and through corruption Βαλ(α)γαδ(α) [BA]),[1] 'in the valley of Lebanon, under Mt. Hermon,' is thrice mentioned in Joshua (11 17 12 7; 13 5 Γαλγαα [B], γαλγαλ [A], βαελγαδ [L]) as marking the northern limit of Joshua's conquests. Though Sayce and others identify it with Ba'albek because it is described as in the בקעה of Lebanon, it is much more probably the BAAL-HERMON of 1 Ch. 5 23 (cp also the 'mount Baal-hermon' of Judg. 3 3), now known as *Bāniās;* see CÆSAREA, § 7 *f.*, and DAN, ii.

BAAL-HAMON (בַּעַל הָמוֹן; Βεεθλαμων [B], Βεελλ. [ℵ], Βεελ. [A]), a place where, according to a marriage song of no historical authority (Cant. 8 11), Solomon had a vineyard which he entrusted to keepers. Some (*e.g.*, Del., Oettli) have identified it with the Balamo(n) of Judith 8 3, which seems to have been not far from Dothan. It is obvious, however, that some well-known place is meant, and the references to N. Israelitish scenery elsewhere in the Song of Songs give some weight to Gratz's conjecture that for 'Baal-hamon' we should read 'Baal-hermon' (Judg. 3 3 1 Ch. 5 23). If Socin (*Baed.*[(3)] 331) is right, Baal-hermon and Baal-gad are the same, and are to be sought at the mod. Ḥāṣbeiyā (see, however, CBSAREA PHILIPPI): on the luxuriant terraces on both sides of the valley vines and other fruit-trees are still cultivated. Most probably, however, 'in Baal-hamon' is due to a corrupt repetition of 'to Solomon.' Bickell is right in omitting it. T. K. C.

BAAL-RANAN (בַּעַל־חָנָן, § 42, 'Baal has been gracious'; cp Johanan, Ph. חנבעל, and the well-known 'Hannibal,' also Ass. *Baalḫanunu*, *COT*, 189).

1. Ben Achbor; one of the kings of Edom, according to Gen. 36 38 *f.* (βαλαεννων [A], βαλαενων [*D*], βαλαεννωρ [E], βααλενων [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 49 *f.* (βαλαεννωρ [B], βαλαεννω̄ [A], βαλλενων [L]). Strangely enough, the name of his city or district is not given. Moreover, the scribe's error עברים ('Hebrews') for עכברים ('mice') in 1 S. 14 11 (see **Bu.** *SBOT*) suggests that בן עכבור (ben Achbor) in *v.* 38 *f.* may be a variant to בן בעור in *v.* 32. Now, as Hadad II., an important king, (probably) the founder of a dynasty, has no father's name given, it seems likely that Baal-hanan is the lost father's name; and thus the text should run, 'And Saul died, and Hadad, hen Baal-hanan, reigned in his stead' (so Marq. *Fund.* 10 *f.*; see, however, BELA pi.]). See EDOM, § 4, HADAD.

2. A Gederite; according to the Chronicler, superintendent of olives and sycamores in the Shephēlah of Judah in the time of David; 1 Ch. 27 28 (βαλανας [B], βαλλανα [A], βαλααναν [L]). See DAVID, § 11 *c.*

BAAL-RAZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר, §§ 93, 96), 2 S. 13 23. See HAZOR, 2.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן; § 93, Βαιλειμ [B*], Βααλειμ [B[ab]], Βααλ ερμων [AL]), 1 Ch. 5 23; see BAAL-GAD, BAAL-HAMON, and, especially, CBSAREA PHILIPPI.

BAALI (בַּעֲלִי), Hos. 2 16 EV; mg. rightly 'my lord' AV, RV 'my master.' See HOSEA, § 6.

BAALIM (הַבְּעָלִים), Judg. 2 11. See BAAL, § 1.

BAALIS (בַּעֲלִיס; Βελ[ε]ισα [Bℵ[c.a]AQ], Βενεσα [ℵ*] Βααλις [Q[mg.]], cp Sw. ad *loc.*; Jos. *Ant.* x. 9 3, § 164, Βααλιμος—*i.e.*, בעלים as some Heb. MSS read), king of the Ammonites, the prime mover in the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 40 [47] 14; cp 41 10). The name is interesting as an etymological problem. Some render 'Son of exultation,' on the precarious supposition that in this name and a few others ב stands for בן (see BIDKAR); while Baethgen (*Beitr. zur Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 16) compares the Phœnician עברם (*CIS* 1, no. 308; עבראס, *ib.* no. 50) and renders 'husband of Isis'—a still more precarious derivation. See AMMON, § 8. W. R. S.

BAAL-MEON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן; §§ 93 96; Nu. 32 38 Ezek. 25 9 1 Ch. 5 8), otherwise **Beth-baal-meon** (Josh. 13 17), **Beth-meon** (Jer. 48 23), or Beon (בְּעֹן; Nu. 32 3).

𝔊's readings are: in Nu. 32 38, βεελμεων [BAL]; in Ezek. 25 9, επαναγωγης [B*], επανω πηγης [B[ab]AQ]; 1 Ch. 5 8, βεελμασσων [B], -μαων [A], -μεων [L]; in Josh. 13 17, οικου μεελβωθ [B], οι. βελαμων [A], οικους βεελμωθ [L]; in Jer. 48 23, οικον μαων [BAQ], ο. μαωθ [ℵ*], ο. γαμων [ℵ[c.a]]; in Nu. 32 3 βαιαν [BF[vid.]L], βαμα [A]).

The place is assigned in Numbers, Joshua, and Chronicles to the Reubenites. It is twice mentioned, once as Beth-baal-meon and once as Baal-meon, in the inscription of Mesha (*ll.* 9 30), from which we learn that it was Moabite before the time of Omri and became so again under Mesha. It was Moabite also in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 48 23), and in that of Ezekiel. who names it with Beth-jeshimoth and Kiriathaim as 'the glory of the country' (Ezek. 25 9). It is represented by the modern Mā'īn, in the W. Zerḳā Mā'īn on the Moabite plateau, 2861 ft. above sea-level, 5 m. SW. from Madaba. There are extensive ruins (**Baed.**[(3)] **177**).

It may probably be identified with the Maccabæan BEAN [q. v.]. The *Onomastica* (*OS*[(2)] 32 40 101 32) quote the Reubenite city under the forms βαιαν, Bæan, πολὶς τοῦ 'Αμορραίου.

BAAL-PEOR (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר, Βεελφεγωρ 𝔊[BℵAFRΓL]), or, rather, the Baal of Peor (so RV[mg.] Nu. 25 3; *see* BAAL, § 1), the Moabite god to whose cult Israel yoked itself while in Shittim (Nu. *l.c.* JE, Dt. 4 3 Ps. 106 29, thrice in later writings abbreviated to PEOR [*q.v.*, 2]). The name occurs in Hos. 9 10 as a *place-name*—an abbreviation, it would seem, for Beth-Baal-Peor (see BETH-PEOR). The nature of the worship of this god is unknown, although it is not improbable that it was a local cult of Chemosh (Gray, *HPN* **131**). For the old speculations, based mostly upon precarious etymologies, see Selden, ***De*** *Dis Syris.* See, further, PEOR, and cp Baudissin, *Studien*, 2 232, Baethg. *Beitr.* 14 *f.* **261**, and Di. *Num.* ad *loc.*, Dr. *Deut.* ad *loc.*

BAAL-PERAZIM (בַּעַל־פְּרָצִים, § 89), a place mentioned in connection with a battle between David and the Philistines in the valley of REPHAIM (*q.v.*), hard by Jerusalem, 2 S. 5 20 (ἐπάνω [or, ἐπ' ἄνω] διακοπῶν [BAL]);[1] 1 Ch. 14 11 *bis* (φααλφαθισειμ . . . διακοπὴ φαρισιν [B], φαλααδ' φαθεισει . . . διακοπὴν φαριειν [ℵ], βααλ'φαρασειν . . . διακοπὴ φαρασειν [A], βαελφαρασιν *bis* [L]). According to the narrator, the name was so called because David had said, 'Yahwè has broken through my foes before me as at a breaking through of water,' Baal-perazim (*i.e.*, 'Lord of acts of breaking through') being regarded as a title of the God of Israel. The same event seems to be referred to in Is. 28 21, where the place is called Mt. Perazim (ὄρος ἀσεβῶν [BℵAQ], ὡς ὄρει διακόπτων [Aq. in Q[mg.]], ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν διακοπῶν [Sym. Theod. in Q[mg.]]). This form of the name suggests the most complete explanation of David's question, 'Shall I go *up* against the Philistines?' (*v.* 19). He asks whether he shall come upon the Philistines from the chain of hills which bounds the valley of Rephaim on the east (in *v.* 20 read, 'And David came *from* Baal-perazim,' with 𝔊 and Klo.); he starts, be it remembered, from Jerusalem (see DAVID, § 7). On the next occasion he did not 'go up' (on the hills), but came upon his foes from the rear (*v.* 19). In spite of this narrative, which is written from the later Israelitish point of view, the name Baal-perazim must have existed long before David. It is analogous to RIMMON-PEREZ, which means 'Rimmon (Rammān) of Perez,' and belonged properly to some point in the chain of hills referred to, which was specially honoured

[1] Through confusion of λ, *a*, and δ in the uncial writing.

[1] ἐπάνω cannot = מֵעַל, being preceded in *v.* 20 *a* by ἐκ τῶν.

by Canaanitish Baal-worshippers. David, however, beyond doubt took Baal as synonymous with Yahwè; the name gave him a happy omen, and received a fresh significance from his victory. Whether 'Perazim' was originally a name descriptive of the physical appearance of the hills E. of the valley of Rephaim, or whether it had some accidental origin, cannot he determined.

T. K. C.

BAALSAMUS (Βααλσαμος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 43 RV = Neh. 8 4, MAASEIAH, 15.

BAAL-SHALISHA, RV **Baal-Shalishah,** (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה, Βαιθσαρ[ε]ισα [B*A^vid. (ras σα A?)], Βηθσαλισα [L]), in Ephraim, evidently near GILGAL (2 K. 4 42), doubtless identical with the *Bethsalisa* and Βαιθσαρισαθ of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 107 11 239 92), 15 R. m. N. of Diospolis (Lydda). These conditions seem to be met by *Kh. Sirīsiā*, which is exactly 13 Eng. m., or about $14\frac{1}{3}$ R. m. from Lydda (*PEFQ*, '76, p. 68). Four miles farther on is the village Kh. Kefr. Thilth, with which Baal-shalisha is now identified by Conder (*PEFM* 2 285). In illustration of 2 K. *l.c.* the Talmud (*Sanh.* 12 *a*) states that nowhere did the fruits of the earth ripen *so* quickly as at Baal-shalisha. See SHALISHA, LAND OF, and cp ZELZAH.

BAAL-TAMAR (בַּעַל תָּמָר—*i.e.*, 'Baal of the Palm,' §§ 96 103, Βααλ θαμαρ [BAL]), an unidentified locality in the neighbourhood of Gibeah, where the Israelites put themselves in array against the Benjamites (Judg. 20 33). Some think of 'the Palm of Deborah' (Judg. 4 5), which, however, was too remote (Moore). Eus. (OS 238 75) speaks of a Beth-thaniar near Gibeah.

BAALZEBUB (בַּעַל זְבוּב; ἐν τῷ [ἐν τῇ A *v.* 2, BA *vv.* 6 16; δια τον, L *v.* 1 *f.*] Βααλ μυιαν [BA], taking Zebub or μυια as the name of the god; *so* Jos. *Ant.* ix. 2 1), a god of Ekron, whose oracle was consulted by Ahaziah king of Israel in his last illness (2 K. 1 2 *f.* 6 16†).

1. Not Fly-god. The name is commonly explained 'lord of flies.' True, there is no Semitic analogy for this; but Pausanias (viii. 26 7; cp J. G. Frazer's note on v. 14 1) tells us of a Ζεὺς ἀπόμυιος who drove away dangerous swarms of flies from Olympia, and Clement of Alexandria attests the cultus of the same god in Elis (*Protrept.* 238); and we may, if we will, interpret the title 'a god who Sends as well as removes a plague of flies' (so Baudissin), which lifts the god up a little. Let us, however, look farther.

Bezold (*Catalogue*, K. 3500) thought that in an *Assyrian inscription of the 12th cent. B.C. he had met*

2. Not god of Zebub. with Baal-zabubi as the name of one of the gods of the Ebir nāri (on which see EBER, § 1), in which case Baal-zebub was a widely known divine name, adopted for the god of Ekron. The restoration of the final syllable *-bi*, however, is admittedly quite uncertain, and the reading Baal-ṣapuna (see BAAL-ZEPHON, 1) seems much more probable.[1] Winckler, therefore, suggests that Zebub might be some very ancient name of a locality in Ekron[2] (no longer to be explained etymologically), on the analogy of Baal-Sidon, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Lebanon. No such locality, however, is known, and Ekron, not any locality in Ekron, was the territory of the Baal.

3. Real name Baal-zĕbūl. It is, therefore, more probable that Baal-zebub, 'lord of flies' (which occurs only in a 'very late' narrative, one which has a pronounced didactic tendency),[3] is a contemptuous uneuphonic Jewish modification of the true name, which was probably Baal-zebul, 'lord of the high house' (cp 1 K. 8 13, and Schrader's note in *COT*). This is a title such as any god with a fine temple might bear, and was probably not confined to the god of Ekron (in the Pananimu inscription of Zenjīrli, *l.* 22, the god Raktibel bears the title בעל בית, 'lord of the house'). The second part of it strongly reminds us of É-sagila, the 'high house' of the god Marduk (see BABYLON, § 5). 'High house' (zĕbūl) would at the same time refer to the dwelling-place of the gods on the הר מועד or 'mountain of assembly' in the far north[1] (see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). There is some reason to think that the Phoenicians knew of such a dwelling-place. The conception is implied in the divine name Baal-Saphon, 'Lord of the north' (see BAAL-ZEPHON), and in the Elegy on the king of Tyre (Ez. 28 12 *ff.*); and the Semitised Philistines also probably knew of it. At any rate, the late Hebrew narrator—or, if we will, an early scribe—may have resented the application of such a title as 'Lord of the high house' (which suggested to him either Solomon's temple [בֵּית זְבֻל 1 K. 8 13] or the heavenly dwelling of Yahwè [מָעוֹן, Dt. 26 15 Ps. 68 6]) to the Ekronite god, and changed it to 'Lord of flies,' Baal-zebub. See BEELZEBUB. This explanation throws light on three proper names,—JEZEBEL, ZEBUL, and ZEBULON—also on Is. 63 15, 'from thy *zĕbūl* (high house) of holiness and glory.' The same term *zĕbūl* could be applied to the mansion of the moon in the sky (Hab. 3 11, We.).

T. K. C.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בַּעַל צְפֹן), or, no doubt more accurately, Baal-Zaphon (בּ׳ צָפוֹן).

1. The name of a Phœnician god, formed like Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, and meaning 'Baal of the north.' Though not mentioned in OT, it is important as enabling us to account for certain ancient Israelitish proper names (ZAPHON, ZEPHON, ZEPHONITES, ZIPHION), and also for the enigmatical reference to a mountain abode of the Elōhim, situated 'in the recesses of the north' (Is. 14 13; see CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF). The latter conception was evidently believed by Ezekiel (28 13 *f.*) to be familiar to the Phoenicians, and is clearly connected with the divine name in question, which describes and designates 'the Baal whose throne is on the sacred mountain of the gods in the north' (Baethg. *Beitr.* 23, 261). The Assyrian inscriptions contain several references to this god. A text of Esar-haddon speaks of Bad-ṣapunu as one of the 'gods of Ebir-nâri' (see EBER, 1], and more than one mountain-district may have borne the name of Baal-Zaphon.[2] The chief seat of the god, however, must have been in the centre of Mount Lebanon. Elsewhere (COPPER, § 3) other texts are referred to in which *Ba'ali-ṣapuna* is described as *rich* in copper, which appears to have been the case with Lebanon. Altogether we cannot be wrong in identifying Baal-Zaphon with Baal-Lebanon, 'the Baal of Lebanon.' The relation of this national deity of the Phoenicians to the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen requires separate consideration (see 2). On the question whether Baal-Zaphon was known under another of his names in Philistia, and even perhaps among the Israelites, see BEEL-ZEBUL, § 2.

T. K. C.

2. βεελσεπφων: so most MSS, but many MSS[3] βεελσεφων; Vg. *Beelsephon* (*-sefon* in Jer. OS; Targ. בְּעֵיל־צְפוֹן, cp Syr. Bĕ'el-Ṣĕphûn; Arab. Walton, 'Ṣafûn, the idol,' *ṣafūn aṭ-ṭāġūth*), a place near the point where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and opposite their encampment (Ex. 14 2 9 Nu. 33 7). The name is usually understood to point to a national Phœnician god of the

1 Wi. *GI* 1 223,225; Hommel, *AHT* 196, 255. Halévy has made a similar mistake (see next note).

2 Halévy (*Rev. sém.* 123) thought that he had proved this; but in Am. *Tab.* 174, 16, to which he refers for an Ekronite Zabubu, the right reading is Ṣapuna.

3 Kuenen, *Ond.* 1 409 (§ 25, n. 8).

1 This is akin to the theory of Movers, who makes Baal-zebul ('Lord of the heavenly dwelling') originally a name of Saturn, a theory which lacks evidence.

2 Tiglath-pileser III. (*KB* ii. 26 *f.*) speaks first of the mountains of Lebanon and then of the land of Ba'ali-ṣapuna as far as the mountains of Ammana.

3 *E.g.*, AF 7 10, perhaps L. This form also seems to be Hexaplaric (see the Boheiric version; the older Sahidic text has πφ for φ).

same name; but the Egyptians who mention a goddess Ba'alt(i)-ṣapuna as worshipped at Memphis[1] connect this cultus, very significantly, with that of *Sapd(u)*, a local god of Western Goshen (see GOSHEN, § 2). This divinity was, therefore, evidently not a Phoenician deity; her domain, at any rate, was either in or near the region of Goshen. Consequently, the Baal whom this local Ba'alt or Beltis implies was not also the Phœnician Baal-Zephon, though whether he had an independent origin or not, cannot as yet be determined. Like most of the local names of Goshen, Baal-Zephon (or rather—see (1)—Baal-Zaphon) is clearly Semitic.[2]

The honour accorded by the Egyptians to the consort of 'Baal-Zephon' no doubt proves the importance of that town of Goshen. It is difficult, however, at present, to determine the situation of the place (see EXODUS, i. § 6). The expression '*before* Baal-Zephon, *over against* it' (obscured in Nu. 33 7 *f.*) need not signify 'eastward of,' which in ordinary Hebrew would be the most natural meaning; it seems rather to indicate here some point not yet touched on the NE. (or S.?).

Such identifications as that with Heroopolis (Forster), 'Ajrūd (Niebuhr), etc. had to he given up even before the situation of Goshen and Heroopolis was determined by Naville's excavations. For the value of more modern theories (Brugsch—Mount Casius; Ebers, on the 'Atāḳa mountain, SW. of Suez'; Naville, on Lake Timsāḥ, near Sheikh en-Nedek), see EXODUS, i. § 7 *ff.*

I, T. K. C.—2, W. M. M.

BAANA (בַּעֲנָא, probably = BAANAH [below]; ΒΑΑΝΑ [BWAL]).

1. b. Ahilud (or perhaps better Ahimelech; see AHILUD, 2; AHIMELECH, 1), Solomon's prefect in the valley of Jezreel; 1 K. 4 12 (βακχα [B], εισβαχα [L]).

2. b. Hushai, prefect in Asher; 1 K. 4 16 (βαανας [A], βαναιας [L]). His father, Hushai, is no doubt the well-known courtier of David (2 S. 15 32). Cp AHILUD, 2.

3. Father of ZADOK [*q.v.*, 3]; Neh. 3 4 (om. A; βαναα [L]).

4. 1 Esd. 5 8 = Neh. 7 7, BAANAH, 3.

BAANAH (בַּעֲנָה; cp Nabatæan בענו [*CIS* 2 220]; ΒΑΑΝΑ [BℵAL]).

1. b. Rimmon, a Beerothite, one of the murderers of Isbhaal, 2 S. 4 2 *ff.* (βαναια [L], and in B βααμ [*vv.* 5 9], βαμμα [*v.* 6]; Jos. βανας, βαναοθα). See RECHAB, 1, ISHBAAL, 1.

2. Father of one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23 29 (βενιαμειν? [B], βααναι [A]) = 1 Ch. 11 30 (νοοζα [Bℵ] βανα [L]).

3. A leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 *c*) in the great post-exilic list (*ib.* ii. § 9). Ezra 2 2 (βαλλεια [B], βαναα [L]) = Neh. 7 7 = 1 Esd. 5 8, BAANA [4]. Possibly the same as BAANA, 3 (above).

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 27 [28] (om. L).

BAANI (ΒΑΑΝ[Ε]Ι [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 34, BANI, 2.

BAANIAS (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 26, AV = Ezra 10 25, BENAIAH, 7.

BAARA (בַּעֲרָא), a 'wife' of SHAHARAIM (*q.v.*), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 8 (ΙΒΑΑΔΑ [B], ΒΑΑΡΑ [A], ΒΑΔΑΑ [L]).

BAASEIAH (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה, no doubt a textual error for מעשיה, see MAASEIAH), a Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6 40 [25] (ΜΑΑϹΑΙ [B], ΒΑΑϹΙΑ [A], ΒΑϹΙΑ [L]).

BAASHA (בַּעְשָׁא or בַּעְשָׂא, § 51 [cp Ba. on 2 Ch. 16 1], ΒΑΑϹΑ [BAL]; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 3, ΒΑϹΑΝΗϹ; *BAASA*. Ba'sa occurs on the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II. as the name of an Ammonite king Del. *Par.* 294, Schr. *KAT*(2) 196, M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 273]),[1] b. Ahijah, an Issacharite, became king of Israel in succession to Nadab, whom he conspired against and slew at the Philistine town of Gibbethon, afterwards killing all the rest of Jeroboam's family (1 K. 15 27 *f.*). The fact that the Philistines were able to resume war against Israel leads to the supposition that there had been a military revolution in which Baasha, one of Nadab's generals, was the leader (cp Ki. *Hist.* 2 254). His reign was marked by his energetic operations against ASA[2] (*q.v.*). By building Ramah (1 K. 15 17) Baasha had endeavoured to shut off Jerusalem from intercourse with the outer world, and Asa was saved only by the purchased aid of Benhadad (*q.v.*, § 2), who invaded Israel 'unto Naphtali' *v.* 20, cp 𝔊). We know but little of his 'acts' or of his 'might' (גְּבוּרָתוֹ, 1 K. 16 5). He was one of the few kings who died a natural death. He was buried at Tirzah, which was still the royal residence (1 K. 15 21 33), having been made such by Jeroboam (see TIRZAH). Baasha was the head of the second dynasty, which was extirpated at a later time by Zimri, 'in accordance with the word of Yahwè which he spake against Baasha by Jehu the prophet' (see JEHU, 2, b. Hanani). The fate of the house of Baasha b. Ahijah, as also that of Jeroboam b. Nebat, is referred to by later writers; cp 1 K. 21 22 2 K. 9 9. See ISRAEL, § 29, CHRONICLES, § 8, and, for his date (about 900 B.C.), CHRONOLOGY, § 32.

BABEL,[3] TOWER OF (Gen. 11 1-9). The story of the tower (מִגְדָּל), when its lacunæ have been filled up, is to this effect. All mankind had still one language, and kept together. On one of their nomadic journeys they found a spot which suggested the adoption of a settled life; it was the plain of Shinar. Having no building material, they devised the plan of baking clay into bricks, and using bitumen for cement. They were the first city-builders. Their design, however, was to build, not only a city, but also a stupendously high tower which should be at once a monument of their strength and a centre or rallying-point that would prevent their ever being dispersed. Uneasy at their newly awakened activity, Yahwè 'came down' to take a nearer view of the buildings, and then returned (to his lofty mountain abode, Ezek. 28 14) to take counsel with the sons of Elōhim. This, he said, is but the beginning of human ambition; nothing will soon be too hard for man to do. Come, let us go down (together), and bring their speech into confusion. Hence arose the present variety of languages and the dispersion of mankind, and hence the name of the well-known city called Babylon.

1. OT story.

This naïve narrative, which is Yahwistic, probably comes from the same writer as the story of Paradise.[4]

2. General character.

Both narratives present the same childlike curiosity about causes, the same strongly anthropomorphic and in some sense polytheistic conception of the divine nature (cp *v.* 6 *f.* with

1 Sall. 4 1, rev.; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 315. The reading *Ba'aly* (so Goodwin, Brugsch, etc.) is incorrect.

2 What Baal-Zaphon (at any rate the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen) signifies, is disputed. 'Watch-tower' (√צפה) it certainly does not mean. Gesenius (after Forster) compared the Gk. Τυφων (originally a wind god), who was identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian *Sêt*, Σηθ (EGYPT, § 14), on the basis of the later confusion with the giant Τυφωνεύς. Quite inadmissibly. Nor can the equation he supported by the unfortunate assertion that 'Tep' was a name of 'Sêt' (cp Kenouf, *Hibb. Lects.* for 1879, p. 114). A much more reasonable explanation is 'master of the north' *i.e.*, 'north point'; Baal-Zephon was indeed near the north end of the Gulf. Others (*e.g.*, Ebers) explain Zaphon as 'the north wind,' this wind being important for the sailors on the Red Sea, who would make their orisons at the sanctuary of BAAL-ZAPHON. Cp the name Baal-ṣapuna on Hamathite territory (Tig.-pil. III.), Hommel, *AHT*, 255, WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 315. See also ZAPHON.

1 We. (*Heid.*(1) 62) suggests that בעשא may he a contraction for בעל־שא. Similar contractions are seen in the Phœn. בעשמם and Aram. (from the Ḥaurān) בעשמן. Sa is possibly a divine name and seems to recur in the names Abishai, Ammi-sha (for Amasa), etc.; see JERUSHA. It may also be the same as the god שן mentioned in a S. Arab. inscription (*Exp. T.* 10 329). Its identification with a Palm. deity שא is open to question.

2 Cp the tradition referred to in Jer. 41 9 (𝔊ℵ omits the name).

3 On the name (בָּבֶל), see BABYLON, § 1, and below, col. 411, n. 4, and § 6.

4 According to the non-critical view, the survivors of the Deluge made their way from the mountain on which the ark had rested to the land of Shinar (so Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 155). The Deluge-story however, makes Shem, Ham, and Japheth themselves the progenitors of the different sections of mankind, and has thus no need of the Tower-story. Even if such a narrative had been introduced into the Deluge-story, how could 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth' be called 'all the earth' (11 1)? See We. *CH* 13; but cp Stade, *ZATW* 14 276 *ff.* ['94].

3 22) ; both, therefore, have in all ages given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Philo (*De Confusione Linguarum*) thought that, to avoid 'the most surpassing impiety,' the anthropomorphisms must he interpreted allegorically. If we are not prepared to follow him in this, we must once more apply the mythological key (see ADAM AND EVE, § 4).

It is perhaps the second *extant* chapter in the mythic chronicle of the first family that we have before us : the passage which originally linked the story of the Tower to that of Paradise has been lost (see NEPHILIM). It is clear, however, that the first men had not gone far from Paradise : they are still on their journeys 'in the east' when this ambitious project occurs to them (see GEOGRAPHY, § 13).

The narrative may be regarded in two aspects. While explaining how the city of Babylon, with its gigantic terrace-temples, came to be built (see § 4), it accounts for the division of men into different nations, separated in abode and speech. Not to be able to understand one's neighbour seemed to the primitive men a curse (cp Dt. 28 49 Jer. 515). It is not improbable that there was an ancient N. Semitic myth which explained how this curse arose. It is said that there are many such myths elsewhere,[1] and some of them (*e.g.*, that reported by Livingstone from Lake Ngami, and that mentioned in the Bengal Census Report for 1872—to mention only two of the best attested) have a certain similarity to the Hebrew story. It is credible, therefore, that the N. Semites ascribed the curse of many languages to the attempt to erect a tower by which men might climb up 'above the stars of God' and 'sit on the mountain of assembly' and 'make themselves like the Most High'[2] (Is. 14 13 *f.*).

3. Origin of diverse tongues.

The old myth, like that which seems to underlie the story of SODOM (*q.v.*), said nothing as to where the town to which the tower belonged lay. When, however, through some devastating storm, one of the chief temple-towers of Babylon (see BABYLONIA, § 27) fell in remote days into disrepair, wandering Aramæan tribes may have marked it, and, connecting it with the 'babel' of foreign tongues in Babylon, may have localised the myth at the ruined temple-tower.[3] *Balbel*, they would have exclaimed:" it was here that God confounded men's speech, and the proofs of it are the ruined tower and the name of Babel.

4. Origin of Babylon.

It is remarkable that the polytheistic element in the old myth should have been *so* imperfectly removed. Even the writer who adopted and retold the story was still far off from the later transcendental monotheism. The changes which he introduced consisted in omissions rather than in insertions. Yahwè still has to come down to inquire ; he still has to communicate the result to the inferior divine beings, and bring them with him to execute judgment; but, though he needs society, as ruler Yahwè stands alone: there is no triad of great gods, as in Babylon. It is also worth mentioning that the narrator's idea of civilisation is essentially a worthy one. No city can be built, according to these early men, without a religious sanction. Enos, as another myth appears to have said, is at once the beginner of forms of worship and the father of Cain the city-builder (see CAIN, § 1). On the other hand, the idea that God grudges man the strength which comes from union, and fears human ambition, is obviously one of the 'beggarly elements' of ethnic 'religion from which Jewish religion had yet to disengage itself.

5. Character of myth.

We have seen that there was not improbably an old N. Semitic myth of the interrupted building of a tower to account for the dispersion of the nations. Should such a myth one day be discovered in Babylonia,[1] it will certainly disappoint many persons by not mentioning the 'confusion of languages,' nor giving Babylon as the scene of the events, (1) because the Ass. *bullulu* means 'fundere,' not 'confundere,' and (2) because the city of Babylon was regarded as of divine origin, and its name *Bābil* was explained as *Bāb-īli*, 'the gate of God,' or 'of the gods' (cp BABYLON, § 1). The latter reason is decisive also against the theory[2] that the Sibylline story of the Tower of Babel and the cognate one of Abydēnus[3] rest on Babylonian authority. That two of the reporters of the story give the polytheistic οἱ θεοί proves nothing, for the plural was sufficiently suggested by the Hebrew narrative (*v.* 7). The non-biblical features of their version, though in one point (the object ascribed to the builders) probably an accurate reconstruction of the earliest myth, are of no authority, being clearly derived from the imaginative Jewish Haggada,[4] which is responsible also for the part assigned by later writers to Nimrod (Jos. *Ant.* i. 4 2 ; cp Dante, *Inf.* 31 76-81).

6. OT form not Babylonian.

Where was the tower referred to in the Hebrew narrative ? Few scholars have declared this problem insoluble ; but almost all have missed what seems the most natural answer. Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled about A.D. 1160, supposed it to be the mound called by the Arabs Birs Nimrūd, which, he says, is made of bricks called *al-ājur*.[5] This agrees with the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. xxxviii), and is probably implied in the strange gloss of 𝔊 in Is. 10 9. In the sixteenth century Balbi and Ralph Fitch, and in the seventeenth John Cartwright, give descriptions of the 'Tower of Babel' which are plainly suggested by the huge mass of brickwork, 6 or 7 m. W. of Bagdād, known as Tell Nimriid or 'Akarkūf (see Del. *Par.* 208 ; Peters, *Nippur*, i. 188 *f.*). Pietro della Valle in the eighteenth century preferred the great mound near Hillah called *Bābil*, which, however, as Rassam has shown, represents the famous hanging gardens (see BABYLON, §§ 4 8). In the nineteenth, C. J. Rich and Ker Porter revived the Birs Nimriid theory, and most scholars have followed them,[6] largely influenced by Nebuchadrezzar's Borsippa inscription. No one has put this view *so* plausibly as J. P. Peters, in an article which appeared since this article was written (*JBL*, 1896, p. 106). The statements of the king are no doubt well adapted to illustrate the disrepair into which (see § 4) the tower originally intended must have fallen even though they do not as Oppert once thought, describe the 'confusion of tongues.' Let us pause upon them for a moment. They tell us that the temple-tower (*zikkurrat*) of Borsippa had 'fallen into decay since remote days,' and indeed that it had never been quite completed by its original builder. 'Rain and storm had thrown down its wall; the kiln-bricks of its covering had split; the bricks of its chamber were in heaps of rubbish.' 'To restore it,' says Nehuchadrezzar, 'the great Lord Marduk impelled my mind.'[7]

7. Site of tower.

Borsippa, however, is not the place we should naturally go to for the tower. Babylon, and Babylon alone (which was always distinguished from Borsippa) must cover the site. The late Jewish tradition is of no value whatever: it grew up, probably, during the Exile, when Nebuchadrezzar's restoration of the 'temple of the

[1] See *EB*(9), art. BABEL, TOWER OF (Sayce), and cp Liiken, *Die Traditionen*, 318-322.

[2] In a Babylonian hymn we find the god Bel identified with. 'the great mountain whose top reaches to heaven' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 21).

[3] In the original myth there was no hyperbole. In the localised myth, however, the description 'whose top reacheth unto heaven' seems parallel to a phrase in Dt. 1 28, and to similar descriptions of Egyptian obelisks (see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 310) and Assyrian and Babylonian temple-towers (so Tiglath-pileser ; 'its temple-towers I raised to heaven,' Del. *Ass. HWB* 162 ; and Hammu-rābi, '(the temple) whose top is high as heaven he built,' *KB* iii. *a*, 129.

[4] A popular etymology would connect *Bābel* with Aram. *balbel* much more easily than with Heb. *bālal* (see Olshausen *Lehrb.* § 189 *a*), as Bu. supposed in 1883 (*Urgesch.* 387). Onkelos on Gen. 11 9 gives בלבל for the בלל of MT.

[1] The story as it stands is not, as Stade (*ZATW*, 1895, p. 157) and Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 149) (not, of course, on the ground of the supposed discovery in *TSBA* 5 303 *ff.*, *RP* 7 129 *ff.* ; cp Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 406) have held, Babylonian.

[2] Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 683 ; *ZATW* 9 154 ['89] ; Sta. *ZATW* 15 157 161 ['95].

[3] *Carm. Sibyll.* 3 97 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* i. 4 3 ; Syncellus, *Chron.* ed. Dindorf, 81; Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, 1 33. Cp Bloch, *Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus*, 54 *f.* ['79] ; Freudenthal, *Hellenist. Studien* 1 25.

[4] See *Jubilees* 10 19-26 (Charles, *JQR* 6 208 *f.*).

[5] The Arabic *'ājurrun* comes through Aram. from Ass. *agurru*, 'kiln-bricks' (often) ; both words are used collectively.

[6] For Sir H. Rawlinson's view, which differs from the views mentioned above, see G. Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, edited by Sayce, 171.

[7] *KB* 3 6 52-55 ; cp *COT* 1 109 *f.*

seven lights of heaven and earth' was recent. In the *zikkurrat* of the great temple E-sagila (see BABYLON, §§ 4, 5), represented, according to Hommel, by Tell 'Amrān, we have the trne tower of Babel. Nebuchadrezzar himself speaks of this tower in the Borsippa inscription. 'Ē-temen-an-lei,' he says, 'the *zikkurrat* of Babylon, I restored and finished.' An account of this building has been given from a Babylonian tablet by the late George Smith. He tells us that 'the whole height of this tower above its foundation was 15 *gar*, or 300 feet, exactly equal to the breadth of the base; and, as the foundation was most probably raised above the level of the ground, it would give a height of over 300 feet above the plain for this grandest of Babylonian temples.'[1] What vicissitudes this *zikkurrat*, or its predecessor, passed through in early times, who shall say?

T. K. C.

BABI (ΒΑΒΙ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 37 = Ezra 8 11, BEBAI, 1.

BABYLON. The word בָּבֶל (𝔊^{BAL} ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ), Bābel, designating the city which, in course of time,

1. Name, etc. became the capital of the country known as Babylonia, is the Hebrew form of the native Bāb-īli ('gate of God,' or 'Gate of the gods'). The Accadian or Sumerian name, Ka-dingira, is a translation of the Semitic Babylonian. Of the other names of the city, Tin-tir, 'Seat of life,' and Ē or E-ki (translated 'house' or 'hollow') are among the best known. The existence of these various names is probably due to the incorporation, as the city grew, of outlying villages and districts. Among the places which seem to have been regarded, in later times, as a part of the city, may be mentioned Šu-anna (a name sometimes apparently interchanged with that of Babylon itself); Tē, which, though it had, like Babylon, a *pihatu*, or district of its own, is nevertheless described as being 'within Babylon'; and Šuppatum and Litamu, apparently names of plantations ultimately included in the city.

The date of the foundation of Babylon is still uncertain. Its association in Gen. 10 10 with Erech, Akkad, and Calneh implies that according to Hebrew tradition it was at least as old as those cities, and confirmation of this is to be found in the bilingual Creation-story (see CREATION, § 16 *d*), where it is mentioned as coeval with Erech and Nippuru, two primeval cities, the latter of which has been proved by the excavations to date back to prehistoric times.

No detailed history of the rise of the city has yet come to light. Agum or Agu-kale-rime (about 1550 B.C.)

2. History. speaks of the glorious shrines of Marduk and Zirpanitum, in the temple Ē-sagila, which he restored with great splendour. About 892 B.C., Tukulti-Ninip, king of Assyria, took the city, slaying the inhabitants, and carrying a vast amount of spoil (including the property and dues of the great temple Ē-sagila) back with him to Assyria. Sennacherib, however, went farther than his predecessor. He says that, after having spoiled the city at least once, he devoted it to utter destruction. The temples, palaces, and city-walls were overthrown. The debris having been cast into the canal Arahtu, that waterway was still further dammed up, and a flood in consequence ravaged the country. Esarhaddon, when he came to the throne, began the rebuilding of the city, restoring the temples with much splendour; and the work of beautifying them was continued by Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Ašur-bāni-pal, his sons, the former as king of Babylon, and the latter as his suzerain. Later, Nabopolassar continued the work; but it was left for his son Nebuchadrezzar to bring the city to the very height of its glory. Later still, Cyrus held his court at Babylon (Šu-anna), where vassal kings brought him tribute and paid him homage. The siege of the place and the destruction of its walls by Darius Hystaspis were the beginning of its decay. Xerxes is said (Herod. 1 183) to have plundered the temple of Bēlus of the golden statue that Darius had not dared to remove, and Arrian (3 36) states that he destroyed the temple itself on his return from Greece. He relates also that Alexander wished to restore this celebrated fane,[1] but renounced the idea, as it would have taken ten thousand men more than two months to remove the rubbish alone. Be this as it may, Antiochus Soter, in an inscription found at Birs-Nimrūd, mentions having restored the temple Ē-sagila (the temple of Bēlus), showing that some attempt was made, notwithstanding Alexander's abandonment of the task in despair, to bring order into the chaotic mass of ruin to which it had apparently been reduced. The people of the great city had, in all probability, by this time almost entirely migrated to Seleucia, on the Tigris; but the temple services were continued as late as the third decade B.C., and probably even into the Christian era. The temple was still standing in 127 B.C. (reign of the Kharacenian king Hyspasines), and had a congregation, who worshipped the god Marduk in combination with Anu, this twofold godhead being, apparently, called Anna-Bēl. A small tablet, dated '219th year, Arsaces, king of kings,' records the borrowing by two priests of E-sa-bad (the temple of the goddess Gula at Babylon) of a certain sum of silver from the treasnry of the temple of Bēl. This date, which is regarded as Arsacidean, shows that certain temples, including the tower of Bēlus, remained, with their priesthood and services, as late as the year 29 B.C. (*Bab. Or. Record*, 4 133).

Rather more than 50 miles south of Bagdād, on the east bank of the Euphrates, lie the ruins still identified

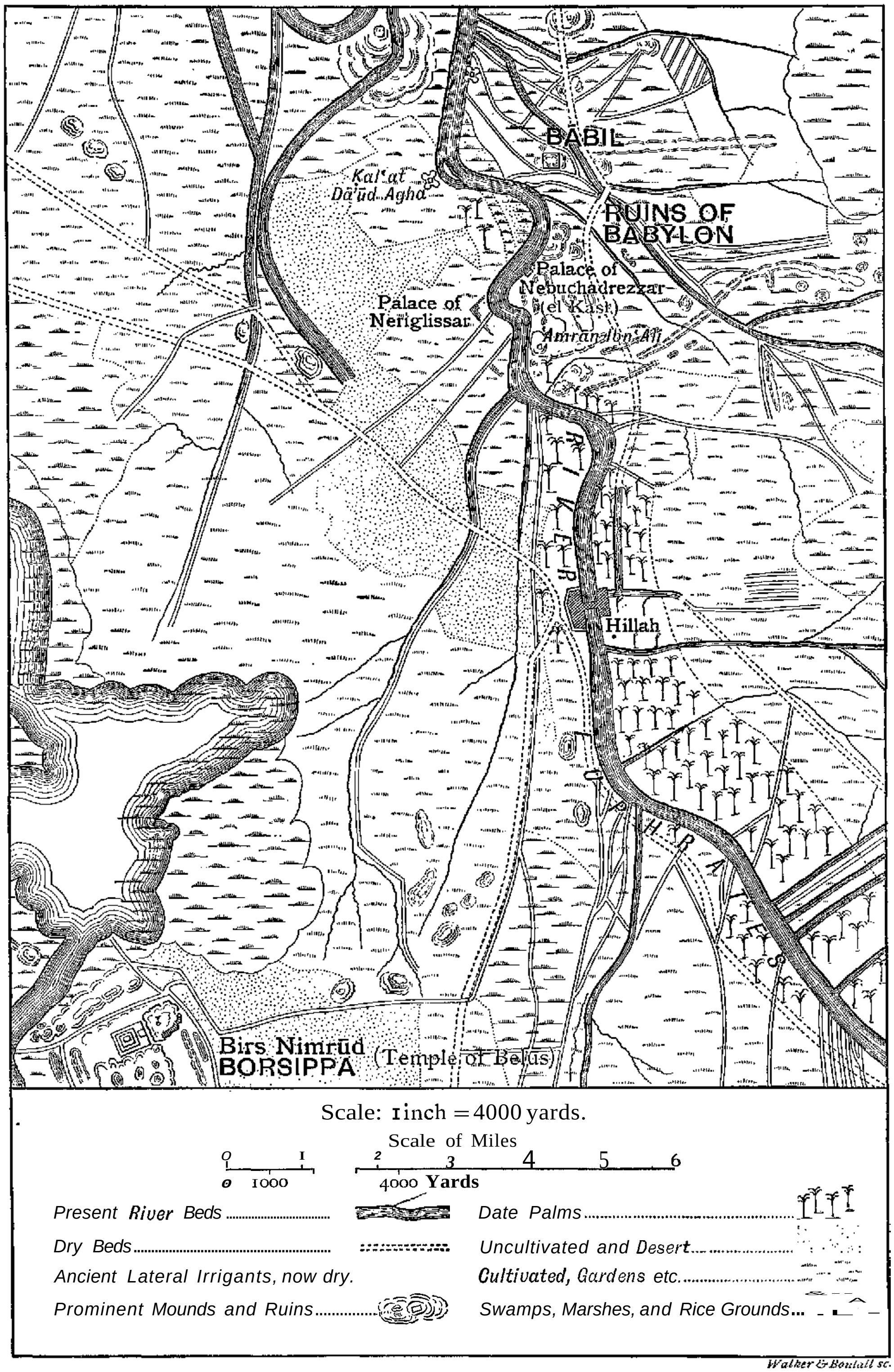
3. Ruins. by tradition as those of Babylon. These remains consist of a series of extensive, irregularly-shaped mounds covering, from north to south, a distance of about 5 miles. Bābil, the northmost ruin, has, according to Ainsworth, a square superficies of 120,000 ft., and a height of 64 ft. The next in order is the Mujellibeh, of about the same superficies and a height of 28 ft. After this come two mounds close together, the Kaṣr or 'palace,' and that called 'Amrān-ibn-'Ali to the south of it. These two together have a superficies of 104,000 ft., and a height of 67 ft., or with the *beres*, or stone monument, 115 ft. Most of these two mounds is 'enclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, the area being about 8 miles' (Loftus). Other remains, including two parallel lines of rampart, are scattered about, and there are the remains of an embankment on the river side. On the W. bank are the ruins of a palace said to be that of Neriglissar.

According to Herodotus (1 178-187), the city formed a vast square, 480 stades ($55\frac{1}{4}$ miles) in circumference. Around the city was a large ditch of

4. Greek descriptions. running water, and beyond that a great rampart 200 cubits high and 50 broad, there being on it room enough for a four-horse chatiot to pass, and even to turn, in addition to space sufficient for 'chambers facing each other.' The top, therefore, would seem to have resembled a kind of street. The wall was pierced by a hundred gateways closed with brazen gates. On reaching the Euphrates, which (Herodotus says) divided the city, it was met by walls which lined the banks of the stream. The streets were arranged at right angles. Where those which ran down to the Euphrates met the river-wall, there were gateways allowing access to the river. On each bank of the Euphrates

[1] See Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.*, App. ii.; but cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 492 *ff.*

[1] A confirmation of this occurs in the tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 619, which is dated in 6th year of Aliksandarris (Alexander), and refers to 10 mana of silver as tithe paid *ana dakû ša êpirê ša Ê-sangil* (so to be read, according to the Aramaic docket), 'for the clearing away of the dust (rubbish) of Ê-sangil (Ê-sagila)' (Oppert in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1898, pp. 414 *ff.*).



Walker & Boutall sc.

THE SITE OF BABYLON

Compiled mainly from surveys by Jones, Selby, Bewsher, and Collingwood, 1845-65, with corrections *to* 1885 (published by the India Office). Small additions, etc., from Kiepert's 'Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon' in *Ztschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin.*

were certain fortified buildings, the royal palace being on one side, and the temple of Bēlus on the other. The latter was a tower in stages, with an exterior winding ascent leading from stage to stage, and about half-way up a resting-place for the visitor. The top was surmounted by a spacious chapel, containing a richly covered bed and a golden table. None passed the night there, according to the priests, except a woman of the country whom the god had specially chosen. Lower down was another chapel containing a seated statue of Zeus (Bel-Marduk) and a large table, both of solid gold. Outside were two altars, one of them of gold; and it was here that the golden statue that was carried away by Xerxes formerly stood. Herodotus speaks also of the large reservoir, constructed, he says, by Queen Nitōcris, and of the embankments and the bridge that she made, the last being a series of piers of stone built in the river, connected by wooden drawbridges which were withdrawn at night. Nitōcris caused to be erected, over the most frequented gate of the city, the tomb which she afterwards occupied; but this, he says, was removed by Darius, who thought that it was a pity that the gate should remain unused, and coveted the treasure that she was supposed to have placed there, which he failed to find. The houses of the city, according to Herodotus, were three and four stories high. He does not mention the hanging gardens.

Ctēsias (ap. Diod. Siculus, 2 7 *ff.*) makes the circuit of the city only 360 stades (41 m. 600 yds.). It lay on both sides of the Euphrates, which was crossed by a bridge at its narrowest point. The bridge was similar to that described by Herodotus, and measured 5 stades (3032 ft.) in length and 30 ft. in breadth. At each end was a royal palace, that on the E. being the more splendid. There was a part called the twofold royal city, which was surrounded by three walls, the outmost having a circuit of 7 m. The height of the middle wall, which was circular, was 300 ft.; that of its towers, 420 ft. The inmost wall, however, was even higher. The walls of the second enclosure and those of the third were faced with coloured bricks, enamelled with various designs. Among them were representations of Semiramis and Ninus slaying the leopard and the lion. The two palaces were joined by a tunnel under the river as well as by a bridge. Diodōrus mentions the square lake, and describes the temple of Bēlus, which, he says, had a statue of Zeus (Bēl-Marduk) 40 ft. high, and statues of Hera and Rhea (probably Zirpanitum [see SUCCOTH-BENOTH] and the goddess Damkina). He describes the famous hanging gardens, which were square, and measured 400 ft. each way, rising in terraces, and provided with earth enough to accommodate trees of great size. (For other Greek accounts, see (1) Arrian, *Anab.* 7 25 1, and Plut. *Alex.* 74; (2) Diod. Sic. 27-10, Curt. Ruf. 5 1 24-35; (3) Strab. 16 1 5; (4) Diod. 19 100, 7 and Plut. *Demetr.* 7; (5) Philistr. *Vit. Apoll.* 1 25; to which may be added (6) Bērōssus in Jos. *Ant.* x. 11 1, *C. Ap.* 1 19 *f.*, and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9467 *c d*).

The best native account of the glories of Babylon is probably that of the well-known king Nebuchadrezzar

5. Nebuchadrezzar's account.

(*KB* 3*b* 20 *ff.*)—a ruler to whom the city owed much—who, indeed, may be said to have practically rebuilt it. The most important edifice to him was the temple of Bēlus (Ē-sagila, later called Ē-saggil or Ē-sangil), and with this he begins, speaking first of the shrine of Marduk, the wall of which he covered with massive gold, lapis-lazuli, and white limestone. He refers to the two gates of the temple, and the place of the assembly, where the oracles were declared, and gives details of the work done upon them. It was apparently a part of this temple that he calls Ē-temen-ana-ki, 'the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth,' and describes as the 'tower of Babylon' (*ziḳḳurat Babili*), stating that he 'raised its head' in burnt brick and lapis-lazuli (cp BABEL, TOWER OF, § 7). After referring to various other shrines and temples, he speaks of Imgur-Bēl and Nimitti-Bēl, the two great ramparts of the city, built, or rather, rebuilt, by his father Nabopolassar, who, however, had not been able to finish them. Nebuchadrezzar goes on to describe what he and his father had done on these defences—the digging and bricking of the moat, the bricking of the banks of the Euphrates, the improvement of the roadway called Aa-ibur-šabū, the elevation of which Nebuchadrezzar raised 'from the shining gate to (the roadway called) Ištar-sakipat-tēbi-ša,' and so on. In consequence of the raising of this street, the great city gates of the walls Imgur-Bēl and Nimitti-Bēl had to be made higher. They were at the same time decorated with lapis-lazuli and figures of bulls and serpents, provided with doors of cedar covered with bronze. Then, to strengthen the city still further, Nebuchadrezzar built, 4000 cubits beyond Imgur-Bēl, another wall (with doors of cedar covered with bronze), surrounded with a ditch. To make the approach of an enemy to the city still more difficult, he surrounded the district with 'great waters' like unto the sea. After this he turned his attention to the royal palace, a structure which reached from the great wall Imgur-Bēl to the canal of the rising sun, called Libilḫegalla, and from the bank of the Euphrates to the street Aa-ibur-šabū. It had been constructed, he says, by his father Nabopolassar; but its foundations had been weakened by a flood and by the raising of the street. This edifice Nebuchadrezzar placed in good repair, and adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, and every token of magnificence, after rearing it high 'as the wooded hills.' Other constructions that he made were a wall 490 cubits long (apparently intended to serve as an additional defence to a part of the outer wall) called Nimitti-Bēl, and, between the two walls, a structure of brick, surmounted with a great edifice, destined for his royal seat. This palace, which joined that of his father, was erected in fifteen days. After adorning it with gold, silver, costly woods, and lapis lazuli, he built two great walls around it, one of them being constructed of stone.

There is a substantial agreement between this description and the description of the Greek writers. Ē-sagila,

6. Native and Greek accounts.

'the high-headed temple,' is the temple of Bēlus; the palace constructed in fifteen days is that referred to by Josephus as having been built in the same short period (*Ant.* x. 11 1). Nebuchadrezzar does not refer to the reservoir mentioned by the Greeks; but we may recognise it in the 'great waters, like the mass of the seas,' which he carried round the district, and designed for the same purpose—namely. defence against hostile attack. The walls, Nimitti-Bēl and Imgur-Bēl, are the outer and inner walls respectively, and the latter may be that which, according to Herodotus (above, § 4), ran along the banks of the river. The hanging gardens are not referred to by Nebnchadrezzar, and it is therefore very doubtful, notwithstanding the statement of Ctēsias, whether this king built them. Such erections were not uncommon in Assyria, and it is even possible that they were due to the initiative of a king of that country. In the palace of Ašur-bāni-pal at Kuyunjik, which was discovered and excavated by Rassam, was a room the bas-reliefs of which were devoted to scenes illustrating that king's Babylonian war, one of which shows a garden laid out on a slope, and continued above on a structure of vaulted brickwork, an arrangement fairly in accord with the description of the Babylonian hanging gardens given by Diodōrus and Pliny; and it is noteworthy that the latter attributes them to a Syrian (Assyrian) king who reigned at Babylon, and built them to gratify a wife whom he loved greatly. This bas-relief was regarded by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith as representing the hanging gardens at Babylon, and a neighbouring sculpture, which shows a series of fortified walls,

three or more, as well as a palace, probably represents the walls of the city as they were in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn, with whom he waged war. The palace has columns supported on the backs of lions.

7. Details from the contract-tablets. A few additional details concerning tlie city are given bv some of the manv contract-tablets found on the spot. The city gates, some of the canals, and the streets and roadways seem to have been named after the gods. We read of the gates of Zagaga, Ninip, and Šamaš, and of the canal Nār Banitum. Others of the canals received the names of the cities to which they flowed (*e.g.*, the Borsippa canal, and the old Cuthah canal). The tablets confirm the statement of Q. Curtius that the houses of the city did not fill all the space enclosed by the walls, the greater part of the ground being apparently fields, gardens, and plantations of date-palms and other trees, sufficient to furnish all the provisions that the city needed in event of siege. There is no mention, in the native records, of a bridge across the Euphrates, such as is described by the Greeks; but a contract-tablet of the time of Darius seems to refer to **a** bridge of boats. There is no confirmation of the statement that there was a tunnel under the river.

8. Identifications of ruins. There have been various conjectures as to the identification of the different ruins on the site of Babylon. Rich thought that the hanging gardens were represented by the mound known as Bābil, and this is the opinion of Rassam, who found there 'four exquisitely-built wells of red granite in the S. portion of the mound.' They are supplied with water from the Euphrates, which flows about a mile away, and their depth is about 140 ft. Originally, he thinks, they were about 50 or 60 ft. higher. Rassam regards Mujellibeh as representing the palace begun by Nabopolassar and finished by Nebuchadrezzar in fifteen days. Remains of enamelled tiles of various colours and designs are found, he says, only on that spot. The Kaṣr he takes to be the remains of the Temple of Bēlus, though he frankly admits that there are many difficulties in the way of this identification. As the latest opinions, carefully formed by one who has frequently been on the spot, they will probably be considered to possess **a** special value.

The two queens, Semiramis and Nitōcris, to whom so many of the wonders of ancient Babylon are attributed, are not mentioned on the native monuments of the Babylonians, as far as we are at present acquainted with them.[1] In all probability, the explanation of this difficulty is that they suggested the erection of the works in question, and the reigning ruler (probably their husbands) carried. them out. Only careful exploration of the sites can decide satisfactorily the real nature of each ruin—by whom it **was** built, or rebuilt, or restored —and the changes that it underwent in the course of ages. The discovery of the wells at Bābil seems to place the nature of that ruin beyond doubt, though Oppert (*Comptes Rendus*, 1898, p. 420) thinks that its distance from the other remains is too great, in view of the fact that Alexander, when suffering from a mortal illness, was carried from the castle to the baths and the hanging gardens (Plut. *Alex.* ch. 76; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* 725). Much more may be expected from the German explorations.

There is a thorough article on the history and the topography of the city of Babylon in Pauly-Wissowa's *Xeabnc, der class. Alterthumswiss.* ii. ('96). On the Babylon of the NT see PETER, EPISTLES OF, § 7, and cp ROME. T. G. P.

BABYLONIA

1. Names. The country of Babylonia, called by classical writers ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΑ, takes its name from that of its principal city BABYLON (*q.v.*, § 1). In the OT the city and the country are not sharply distinguished; both are frequently included under the Hebrew בָּבֶל. In other passages the country is termed שִׁנְעָר, Shinar (see SHINAR), while in post-exilic times the whole nation are referred to as כַּשְׂדִּים, 'Chaldæans,' and the country as אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים, 'the land of the Chaldæans' (see CHALDEA). Among the Babylonians themselves there was no single name for the whole country until the third Babylonian dynasty (eighteenth to twelfth century B.C.), when the Kassite designation of a portion of the country as Karduniash was extended and adopted in the royal inscriptions as **a** general name for the country,—a use of the term that was retained throughout the whole period of the nation's history. The whole of Babylonia could also be expressed by the double title Šumēr and Akkad, which the Babylonians adopted from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of the land, Akkad designating the northern half of the country and Šumēr the southern half. The use of the former name was extended in the Neo-Babylonian period, and the word in such phrases as 'the king of Akkad' and 'the army of Akkad' was employed to designate the whole country. The terms *kibrat arba'im*, 'the four quarters,' and *kiššatu*, 'the world,' which occur in the royal titles *šar kibrat arba'im*, 'king of the four quarters,' and *far kiššati*, 'king of the world,' were employed to express extensions of the Babylonian empire beyond the natural limits of the country (cp MESOPOTAMIA).

2. Description. The natural features that bound the country of Babylonia are the Persian Gulf on the S., the Arabian desert on the W., and the Tigris on the E., while the limit from Assyria on the N. may be placed roughly at the line where the slightly elevated plain to the N. changes to the alluvial level. At the present day Babylonia. in the S. differs considerably in size and conformation from the ancient aspect of the country. The soil carried down by the Tigris and the Euphrates is considerable, and the alluvium so formed at the head of the Persian Gulf increases to-day at the rate of about **a** mile in seventy years; moreover, it is thought by some that the rate of formation was considerably more rapid in ancient times. Thus in the early period of Babylonian history the Persian Gulf extended some 120 to 130 miles farther north than it extends at present, the Tigris and the Euphrates each entering the sea at a separate mouth. The country was thus protected on the S. by the sea, and on the W. by the desert which, rising a few feet above the plain of Babylonia, approached within thirty

[1] On Sammuramat the wife of Rammān-nirari (or Addu-nirari) III., see ASSYRIA, § 32. Apparently the only queen who reigned in her own right was Azaga-Bau or Bau-ēllit, in whose reign omens similar to those belonging to the time of Sargon of Agadè and **his** son **were** composed. She belongs to a very early period.

miles of the Euphrates; and it was only from the N. and E. sides that it was open to invasion. From the mountainous country to the E., across the Tigris, the Kassite and Elamite tribes found it easy to descend upon the fertile Babylonian plain, while after the rise of the Assyrian empire the boundary between Assyria and Babylonia was constantly in dispute.

3. Cities. The principal cities of the country were situated in two groups: one in the north; the other in the south, nearer the sea. The southernmost city was Eridu, the modern Abu-Shahrein, situated on the Euphrates not far from the ancient coast-line of the Persian Gulf. To the W. of Abu-Shahrein the mound of Mukayyar marks the site of the ancient city of Ur (see UR). Between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the NW. of Ur stood Larsam or Larsa, the modern Senkereh, and to the W. of Larsam the city of Erech, the remains of which are buried under the mounds of Warka. To the E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Shaṭṭ-el-Ḥaí, the mounds of Telloh[1] represent the city of Sirpurla, or Lagaš (as it was known in the later period of its history); the two cities, Isin and Maru, the sites of which have not yet been identified with certainty, complete the list of the principal cities in the S. The N. group of cities consists of Babylon, situated on the Euphrates, near the modern town of Hillah (see BABYLON); Borsippa, marked by the mound of Birs-Nimrūd, not far from Babylon, on the SW.; Cuthah, the modern Tell-Ibrahim (see CUTHAH), to the N. of Babylon; Sippar, the modern Abu-Habbah; the city of Kiš, still nearer the metropolis; and Nippur, the modern Niffer (the southernmost city of the group), to the N. of the Shaft-en-Nil. The site of the city of Agadè, which was in the northern half of the country, probably not far from Babylon, has not been satisfactorily identified.

4. Natural resources. The present state of the country differs considerably from that presented by it in ancient times. All ancient writers describe Babylonia as exceedingly fertile and producing enormous quantities of grain; but at the present day long neglect of cultivation has rendered the greater part of it an arid waste, varied in the neighbourhood of the rivers by large tracts of marsh land. There are still visible throughout the country embankments and trenches which mark the courses of ancient canals, by which the former dwellers in the land regulated their abundant water-supply, which was not allowed to swell the areas covered by the swamps, but was utilised for the systematic irrigation of the country. The whole land, in fact, was formerly intersected by a network of canals, and to the systematic irrigation of its alluvial soil may be traced the secret of Babylonia's former fertility.

The principal products of the country were wheat and dates. The former gave an enormous return. The latter supplied the Babylonians with wine, vinegar, and a species of flour for baking; from the sap of the date tree was obtained palm-sugar; ropes were made from its fibrous bark, and its wood furnished a light but tough building material. Wine was also obtained from the seed of the sesame plant; and barley, millet, and vetches were grown in large quantities. In addition to the palm, the cypress was common; poplars, acacias, and pomegranates grew in the neighbourhood of the streams; but the cultivation of the vine, and of oranges, apples, and pears, was artificial. The enormous reeds which abound in the swamps were used by the Babylonians for the construction of huts and light boats, and for fencing round the fields.

The domestic animals of the Babylonians were camels, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs; while the lion, the wild ox, the wild boar, and the jackal were the principal wild animals found in the country; gazelles and hares were not uncommon; a great variety of birds

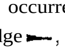
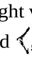
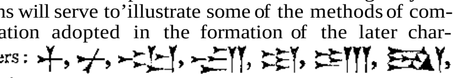
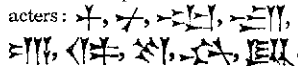
1 Perhaps = Tell Lōḥ.

BABYLONIA

haunted the marshes and the plains; and fish, principally barbel and carp, were abundant in the rivers.

5. Language. The language spoken by both the Babylonians and the Assyrians is usually referred to as 'Assyrian.' It belongs to the northern group of the Semitic languages, claiming a closer relationship to Phœnician, Hebrew (see HEBREW LANGUAGE), Syriac, and the other Aramaic dialects (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE), than to the more southern group, which comprises the Sabæan or Himyaritic, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic tongues. But while in its nominal and verbal formations it exhibits the Semitic idea of inflection from roots, and while those roots themselves are found in the other Semitic languages, it has been subjected to a stronger foreign influence and has assimilated, to an extent that is not met with in any other of the Semitic languages, a considerable body of non-Semitic words and expressions. The influence exerted by the previous inhabitants of Babylonia upon their Semitic conquerors was indelible, and throughout their whole literature, especially in their mythological and religious compositions, words of non-Semitic origin are constantly met with.

6. Sounds. The language possessed the vowel sounds, a, ā, e, ē, i, ī, u, ū, and the consonantal sounds b, g, d, z, ḫ, ṭ, k, l, m, n, s, p, ṣ, ḳ, r, š, and t, representing the Hebrew ב, ג, ד, ז, ח (*i.e.*, خ), ט, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, פ, צ, ק, ר, ש, and ת. The existence of the *e* sound in Assyrian has been questioned, and it is true that the signs containing *e* and *i* are constantly interchanged; but that the *e* sound was used at least for a certain period, may be regarded as practically certain, for not only is it required to explain certain vowel-changes which occur, but it is also vouched for by the Greek and Hebrew forms of certain Babylonian words, and by the occurrence of some twelve signs in the syllabary, the existence of which is more naturally explained by the supposition that they contain the vowel *e*, than by the assumption that they are merely duplicates for certain other signs which undoubtedly contain the vowel *i*. The pronunciation of the consonants is in the main the same as that of the equivalent consonants in Hebrew. With regard to the pronunciation of the consonants *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, and *t*, it is possible that in Assyrian, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, they were pronounced as spirants when coming between two vowel sounds, in writing, however, no distinction is indicated. It may be noted, that, while the Assyrians made no distinction in their pronunciation of *k* and *ḳ*, the Babylonians pronounced the latter as *g*; that among the later Babylonians, at least, *m* appears to have been pronounced as *v*; and that the pronunciation of *š* by the Assyrians gradually approximated to *s*. The Semitic sounds represented by the Hebrew consonants א, ה, ו, ח (*i.e.*, ح), י and ע (*i.e.*, ع and غ), are not distinguished in the Assyrian syllabary, as will be apparent from the following examples given in transliteration, the equivalent roots in Hebrew or Arabic being added in parentheses: *akālu*, 'to eat' (אכל); *alāku*, 'to go' (הלך): *edēshu*, 'to be new' (חדש); *ebēru*, 'to cross' (عبر); *erēbu*, 'to enter' (غرب); *alādu*, 'to bear' (ולד); and *enēḳu*, 'to suck' (ינק). That these sounds were not distinguished is due to the fact that the Babylonians did not originate their own system of writing, but borrowed the system they found in use among the earlier inhabitants of the country.

7. Writing. This method of writing has been termed 'cuneiform,' since the wedge (Latin *cuneus*) forms the basis of the written character in the later periods of its development. Each character or sign, in fact, consists of a single wedge, or is made up of different kinds of wedges in various combinations, the wedges of most common occurrence being the upright wedge , the horizontal wedge , and the arrow head , while the sloping wedges , , and  occur in several characters. The characters are written from left to right, and, except in some poetical compositions, no space is necessarily left between the words; every line, however, with one or two isolated exceptions, ends with a complete word. The following Assyrian signs will serve to illustrate some of the methods of combination adopted in the formation of the later characters:  . In the earliest forms

of the writing, however, there is no trace of the wedge: the characters consist of straight lines.

8. Origin. This is due to the fact that cuneiform was merely a descendant of a system of picture-writing.

In the case of many of the characters which occur in the most ancient inscriptions it is still possible to recognise the original pictures which underlie them. For example the sign for 'heaven,' 'god,' 'high,' is a star with eight points, or possibly a circle intersected by four diameters; the sign for 'sun' is a rough circle representing the sun's disk; the sign for 'ox' is the head of an ox with horns; the sign for 'grain' is an ear of corn.

All the characters, however, did not descend from pictures. Some were formed artificially by combination. Thus the sign for 'water' when placed within that for 'mouth' gave a new sign with the meaning 'to drink'; the sign for food placed within the sign for 'mouth' gave a sign with the meaning 'to eat'; the sign for 'wild-ox', was formed by placing the sign for 'mountain' within that for 'ox'; while other signs were formed by writing a character twice or three times. Moreover, it is possible that the artificial formation of characters was customary to a considerable extent. According to a theory recently put forward by Delitzsch,[1] certain strokes and combinations of strokes to be traced in the oldest forms of many of the characters had a meaning inherent in themselves, and formed the motive on the basis of which the signs containing them were developed. This question, however, is one on which it is impossible to form a conclusion until more of the inscriptions of the earliest period, recently discovered, have been published.

In the later forms which the characters assumed the original lines gave way to wedges from the fact that the scribes employed extensively soft clay instead of stone as a material on which to write. A line formed by a single pressure of the style naturally assumed the form of a wedge, while the increased clearness and uniformity which resulted secured for the wedge its final adoption. In addition to the changes which occurred in the forms of the characters, there was a development in their signification. Originally representing complete words or ideas, they were gradually employed to express the sounds of the words they represented apart from their meaning; and thus were developed their syllabic values.

9. Principles. The Babvlonians adopted this method of writing from the non-Semitic race (see below, §§ *43*, 71 *d*) whom thev found in possession of the country, and they adapted the system to their own idiom.

To characters or groups of characters representing Sumerian words they assigned the Semitic words which were equivalent to them in meaning; they also employed the signs phonetically, the syllables they represented consisting either of a vowel and a consonant (simple syllables)—e.g., *ha*, *id*, *su*—or of a vowel between two consonants (compound syllables)—*e.g.*, *mat*, *Kit*, *lul*. The system was further complicated by the fact that the majority of signs were polyphonous—that is to say, they had more than one syllabic value and could be used as ideograms for more than one word. A sign, therefore, might be used in one of three ways: as a syllable in a word written phonetically, or as an ideogram for a complete word, or as one sign in a group of two or more signs which together formed an ideogram for a complete word.

That this mixed method of ideographic and phonetic writing was often found ambiguous is attested by the methods which the Babylonians took to simplify it. (1) One of these methods consisted in adding to a word what has been termed its *determinative*, a sign attached to a word to indicate the class of thing to which it refers. Thus a special sign was placed before male proper names, another before female proper names; the sign for 'god' was placed before the names of deities; the sign for 'country' regularly preceded the names of countries; similar determinatives were used before the names of cities, mountains, rivers, tribes, professions, woods, plants, stones, garments, vessels, certain animals, the names of the months; stars, etc., while in a few classes the determinative is placed after the word, as in the case of places, birds, fish, etc. A determinative was never pronounced: it was designed only as a guide to the reader, indicating the character of the word it accompanied. (2) Another aid to the reader consisted in adding to an ideogram what has been termed its *phonetic complement*—that is to say, the final syllable of the word for which it is intended. By this means the reader is not only assisted in assigning the correct word to the ideogram, but also, in the case of verbs, is enabled to detect with greater ease the stem and tense intended by the writer. Even with this assistance, the writing, with its list of more than five hundred characters, was necessarily complicated. The use of ideograms was never entirely given up, and, although in the Neo-Babylonian period simple syllables were employed in preference to compound syllables, the Assyrians and Babylonians never attained the further development of an alphabet.

10. Decipherment. The decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions resulted from the labours of scholars who had previously devoted themselves to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions in old Persian.

From the sixth to the fourth century B.C. the Persians made use for their inscriptions of a character which they had borrowed originally from the Babylonians. Other nations of W. Asia also, such as the Susians and the people dwelling around Lake Van, borrowed from Babylon the idea of cuneiform writing, in some cases making use of the Babylonian characters, in others modifying them to a greater or less extent. The changes introduced by the Persians when they borrowed the idea of writing by means of wedges were considerable, for, instead of employing a sign-list of several hundred characters representing syllables and complete words, they confined themselves to thirty-nine, each of which represented a single alphabetic value. Of the various systems of cuneiform writing, therefore, the Persian was by far the simplest. The Achæmenian kings who ruled in Persia at this period numbered among their subjects the peoples of Susia and Babylonia, these countries having by conquest been added to their empire. When, therefore, they set up an inscription recording their campaigns or building operations, they added, by the side of the Persian text, Susian and Babylonian translations inscribed in the cuneiform characters employed by these two nations. There are thus engraved on the palaces and rocks of Persia trilingual inscriptions in the old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian characters, and it will be obvious that as soon as one of these three characters could be read the way would be opened for the decipherment of the other two. Of the three the Persian, with its comparatively small number of signs, is (as we have said) the simplest, and it was therefore natural that it was the first to attract the serious attention of scholars.

Grotefend, in a paper published in 1802, supplied the key to a correct method of decipherment. Taking two short inscriptions in the old Persian character which Niebuhr had copied at Persepolis, he submitted them to an analysis.

11. Grotefend. The inscriptions, he found, coincided throughout, with the exception of certain groups of characters, which, he conjectured, might represent proper names. On this assumption each inscription contained two proper names, the name of the king who set it up, and, it might be supposed, that of his father. But the name which occurred first in one inscription was the name which stood second in the other—that is to say, the three different groups of characters must represent the names of three monarchs following one another in direct succession. From the fact that the inscriptions were found in the ruins of Persepolis it might be concluded that their writers were Persian kings; and when he applied, by way of experiment, the three names Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, he found that they fitted the characters admirably. On his further deciphering the name of Cyrus he obtained correct values for more than a quarter of the alphabet.

Of the forty Persian signs, of which one is merely a diagonal stroke employed for dividing the words from one another, Grotefend's first alphabet included thirty. He subsequently suggested values for thirty-five characters; but he did not improve upon his original alphabet. He correctly identified *a*, *u*, *d*, *p*, *f*, *r*, *s*, and *š*; his values *kh*, *dj*, and *th* were practically correct; and his *v* was not far off the correct value *b*. About 1822 St. Martin took up the investigation, working at the decipherment for the next ten years, but without much result; he identified *t* and *v*, however, and for the vowel *i*, which had been read as *o* by Grotefend, he gave the improved readingy. The characters for *m* and *n* were identified by Rask in 1826, and Burnouf in hismemoir published ten years later, identified *k*, 6, and *z*, while his reading; 4 andgh for two other characters were great improvements on the suggestions of Grotefend and St. Martin. In the same year Lassen produced his first alphabet improvements on which he published in 1839 and 1844, in a few'cases making use of the suggestions of Jacquet and Beer which had been published soon after the appearance of his first alphabet. He suggested correct readings for at least ten characters, and improved readings of some others. This final alphabet did not contain many incorrect identifications. The scholar who did most, however, for the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was the late Sir Henry Rawlinson. He first turned his attention to the subject in 1835, when stationed at Kirmanshah, on the western frontier of Persia.

12. Rawlinson. At that time he had only heard of Grotefend's discovery; he had not seen a copy of his alphabet, and did not even know on what inscriptions it had been based. Thus he began the work of decipherment from the beginning. For his first analysis he took two short inscriptions similar to those used for the purpose by Grotefend, which yielded him the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. During the next year he had increased his list of names by the correct identification of Arsames, Ariamnes, Teispes, Achxmenes, and Persia. It was not until the autumn of 1836 that he first had an opportunity of seeing the works of Grotefend and St. Martin. Then he perceived that his own alphabet, based as it was on longer inscriptions, was far in advance of the results obtained by them. In 1837 he copied the greater part of the long inscription at Behistun, containing the annals of Darius, and forwarded a translation of the first two paragraphs to the Royal Asiatic Society; but next summer, while at Teheran, he heard that Bnrnouf's publication had meanwhile anticipated many of his improvements. In the autumn of 1838 he obtained the published copies of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and with the help of the allied languages of Sanscrit and Zend, analysed every word in the inscriptions that had up to that time been copied. He then found that Lassen's alphabet confirmed many of his own conclusions; but he obtained assistance from it in the case of only one character.

[1] *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipsic, 1897).

It will thus be seen that Rawlinson worked out the characters of the Persian alphabet for himself, independently of his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was not on this achievement that he himself based his title to originality. He justly claims that, whereas his predecessors had succeeded only in reading a few proper names and royal titles, he had been the first to present to the world a correct grammatical translation of over two hundred lines of cuneiform writing. This translation was in the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was being prepared for publication in 1839, when his duties in Afghanistan put an end to his studies for some years. It was not until 1845 that he found leisure to complete the work, in which year he published his memoir containing a complete translation of the whole Persian text of the Behistun inscription.[1]

Now that he had completed the decipherment of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Rawlinson turned his attention to the Babylonian cuneiform.

13. Babylonian.

A comparison of the third column of the Behistun inscription with the now known Persian text occurring in the first column was the starting-point of his studies, and in 1851 he published the text and translation of the Babylonian part of this inscription, at the same time demonstrating the fact that the Babylonian characters were polyphonous. The historical inscriptions on cylinders, slabs, and stelai that had been found in Assyria and Babylonia meanwhile afforded ample material for study, and other workers lent their aid in the decipherment. In the years 1849-1852 Hincks contributed papers to the Royal Irish Academy. His most important discovery was the determination of the syllabic nature of Babylonian writing. Subsequently Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, and Oppert, while devoting themselves to the further interpretation of the historical inscriptions, classified the principal grammatical rules of the language, and so brought the work of decipherment to an end.

The earliest explorers of Babylonia did not undertake systematic excavation. They devoted themselves to surveying and describing the ruins that were still visible upon the surface. The most valuable memoirs on the subject are those on the site of Babylon compiled by Rich, who from 1808 till 1821 was the Hon. East India Company's resident at Baġdād. Systematic excavations were first undertaken in Babylonia during the years 1849-55, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson assisted by Loftus and Taylor.

14. Excavations.

In 1854 Rawlinson excavated at Birs Nimrod near the Euphrates a few miles SW. of Hillah, a mound that marks the site of a great ziḳḳurrat erected by Nebuchadrezzar II. within the boundaries of the ancient city of Borsippa. Here, in addition to tracing the plan of the building, he found fine cylinders recording Nebuchadrezzar's building operations. He also successfully excavated the mounds Ḳaṣr and Bābil, to the N. of Hillah, within the site of ancient Babylon; and during the same period excavations were conducted at the mound of Niffer to the SE. of Hillah, marking the site of the ancient city of Nippur, and in S. Babylonia at the mounds of Warka, the site of Erech, Senkereh the site of Larsa, and Mukayyar the site of Ur. While Rawlinson was carrying on these extensive excavations, the French furnished an expedition which was placed under the direction of Fresnel and Oppert, and during the years 1851-54 did valuable service, especially in surveying and describing the site of the ancient city of Babylon. In 1878 the Trustees of the British Museum again undertook systematic excavations, which were continued down to the year 1883 under the direction of their agent H. Rassani. Excavations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of Hillah, at Tell-Ibrahim, the site of the ancient city of Cuthah, and at Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, where exceedingly rich finds of tablets and cylinders were made. The various expeditions of George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge resulted in the recovery of many Babylonian inscriptions. The French have obtained rich finds of sculptures and inscriptions of the early period at Telloh, in consequence of the exertions of de Sarzec, who, since his appointment as French vice-consul at Bassorah (*Baṣra*) in 1877, has devoted himself to the thorough excavation of the mounds that mark the site of the ancient city of Širpurla. The most recent excavations are those of the Americans at Niffer, which were begun in 1888; they were ably conducted by Haynes, and have only recently been discontinued.

With the exception of those at Telloh, the mounds of Babylonia, unlike those of ASSYRIA (*q.v.*, § 10), do not yield many sculptures or reliefs; but the excavations have enabled us to trace the history of the brick-built palaces and temples, while the 'finds' comprise votive tablets of stone and inscribed alabaster vases, building-inscriptions upon cylinders, and thousands of inscribed clay tablets, many of which are of great literary, historical, and scientific interest.

[1] See *JRAS* 10.

As the soil of Babylonia is alluvial, it is entirely without metals, and even without stone, both of which had to be imported from other countries.

15. Building.

This scarcity of stone had a considerable influence on the character of Babylonian architecture. The difficulties of transport prohibited its adoption as a building material except to a very small extent, and as excellent clay was obtainable throughout the whole of Babylonia, all the temples and palaces as well as private dwellings were composed throughout of brick. The bricks were of two kinds, baked and unbaked. The former, though merely dried in the sun, formed a serviceable building-material, and in some cases entire buildings are composed of them. The usual practice, however, was to build the greater part of the structure of sun-dried bricks and then to face it with bricks dried in the kiln, the thin layer of harder material on the surface protecting the whole structure from rain and flood and change of temperature. Buildings of unburnt brick were often strengthened by thick layers of matting composed of reeds, while the interior structure of faced walls was in some cases strengthened at intervals by courses of baked brick. The bricks themselves vary considerably in size. Many of them were stamped with the name of the king for whose use they were made, which lends considerable aid in settling the date and history of many structures. For binding the bricks together two kinds of cement were employed, the one consisting of bitumen, the other of plain clay or mud, in some cases intermixed with chopped straw. The latter was used the more extensively, bitumen being employed only where there was special need of strength, as at the base of a building where injury from rain was to be feared (see BITUMEN). Conduits of baked bricks were employed for carrying off the water from the larger buildings (see also BRICK, § 4).

The principal building with the Babylonians was the *ziḳḳurratu* or temple, consisting of a lofty structure rising in huge stages one above the other, composed for the most part of solid brick and ascended by a staircase on the outside;

16. Temples.

the image of the god to whom it was dedicated was placed in the shrine at the top. The remains of these temple-towers at the present day are covered by huge mounds of earth and debris, and thus it is difficult to trace their plan and estimate their original dimensions. The larger ones, however, have been examined at different times. That at Warka, which at the present day rises more than a hundred feet above the plain, measures some two hundred feet square at its base, and consisted of at least two stories. The temple at Mukayyar is built on a platform raised about twenty feet above the plain; it is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides measuring 198 ft. and 133 ft., and the angles pointing to the cardinal points. Only two stories are at present traceable, of which the lower one is strengthened by buttresses. The upper story does not rise from the centre of the lower, but is built rather at one end. There are said to have been traces on it, at the beginning of the century, of the chamber or shrine which may have originally contained the image of the god. The zikkurrat at Nippur is of a somewhat similar construction. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, on the NW. edge of a large platform, the four corners also pointing to the four cardinal points. In this temple three stages have been traced, and it is not probable that there were more. In the later Babylonian period the number of stages was increased, as in the temple of Bēl or Marduk at Babylonia, and that of Nabū at Borsippa, both of which were finally rebuilt with great magnificence by Nebuchadrezzar II. (see BABYLON, NEBUCHAD-

REZZAR). Rising on their platforms high above the houses of the city and the surrounding plain, these ancient temples must have been impressive, though in the early period they were entirely without ornament or colour.

The remains of but few Babylonian palaces have been unearthed, that at Telloh being the one belonging to the early period that has been most systematically excavated, while the finest example of the later period is the palace of Nebuchadrezzar at Babylon with its hanging gardens (see BABYLON, § 55). Of the domestic architecture of the Babylonians not many remains have been recovered.

17. Other buildings.

The site from which the finest examples of early Babylonian art have been obtained is Telloh, where excavations have afforded evidence of an art *so* highly developed that its origin must be set back at least 2000 years before the consolidation of the Semitic kingdom of Babylonia (see below, § 54). Large seated statues, in diorite, of Ur-Bau and Gudea, carved in the round, stone slabs and plates sculptured in relief, small figures and carvings in marble, stone, ivory, and bronze, bronze and silver vessels, cylinder-seals, and ornaments of various kinds attest the skill of these early Sumerian artists, who were the teachers of the Semites by whom they were eventually displaced.

18. Art.

At a later period the Babylonians ornamented the interior of their palaces and houses by covering the brickwork with plaster, on which they painted; or they coated the walls with enamelled bricks. The development of sculpture, however, unlike that of Assyria, was hampered by the lack of material in which to work, and it is not surprising that the carvings that have come down to us never approach the level attained by the reliefs of the later Assyrian kings.

Of the many thousands of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions that have been recovered only a small proportion can be classified as literature in the strict sense of the term. Perhaps the largest section of the inscriptions consists of the contract tablets, which throw an interesting light on the social and commercial life of the people, but in no single instance can be regarded as of literary value.[1] Similarly the many texts of a magical and astrological nature (see below, § 335), tablets containing forecasts and omens, tablets prescribing offerings and ceremonies to be performed before the gods (§ 30). can hardly take rank as literature, though their classification and study is leading to a more accurate knowledge of Babylonian religion and belief; while the great body of letters and despatches dealing with both public and private affairs, written as most of them are in a terse, abbreviated style, are worthy of study from a philological rather than a literary standpoint.[2]

19. Literature.

When all these deductions have been made, however, there remains a considerable number of texts on the basis of which the Babylonians and Assyrians may justly lay claim to the possession of a literature consisting of both poetry and prose. The principal examples of Babylonian poetry are presented by the legends,[3] the majority of which are written throughout in metre, by mythological and religious compositions and penitential psalms, many of which are composed in Sumerian with interlinear Assyrian translations, and by the many prayers, hymns, incantations, and litanies which occur on tablets by themselves, or are preserved in the ritual texts interspersed with directions for the performance of ceremonies.[1] It has long been recognised that Babylonian poetical compositions, like those of the Hebrews, are written in a rough metre consisting of verse and half-verse, the Babylonian scribes frequently emphasising the central division of the verse in the compositions they copied by writing its two halves in separate columns. More recently it has been pointed out[2] that in many compositions, in addition to this central division, each verse is divided by a definite number of accented syllables or rhythmical beats.

20. Poetry.

The feet or divisions so fornied do not contain a fixed number of syllables, but consist of a single word or of not more than two or three short words closely connected with each other, such as prepositions and the substantives to which they are attached, words joined by the construct state, etc., the metre in some tablets being indicated by blank spaces left by the scribe. The commonest metre is that consisting of four divisions, in which the two halves of the verse are each subdivided; but this, in many texts, especially in some of the prayers, is interrupted at irregular intervals by **a** line of only three feet.

In many of the legends, moreover, the single verses are combined both by sense and by rhythm into strophes consisting of four or two lines each.

The best examples of Assyrian and Babylonian prose are the longer historical inscriptions belonging. to the later periods. This class of inscription demands a more detailed treatment. Apart from its literary value. it is the principal source of our knowledge of the history of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves, and supplements and supports in many particulars the biblical narrative of the relations of Israel and Jndah to their more powerful neighbours.

21. Historical inscriptions.

Unlike all other classes of inscriptions, which were written with a style on tablets made of clay, the historical inscriptions assume a variety of forms. The shortest form consists merely of a king's name and titles, which are stamped or inscribed on bricks built into the structure of a temple or palace which he had erected or restored. In some cases the actual stamps that were used for this purpose have been recovered. Similar short inscriptions were engraved during the old Babylonian period on door-sockets of stone. Another class of short inscription records the dedication of temples on their erection or when they have been rebuilt; these are frequently written on clay cones fashioned in the form of pegs or nails, which may very possibly have had a phallic significance. The cones of Gndea and Ur-Bau are those most frequently met with, while clay cones of different shapes were engraved by Mnl-Babbar, patesi of Isban, Sin-gāšid, Kudur-Mabug and other, early Babylonian kings; cones of bronze, ornamented with the figure of a god clasping the thicker end, have also been found at Telloh. Dedicatory inscriptions were also written on circular stones, perforated through the centre; when these are small they are usually described as 'mace-heads'; but the use to which the larger ones were put has not been ascertained. The 'mace-heads' of Sargon I., Maništusu, and Nammaghani are good examples of the former class. Small square tablets of diorite, but more commonly larger oblong tablets of limestone inscribed on both sides, were employed for votive inscriptions; those of Rim-Aku and of his wife, of Ḫammu-rabi and of Samsu-iluna, are particularly fine examples of this class of inscription. In the later Babylonian period, when such a votive inscription of an early Babylonian king was found in the ruins or ancient archives of a temple, a pious Babylonian would frequently have an accurate copy of it made in clay,

[1] See Oppert and Menant, *Documents juridiques* (Paris, 1877); Strassmaier, *Bab. Texte* (Leipsic, 1899 etc.); Meissner, *Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht* (Leipsic, 1893); and *KB* 4.

[2] See Budge and Bezold, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892); Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (Londan, 1893); *KB* 5; Del. Beitr. *z. Assyr.* 1; and R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1892, etc.).

[3] See George Smith, *Chaldean Genesis* (London, *1880*): IV. R; Haupt, *Bab. Nimrodepos* (Leipsic, 1884); E. T. Harper, *Beitr. z. Assyr. 2*; Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod* (Leipsic, 1891); Jensen, *Kosmologie* (Strassburg, 1890); Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* (Gott., 1895); and Del. *Abh. d. Königl. Sächs. Gesells. d. Wiss.*, Bd. 17, n. 2 ('96).

[1] See IV. R; Haupt, *Akk. und sum. Keilschrifttexte* (Leipsic, 1881-2): Zimmern, *Bab. Bussps.* (Leipsic, 1885) and *Šurpu* (Leipsic, 1896); Brunnow, *ZA* 4 *f.*; Knüdtzon, *Assyr. Geb. an den Sonnengott* (Leipsic, 1893); Tallqvist, *Maqlū* (Leipsic 1895); King, *Bab. Magic and* Sorcery (London, 1896); and. Craig, *Rel. Texts* (Leipsic, 1895-7).

[2] Zimmern, *ZA* 8 and 10.

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which he placed as an offering in one of the temples in Babylon. Several archaic inscriptions have thus been preserved in Neo-Babylonian copies. The famous stone-tablet recording the endowment of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar by Nabii-pal-iddina, which was found in a clay coffer with the sculptured portion protected by clay shields provided for it by Nahopolassar nearly three hundred years after it was engraved, is unique.

Clay vases and' howls were employed by some of the Assyrian kings for recording their building operations, the inscriptions running in parallel lines round the outside, while vases of alabaster which were presented to the temples frequently bore the name and titles of the king who dedicated them. Inscriptions on statues are not frequently met with in the later periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history, the short inscriptions on the statues of Ašur-nāṣir-pal, the longer inscription on the seated figure of Shalmaneser II., and those on the two large figures of the god Nebo, being the principal examples; at Telloh, however, long inscriptions of the non-Semitic kings Gudea and Ur-Bau are found engraved on their statues of diorite. Slabs of stone, marble,. and alabaster were employed for longer historical inscriptions. These were sometimes treated as tablets and engraved on both sides, as in the memorial tablets of Rammān-nirari I.; but more frequently they were intended as monuments, and set up in the palaces of the kings who made them; parts of many are decorated with sculpture, and in some instances with portraits in relief of the king whose deeds they record. The later Assyrian kings also engraved their records on the colossal winged bulls and lions that flanked the entrances to their palaces, and by the side of, and even upon, the bas-reliefs which lined their walls. In some places on the borders of Assyria, as in the district of Lebanon and at the source of the Tigris, inscriptions to record the farthest point reached by some military expedition were engraved in the living rock.

22. Clay prisms, etc.

Clay, however, was the material. most .extensively employed, and for the longer historical inscriptions some form of prism or cylinder was found to offer the greatest amount of surface in the most compact form; the two earliest prisms that have been discovered are those of Gudea, each of which contains about two thousand lines of writing.

The annals of several of the Assyrian kings also were inscribed on clay prisms, good examples of which are the four eight-sided prisms[1] of Tiglath-pileser I. (see ASSYRIA, § 28), the famous six-sided 'Taylor' prism[2] of Sennacherib, which contains an account of his siege of Jerusalem (see SENNACHERIB), the six-sided prisms[3] of ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), and the fine ten-sided prisms[4] of Ašur-bāni-pal.

Small barrel-cylinders were employe by some of the Assyrian kings, including Sargon, Esarhaddon Ašur-bāni-pal, and Sin-šar-iškun, and larger ones, containing accounts of his first three campaigns, by Sennacherih. Barrel-cylinders, however, are principally associated with the later Babylonian kings. Most of them contain accounts of the building operations of NEBUCHADREZZAR II. (*q.v.*) and Nabonidus. The two latest barrel-cylinders that have been recovered are those of Cyrus (see below, § 69), describing his taking of Babylon (538 B.C.), and of Antiochus-Soter (280-260 B.C.), recording his rebuilding of the temple of E-zida in Borsippa.

Large clay tablets with one, two, or three columns of writing on each side were employed for long historical inscriptions. Among the best examples are the tablets of Tiglath-pileser III., which were found in the SE. palace at Nimrūd the tablet of Enarhaddon inscribed with his genealogy and an'account of his building operations, the tablet giving an account of Ašur-bāni-pal's accession to the throne of Assyria, and of the installa-tion of his brother as viceroy of Babylon, and those recording Ašur-bāni-pal's conquests in Arabia and Elam, his campaigns in Egypt, and the embassy of Gyges, king of Lydia.

23. Research.

The Assyrians and Babylonians themselves were ardent students of their own literature, compiling catalogues of their principal literary compositions, and writing explanatory tablets and commentaries on many of the more difficult texts. Their language itself and their method of writing were studied in detail, archaic forms of characters being collected into lists and traced hack to the pictures from which they originally sprang. Syllabaries giving the values of the characters in Sumerian, and their Assyrian names and meanings, were compiled. Collections of grammatical paradigms for every class of tablet were made for the use of beginners; examples of verbal formations were collected and classified; and explanatory lists of ideographs were made, arranged in some instances according to the forms of the characters with which they began or ended, in others according to the meanings or roots of their Assyrian equivalents. Perhaps the most interesting of the grammatical tablets are the lists of synonymous words, which served the purpose of a modern dictionary.

[1] Translation in *KB* 1 14-48. [2] Translation in *KB* 2 80-113.
[3] Translation in *KB* 2 124-140. [4] Translation in *KB* 2 152-236

24. Astronomy.

The most notable scientific achievements of the Babylonians were their knowledge of astronomy and their method of reckoning time. These two achievements are to a great extent connected with each other, for it was owing to their astronomical knowledge ,that the Babylonians were enabled to form a calendar. From the earliest times, in fact, the Babylonians divided the year into months, partly of thirty and partly of twenty-nine days, and by means of intercalary months they brought their lunar and their solar year into harmony with each other. Their achievements in astronomy are the more remarkable as their knowledge of mathematics was not extraordinary : though we possess tablets containing correct calculations of square and cube roots, most of their calculations, even in the later astronomical tablets, are based principally on addition and subtraction.

Herodotus and other ancient writers concur in tracing to Babylonia the origin of the science of astronomy, as known to the ancient nations of Europe and W. Asia. In more recent times some scholars have asserted, with less probability, that Indian and Chinese astronomers also obtained their knowledge, in the first instance, from Babylon. That the Babylonians themselves took astronomical observations from the earliest periods of their history is attested by general tradition ; and, though the forms this tradition assumed sometimes exhibit extraordinary exaggeration,—as in the calculations referred to by Pliny, according to one of which the Babylonians possessed records of astronomical calculations for 490,000 years, and according to another for 720,000 years,—there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition as having no substratum of truth, and it is not improbable that the Babylonians, even before the era of Sargon I., were watching the stars and laying the foundations of the science. The first observations naturally belonged rather to the practice of astrology and can hardly he reckoned as scientific, and it is not until the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history that we meet with tablets containing astronomical as opposed to astrological observations.

The Assyrians made their observations from specially constructed observatories, which were not improbably connected with the temples; the observatory was termed a *bīt tamarti*, or 'house of observation'; and we possess the reports of the astronomers sent from these observatories to the king recording successful and unsuccessful observations of the moon, the unsuccessful observation of an expected eclipse, the date of the vernal equinox, etc. The astronomers, as a rule, sign their names in the reports, and from this source we know that there were important astronomical schools at Ašur, Nineveh, and Arbēla in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. ; the many fragments of tablets containing lists of stars, observations, and calendars, which date from the same period, are, however, of an astrological rather than a scientific character.

Although we first meet with astronomical inscriptions on Assyrian tablets, it is probable that the Assyrians derived their knowledge originally from Babylonia, and we may see an indication of this origin in a fragment of

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an Assyrian commentary referring to an astronomical inscription which had been brought to Assyria from the ancient city of Agadè. At a later period there were important schools of astronomy in Babylonia, at Sippar, Borsippa, and Orchoe; but it is from inscriptions obtained from the site of the first of these three cities alone that our knowledge of Babylonian astronomy is principally derived. Excavations undertaken at Abū-Habbah, the site of Sippar, resulted in the discovery of many fragments of astronomical tablets (belonging principally to the Seleucid and Arsăcid eras) written in the later cursive Babylonian; and these, though in but few instances unbroken, have sufficed to vindicate the scientific character of Babylonian astronomy. Though the Babylonians may have had no correct conception of the solar system, they had, at least in the later period of their history, arrived at the conclusion that the movements of the heavenly bodies were governed by laws and were amenable to calculation; and from the tablets we gather that they both observed and calculated the time of the appearance of the new moon, and the periodical occurrence of lunar and solar eclipses, that they noted the courses of the planets, and that they included in their observations certain of the principal constellations and fixed stars.

25. Religion: its general character.

As in all primitive religions, the gods of Babylonia were in their origin personifications of the forces of nature. The various phenomena of the world were not regarded as the result of natural laws. They were explained as due to the arbitrary action of mysterious beings of more than human power. The tempest with its thunder and lightning was mysterious —it must therefore be the work of a god; the light of the sun is the gift of the god, to whose unwearying exertion its movements in heaven are due; heaven itself is a realm as solid as the earth on which men walk; and each must be controlled by its own peculiar deity. In fact, Babylonian religion was a worship of nature in all its parts, each part the province of a deity, friendly or hostile to man, subject to human passions, and, like man, endowed with the powers of thought and speech. Many of the gods resembled mankind in having human bodies; some resembled animals; and others were monsters, partly man and partly beast. They differed from man in the possession of superhuman powers; but no one deity was all-powerful. The authority, even of the greater gods, was specialised, and beneath them were a host of demons endowed with various qualities, but of more narrowly limited influence.

Such is the general character of the Babylonian pantheon regarded as a whole; but it was not in the mass that the Babylonians themselves worshipped their gods, and this fact serves to explain the varying theology presented by the Babylonian religious texts. Every city, for example, had its own special god (cp § 68), who was not only the god of that city but also, for its inhabitants, the greatest of the gods; so too in the temple of any god a worshipper could address him in terms of the highest praise, and ascribe to him the loftiest attributes, without in any way violating the canons of his creed, and with no danger of raising the jealousy or wrath of other deities. In fact, in the Babylonian system, there was no accurately determined hierarchy, and the rank and order of the various deities was not strictly defined, but varied at different periods and in the different cities throughout the land. The tolerant nature of the Babylonian deities and the elasticity of their character explain the ease with which foreign deities were adopted and assimilated by the pantheon, while the origin of this elasticity may be traced back to the mixture of races from which the Babylonian nation sprang.

26. The gods.

In spite of the varying nature of the Babylonian pantheon, it is still possible to sketch the general character and attributes of the principal Babylonian deities. At the head of the pantheon, from the earliest period, stood a powerful triad consisting of Anu, the god of heaven, Bēl, the god of the earth, and Ea, the god of the abyss and of hidden knowledge. Next in order comes a second triad, comprising the two chief light-gods and the god of the atmosphere: *i.e.*, Sin, the Moon-god, Šamaš, the Sun-god, and Rammān, the god of storm, thunder and lightning, clouds and rain. All of these gods had their own cities, which were especially devoted to their worship. Thus the worship of Anu was centred at Erech, that of Bēl at Nippur, and that of Ea at Eridu; the oldest seat of the worship of Sin was Ur, though in Ḫarrān also there was an important temple of the Moon-god; and the cities of Larsa and Sippar were the principal centres of the Sun-god's worship. The city-god of Babylon was Marduk, whose importance in the pantheon increased as that city became the capital of the country, until in process of time he came to be identified with Bel, 'the lord' *par excellence*. The nearness of Borsippa to the capital explains the close connection of Nabū, its city-god, with Marduk, whose attendant and minister he is represented to have been. The god Ninib, whose name is read by some as Adar, was of solar origin; the fire-god, who plays an important part in the magical beliefs and ceremonies of the Babylonians, was Nusku; and the god of battle was Nergal, the centre of whose worship was at Cuthah.

The Babylonian goddesses were in most cases of minor importance; they were overshadowed by the male deities with whom they were connected, and the principal function of each was to become the mother of, other gods. In some cases their very names betray their secondary importance, as in that of Anatu, the spouse of Anu, and that of Bēlit, the spouse of Bel. The spouse of Ea was Damkina; Ningal was the lady of the Moon-god, Ai of Šamaš, Sala of Rammān, Tašmētu of Nabū, Gula of Ninib, and Laz of Nergal.

The relationships of the gods to one another are not accurately determined, in some cases contradictory traditions having been handed down; Sin, Šamaš, and Ninib, however, were regarded as the children of Bēl, though Šamaš also passed as the son of Sin and Ningal, Marduk was the son of *Ea*, and Nabū the *son* of Marduk.

On a different plane from the other goddesses stands Ištar, one of the most powerful deities in the pantheon. She appears in two distinct characters, under which she assumes different titles, and is credited with different genealogies. As the goddess of battle she was hailed as Anunitu, the daughter of Sin and Ningal, and was worshipped at Agadè and at Sippar of Anunitu; as the goddess of love she was termed Bēlit-ilāni, the daughter of Anu and Anatu, and the chief seat of her worship was the temple of E-ana at Erech; it was here that the unchaste rites, referred to by Herodotus as having been paid to the goddess Mylitta, with whom Ištar is to be identified, were performed. Her name was connected in legend with Dumuzi or Tammūz, her youthful lover, on whose death, it is related, she descended to the lower world to recover him.

The conception of the Babylonian deities as actual personalities endowed with the bodies and swayed by the passions of mankind, and related to one another by human bonds of kindred, was not inconsistent with the other and more abstract side of their character which underlay and was to a great extent the origin of the human attributes with which they were credited. Thus, the return of Tammūz and Ištar to earth was the mythological conception of the yearly return of spring. Moreover, as each force in nature varies in its action at different seasons, so each of its manifestations may be connected with a separate deity. The attributes of several gods can thus be traced to a solar origin. Whilst Šamaš represented the sun in general, special manifestations of his power were connected with other deities; Nergal, the god of war, for example, represents

the sun's destructive heat in summer and at noon-day, Ninib the sun on the horizon at sunrise and sunset, and Marduk, the special friend of man, its temperate heat in the morning and in spring. The aspect of the heavens at night also plays a considerable part in the origin of the gods of Babylonia. Thus each of the planets was connected with one of the greater gods : the fixed stars represented lesser deities, and Bēl and Ea, though ruling the earth and the abyss, also had astrological characters, in virtue of which they divided with Anu the control of the sly.

The worship of their deities by the Babylonians was attended by a complicated system of ritual and ceremony.

27. Temples. It formed one of the most important aspects of the national life, and, as their temples were the largest of their buildings, so the priests were the most powerful class in the community. In each city the largest and most important temple was that devoted to the city-god. Thus the chief temple at Babylon was E-sagila, the centre of the worship of Marduk ; the great temple at Borsippa was E-zida, the temple of Nabu; the principal temple at Nippur was E-kur, the centre of Bēl's worship ; and E-ḫul-ḫul the temple of the Moon god at Ḫarrān, E-barra the temple of Šamaš both at Sippar and at Larsa, and E-ana the temple of IStar at Erech, were the principal temples in each of these cities. Situated on a lofty platform and rising stage upon stage, these ziggurats or temple-towers dominated the surrounding houses, and were more imposing than the royal palaces themselves. At the summit of each the image of the god reposed in his shrine, and around its base clustered the temple offices and the dwellings of the priests. To each temple was attached a trained and organised priesthood, devoted exclusively to the worship of its god, and preserving its own ritual and body of tradition. The temples were under the direct patronage of the kings, who prided themselves on the rebuilding and restoration of their fabrics as much as on the successful issue of their campaigns, while the priesthoods were supported by regular and appointed offerings in addition to the revenues they drew from the lands and property with

28. Priests. which the temples were endowed. The influence of the priests upon the people was exerted from many sides, for not only were they the god's representatives, whose services were required for any act of worship or intercession, but they also regulated and controlled all departments of civil life. They represented the learned section of the nation, and in all probability the scribes belonged entirely to the priestly class. They composed and preserved the national records, and although some of the later Assyrian kings collected libraries in their palaces, this was probably accomplished only with the co-operation of the priesthood and by drawing on the collections of tablets preserved in the great temples throughout, the country.

A still more powerful influence was exerted by the priests on the common people in connection with their social life and commercial transactions, inasmuch as the administration of the law was in their hands.

The religious functions discharged by the priesthood were twofold. On the 'one hand, they carried out the regular sacrifices and services of the temple to which they were attached; on the other, they were always at the service of any one who wished to present an offering or make intercession in his own behalf. In their former capacity they celebrated regular feast-days in every month as well as the great festivals of the year, such as the New Year ; in the latter their ministrations were more personal, and consisted in introducing the individual suppliant into the presence of the deity and performing for him the necessary rites.

29. Claims of religion. Every Babylonian had his own god and goddess, to whose worship he dedicated himself. They, in return, were his patrons and protectors. When any misfortune happened to him it was a sure sign that his god and goddess were angry and had removed from him their countenance and protection, and in such a predicament he would have recourse to the temple of one of the greater gods, whose influence he would invoke for his restoration to the favour of his patron deities. The protection of his god and goddess were necessary to preserve a man from the spiritual dangers that surrounded him, for he believed that on every side were evil gods, spirits, demons, and spectres, who were waiting for any opportunity he might give them to injure him. Any sickness or misfortune, in fact, he regarded as due to a spell cast upon him which had its origin in one of several causes. It might he the result of an act of sin or impurity committed by him with or without his own knowledge ; or it was the work of an evil spirit or demon ; or, finally, it was due to the machinations of a sorcerer or sorceress. Whatever its cause, his only hope of recovery lay in recourse to the priests, through whom he could approach one of the gods.

From the carvings on Babylonian cylinder-seals we know the attitude that the suppliant must assume when

30 Religious observances. led into the presence of the god. He is represented as standing with both hands raised before him, or, with one hand raised, he is being led forward by the priest, who grasps the other. The penitential psalms and incantations preserved on tablets from the library of Ašur-bāni-pal indicate the general character of the petitions he must make, consisting of invocations of the deity addressed, confessions of sin, and prayers for assistance, recited partly by the priest and partly by the suppliant himself. Many tablets record the offerings that must be made before the gods, comprising oxen, sheep, lambs, birds, fish, bread, dates,' butter, honey, oil, date-wine, sesame wine, pieces of precious woods, gold, jewels, and precious stones, plants, herbs, and flowers. Many magical rites and ceremonies were performed by the priests, such as the knotting and unknotting of coloured threads, the burning of small images made of a variety of substances, including bronze, clay, bitumen, plaster, wood, and honey, to the accompaniment of incantations; the throwing into a bright fire of certain substances, such as a fleece, a goat-skin, a piece of wool, certain seeds or a pod of garlic, a special form of words being recited by the priest as he per-' formed the rite; the dropping of certain substances into oil and the pouring out of libations. Such ceremonies and rites were not regarded as symbolical, but were supposed to be sufficient in themselves to secure the suppliant's release from the spell or ban to which his sufferings or misfortunes were due.

The prediction of future events also plays an important part in the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

31. Augury. So far from being carried on in secret and by a few isolated soothsayers, augury was practised as a science by a large and organised body of the priesthood under the direct control and patronage of the king. This being the case, it is not surprising that a considerable portion of the native literature deals with the subject of omens and forecasts. Almost every event of common life was regarded by the pious Babylonian as perhaps a favourable or unfavourable sign requiring the interpretation of an expert, and necessitating a journey to the temple. Those whose duty it was to furnish the interpretation of such an event did not necessarily pretend to second sight or rely on a vision or any divine communication ; their answer was based on their own knowledge, acquired by special training and study. In the course of time all events and the consequences said to result from them had been written down; the tablets on which they were inscribed had been divided into classes according to the subjects of their contents; and many were collected into series. Thus an important temple would contain a small library dealing with the subject, requiring to be mastered by

the novice and always at hand for the consultation of the augurs themselves. Many of these tablets have been preserved, and it is to them that we owe our knowledge of this important department of Babylonian religion.

The text of an omen-tablet consists of short sentences, each of which generally occupies one line of the tablet.

32. Omen-tablets. The construction of the sentence is invariably the same, and may be rendered by the following formula : 'when (or if) so and so is the case, such and such an event will happen.' There are, therefore, two ways in which we may classify an omen—either by its protasis or its apodosis. Regarded from the latter point of view, all omens may be roughly divided into those that relate to public affairs and those that relate to the fortunes of an individual. Thus certain occurrences may be looked upon as foretelling the death of the king or the future condition of the country, whether there will be a plentiful harvest or a famine, whether there will be war or peace, and, if war, in what quarter it may be expected. Those which relate to private affairs, on the other hand, concern themselves with the health, sickness, or death of a man or of his wife or child, or foretell the stability or destruction of his house. Some few tablets indeed relate to special classes, such as those which foretell accidents that may happen to women during pregnancy; but in the majority of omen-texts the apodosis is couched in general terms and the same phrases regularly recur. In fact, the events foretold are not very many, and may generally be classed under the headings of death and life, sickness and health, famine and plenty, war and peace; the predictions are cast in a vague form, and details, such as the place or manner of a man's death, are but rarely specified. In the protasis, on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering variety of subjects, which admit, however, of a rough classification. What is perhaps the largest section centres round the phenomena of human birth, the predictions being based on the manner of delivery and on the appearance of the child; and not only were miscarriages and the births of monstrosities regarded as of peculiar import, but variations in the appearance of normal offspring also formed the basis of prediction.

Different parts of the body of a newly-born child are dealt with independently, and to have grasped correctly the significance of every part must have required a long course of training and study of the tablets. The state of the eyes or the hair, the position and size of the ears, mouth, hands and feet, the resemblance of the face to that of certain animals, were all carefully considered. The parturition of animals also was made a special study, the appearance of' the offspring of lions, oxen, horses, and other animals, the colour of their hair and the number and position of their limbs, being regarded as significant. Omens were drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body of an adult, male or female, especially in sickness, such as the state and colour of the eyes, the ears, and the hair, the state of the heart, the lungs, the buttocks, and other members of the body, the resemblance of the head to that of a bird or beast, the condition of the urine etc. ; with a view to predictions, studies were also made of thehctions of a man, such as that of eating, and certain other of his natural functions. Another large class of omens were drawn from the appearance of animals such as the colour of the horns of oxen and the direction in which they curve, while the actions of certain animals (pigs, horses, etc.) were likewise studied. If a man is walking and wishes to know the future he must notice the direction in which an animal moves round him, and he must note if a lion, or a hyena, or a hird crosses his path. If he sees a snake at the entrance of a gate or at the doors of a temple, or dogs and calves as he is going out of a door, he must visit the augur for an interpretation. The appearance of animals, snakes, or scorpions in a man's house, or in a palace or a temple, was of significance, while the sting of a scorpion was a warning of various events, different results following from stings on different toes. The appearance and flight of birds were exhaustively treated, and a man was wise if he did not disregard the flappings of a bird's wing and did not fail to observe the direction in which it flew should it flutter round his head. Another class of omens laid stress on the locality of certain events : those occurring in cities and streets received a treatment different from that of occurrences in the fields and open country. Predictions were made from'the state of a house, its walls, etc., and even from the state of the furniture which it contained. The time of the events or observations was in some instances considered important, and in these cases the month and day were specially noted.

As omens were taken from so many common objects and occurrences, it was natural that dreams and visions

33. Dreams. should be regarded as indications of future prosperity or misfortune, and that the objects or animals a man might behold in a dream had each a different signification. Thus, if he beheld in his dream certain people, or seemed to be fighting with a relation, such as his father or grandfather, the visions had a special meaning, while the fact that the person he fought with was alive or dead at the time was also of importance ; apparitions of spectres and demons in a house were indicative of the future. In the majority of omens the conditions on which they were based were chance occurrences and events; it was, however, possible to obtain information as to the future by artificial means, such as by observing the entrails of victims, by kindling fire on an altar and noting the direction in which the smoke rose, or by observing the flickering of the flame of a lamp.

With omens it is difficult to say how far the facts on which the predictions were based were merely signs of

34. Astrology. prosperity or misfortune which would come in any case, and how far they were regarded as in themselves the actual cause of such prosperity or misfortune. In the case of astrological forecasts, however, which are closely connected with the omens, it seems probable that the latter conception preponderated. The astrological phenomena that are mentioned were not merely passive indications of the future, but active forces influencing the lives and fortunes of the individual and the state. The practice of astrology was based principally on observations of the sun and moon and stars, their relative positions at different times, and the various combinations presented by them. Another large body of forecasts was based on eclipses of the sun and moon, the results varying with the time of the eclipse, the appearance of the sun and moon during the eclipse, and the direction in which the shadow travels. Forecasts were based also on the appearance of meteors and shooting stars, on observations of lightning, clouds, and rain, on the direction of the wind, on the various directions in which a cloud may travel, and on the colour and shape of clouds and their resemblance to animals, fishes, ships, etc. As in the case of the omen tablets, the Babylonians possessed a great body of astrological literature; observations and forecasts in course of time were collected, grouped, and classified; and large works upon the subject were copied out on consecutive tablets for the training and use of the astrologers. Many tablets belonging to these larger works have come down to us; there are also preserved in the British Museum small oblong tablets containing the answers of astrologers who had been consulted as to the future, as well as thki reports on recent astrological observations and the interpretation to be set on them.

Around the figures of their gods the Babylonians wove tales and legends, which, originating in remote antiquity,

35. Mythology. were handed down through countless generations. being added to and modified by the hands through which they passed. They were collected and arranged during the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history, and it is in these comparatively recent forms that they are preserved in the literature that has come down to us. It is true that the tablets containing the legends of Adapa and of the goddess Ereškigal were found at Tell el-Amarna and date from the fifteenth century B.C. ; but not one of the tablets containing the other legends is earlier than the seventh century B.C. The antiquity of the legends themselves, however, is amply attested by the divergent forms which in some cases the same legend assumes, as related on different tablets belonging to the later Assyrian and Babylonian periods, or referred to in the works of classical writers. An additional interest attaches to two sections of the legendary literature of Babylon from their close resemblance to the narrative of the early part of

Genesis, relating to the creation and the deluge. Whether we are to trace the ultimate origin of both the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions of these legends to the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia need not concern us here: The contents of these legends and their relation *to* the Hebrew narratives will also be more conveniently treated elsewhere (see CREATION, DELUGE, CAINITES, ENOCH, NOAH). The legends of the creation and the epic of Gilgameš are certainly the most famous portions of Babylonian mythology; but they form only a part of the legends and beliefs that were current in the various cities of Babylonia. Even those which have come down to us on the tablets present a great variety of subject and treatment.

Ištar's descent into Hades is one of the best preserved of these legends. It contains a description of the lower world, and records how at each of the gates that lead thereto the goddess is stripped of a portion of her apparel until she enters naked into the realm of Allatu, and how she is detained there but is eventually brought back to earth to put an end to the troubles of men and animals that had followed the departure of the goddess of love. The Plague-god was a prominent figure in Babylonian mythology, the legends describing in detail the ravages he caused among the cities of the land. Two other legends may be mentioned briefly : that of the Zū's theft of the destiny-tablets, and the legend of Adapa and the South-wind. In the former, Zū is recorded to have fled with the tablets to his mountain, and, although the other gods would not venture against him, he was eventually captured by Šamaš the Sun-god in his net. The legend of Adapa relates how Adapa, the son of Ea, was fishing one day in the sea for his father's household when the South-wind blew and ducked him under ; how in anger he caught the South-wind, and broke her wings ; and how he came to heaven into the presence of Anu, who summoned him thither on noticing that the South-wind had ceased to blow.

36. Legends.

In many of the legends animals and birds endowed with thought and speech are introduced : as in the legend of Etana's flight to heaven with the eagle, the legend of the Eagle, the Serpent and the Sun-god, the legend of the Fox, the legend of the Horse and the Ox, and the legend of the Calf. Not only do gods, heroes, and animals figure in the mythology of Babylonia, but also ancient kings, whose actual existence is attested by the remains of their buildings and inscriptions, were raised to the level of heroes or demi-gods in the popular imagination, and their names became centres round which in the course of ages legends have clustered. The most famous of these is the legend [1] of the birth of Sargon of Agadè, who is said to have been of lowly origin ; his father he knew not, and his mother set him floating on the Euphrates in a chest of reeds smeared with bitumen; but Akki the irrigator rescued him, and while he was serving as gardener to his benefactor, the goddess IStar loved him. Eventually she invested him with the rule of the kingdom. Narām-Sin the son of Sargou, Dungi king of Ur, Nebuchadrezzar I., and other ancient kings, figure in the legendary literature.

37. Chronology: First period.

The data available for the settlement of Babylonian chronology vary for each of the three periods (see below, § 40) into which the history of the country may be divided. In the first oeriod a single date has been fixed for us by a reference in one of the cylinders of Nabonidus, from which we infer that Sargon I. lived about 3750 B.C. When Nabonidus states [2] that 3200 years have elapsed since Sargon laid down an inscription which he himself found, he is naturally giving only an approximate estimate of the period during which it had lain buried. There is no reason, however, for doubting the general accuracy of the statement; for the Babylonians were careful compilers of their records, and Nabonidus had access to sources of information which have not come down to us. This one date, therefore, gives us a fixed point in the early history of the country. In settling the chronology before and after this point we do not gain much assistance from the list of dynasties preserved from the history of Bērōssus, who places in the earliest period ten kings who ruled before the flood. Similarly a tablet from Kuyunjili containing the names of certain kings, who, it states, ruled after the deluge, is not of assistance, especially as the names it does contain are arranged not chronologically but on a linguistic basis. In settling the chronology of this period, we have, in fact, to fall back upon the internal and external evidence of date afforded by the archaic inscriptions themselves. (1) The internal evidence consists principally of the royal genealogies contained by the inscriptions, from which the relative dates of the kings so mentioned can be ascertained. Good examples of the use of such evidence are afforded by some of the inscriptions of the kings and patesis of Sirpurla : as, for example, by the inscriptions of E-din-gira-nagin, in which he calls himself the son of Akurgal, and of Akurgal, who styles himself the son of Ur-Nina; or that of Entena, in which he is called the son of En-anna-tuma and the descendant of Ur-Nina, or the gate-socket of En-anna-tuma II. from which we learn that Entena was his father ; or the circular stone plate containing an inscription of the wife of Nammaghani, in which she is referred to as the daughter of Ur-Bau, proving that Nammaghani succeeded Ur-Bau through his wife's title to the throne. (2) The external evidence afforded by an inscription is obtained partly by a study of the general style of the writing, the forms of the characters, etc. ; partly by accurately noting its relative position with regard to other inscriptions near which it may happen to be found, the different depths at which inscriptions are unearthed in some cases giving a rough idea of their comparative ages. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence to be obtained both from palæography and from systematic excavation is in its nature extremely uncertain and liable to various interpretations. Such evidence is of service when lending its weight to that obtained from other and independent sources ; but when it is without such support it cannot be regarded as indicating more than a general probability.

38. Second period.

For the chronology of the second period we have the genealogies to be obtained from the historical inscriptions, as well as the chronological notices which occur in some of them. From the latter source, for example, we gather that Burna-Buriaš lived some 700 years after Ḫammu-rabi,[1] that Šagašalti-Buriaš lived about 800 years before Nabonidus,[2] and that Marduk-nādin-aḫē defeated Tiglath-pileser I. 418 years before Sennacherib conquered Babylon[3] (cp ASSYRIA, § 20). Our principal source of information, however, lies in the chronological documents of the Babylonians themselves. (1) One of the most important of these is the 'List of Kings,' a list of the names of the kings of Babylon from about 2400 to 625 B.C., in which the kings are divided into dynasties, the length of each reign and the total length of each dynasty being added ;[4] a smaller list of kings contains the names of the kings of the first two dynasties.[5] (2) From the document known as the 'Babylonian Chronicle'[6] we obtain a record of events in Babylonia and Assyria from the early part of Nabonassar's reign (about 745 B.C.) to 669 B.C., the first year of the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, and this information is supplemented by (3) the 'Ptolemaic Canon' (see CHRONOLOGY, § 24 *ff.*), which also begins with the reign of Nabonassar. The fragment of a second Babylonian chronicle refers to kings of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh dynasties, while part of a third chronicle supplements the narrative

1 See *KB* 3*a* 100 *ff.*

2 *KB* 3*b* 104.

1 *KB* 3*b* 90 *f.*

2 *KB* 3*b* 106 *f.*

3 Bavian inscription.

4 *KB* 2 286 *f.*, or *RP*(2) 1 15 *ff.*

5 *KB* 2 288 *f.*, or *RP*(1) 1 13 *f.*

6 *KB* 2 274 *ff.*, or *RP*(2) 1 22 *ff.*

of the 'Synchronous History' for certain portions of the third dynasty. Finally, (4) the 'Synchronous History'[1] (see ASSYRIA, § 21, beg.) itself connects the history of Babylonia with that of Assyria, with certain breaks, from about 1480 to 810 B.C.

For the third period of the history the succession of the kings is known from the Ptolemaic Canon, which, in addition to the names of the kings, gives the lengths of their respective reigns; and the information so obtained is controlled by the many Babylonian contract tablets which have been found dated according to their regnal years.

39. Third period.

The history of Babylonia falls naturally into three main periods. The first period comprises the history of the country from the earliest times down to the consolidation of its various elements into a single empire ruled by Semitic kings with their capital at Babylon. The second period begins with the first dynasty of Babylon, to whose greatest king, Ḫammūrabi, was principally due the consolidation of the Babylonian empire, and extends to the fall of the power of Assyria, whose later kings included Babylonia in their dominions. The third period comprises the history of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

40. Historical periods.

The length of the first period can only be approximately determined, for it reaches hack into remote antiquity; the second period deals with the history of some seventeen hundred years, extending from about 2300 to 625 B.C.; the third period is by far the shortest of the three, for it contains the history of an empire which lasted for less than a hundred years, from Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon in 625 B.C. to the capture of the city by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 538 B.C.

During the first period the name of Babylon is not known. The country is under the successive domination of the more ancient cities of the land until the Semitic element eventually predominates. During the second period Babylon holds her place as the centre of the country in spite of the influx of Kassite and Chaldean tribes and the opposition of Assyria. In the third period the magnificence of Babylon became one of the wonders of the ancient world.

In treating the earliest period of the history of the country we are, to a great extent, groping in the dark. Our principal sources of information are the archaic inscriptions found on many of the sites of the old Babylonian cities, and these have been considerably increased by recent excavations. In order, then, to understand clearly the problems they present, it will be necessary to proceed gradually from the points that may be regarded as definitely fixed into the regions where conjecture still holds her own. As the earliest date that can be regarded as settled is that of Sargon I., it necessarily forms the basis or starting-point from which to reconstruct the history of the period.

41. Earliest period.

Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, on a clay cylinder found at Abu-Habbah records the fact that while restoring the temple of the Sun-god in that city he came upon the foundation-stone of Narām-Sin, the son of Sargon, which for 3200 years no king that went before him had seen. As the cylinder of Nabonidus was inscribed about the year 550 B.C., we conclude that Nariim-Sin lived about 3750 B.C., and Sargon his father about 3800 B.C.

During the French expedition to Mesopotamia (1851-1854) Oppert found in Babylon an alabaster vase inscribed in archaic characters with the name of Narām-Sin, to which was added the title 'king of the four quarters.' The vase, which was lost in the waters of the Tigris on 23rd May 1855, formed the only remains of this king that were recovered until the American expedition in 1888.

[1] *KB* 1 194 *ff.*

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Of Sargon, however, two inscriptions were known; the one on the cylinder in the possession of M. de Clerq, the other on a mace-head in the British Museum. Some doubt was thrown on the identification of this king with the Sargon of Nabonidus; for, whilst the name of the latter was written Šargina, that of the former was Šargani-šar-ali. Such an abbreviation, however, was not unusual in the names of many of the early kings, and the identity of the two names is now put beyond a doubt by the discovery at Nippur of inscriptions of Šargani-šar-ali in the same stratum which held bricks stamped with the name of Narām-Sin.

That the empire over which Sargon ruled was extensive is attested by the legends that at a later period gathered round his name (see above, § *36*). His name and that of Nariim-Sin occur in an astrological tablet,[1] in which expeditions against Phœnicia, Elam, etc., made by these two kings during certain lunar phases and astrological conditions, are recounted; and, although it would be rash to regard such statements as historical on the authority of this tablet alone, they at least bear witness to the permanent hold which the name of Sargon had attained in the popular imagination. In a cylinder[2] of Nabonidus found at Mukayyar (Ur) the title 'king of Babylon' is ascribed to both Sargon and Narām-Sin; but it is probable that the city of Agadè, not Babylon, formed the centre of their empire, as 'king of Agadè' is the title by which Sargon invariably describes himself. The site of this city has not been identified; but it is probably to be sought in Northern Babylonia.

Both Sargon and Narām-Sin were Semites, and the extent of their empire shows the progress which the Semitic invaders were making towards the final subjugation of the country.

42. Semitic kingdoms.

The name of another king who was probably of Semitic origin is Uru-mu-uš possibly to be read as Alušaršid, and from the fact that his 'inscriptions were found at Nippur near those of Sargon, which they closely resemble in character, it may he assumed that he belonged to about the same period. His name has been found on alabaster vases which he dedicated and placed in the great temple of Bēl at Nippnr; the vases he states, formed part of the spoil captured on a successful expedition against Elam and Bara'se to the E. of Babylonia. Moreover Maništusu, whose name occurs on a mace-head preserved' in the British Museum, must also be assigned to about the same period.

In addition to the empire established by Sargon, there is not lacking evidence of the existence at this time of other Semitic kings and principalities. The inhabitants of Lulubi spoke a Semitic dialect, as is evinced by the inscription engraved on the face of the rock at Ser-i-pul, a place on the frontier between Kurdistan and Turkey. The inscription accompanies and explains a relief representing the goddess Nini granting victory over his foes to Anu-bānini, king of Lulubi, and from the archaic forms of the characters the work must be assigned to a period not later than that of Sargon. It is also probable that the inhabitants of Guti, a district to the NE. of Babylonia, were Semites; for an archaic inscription of a king of Guti, which was found at Sippar, is written in Semitic Babylonian. This, we may assume, was carried to Sippar as spoil from the land of Guti, though it is also possible that the stone containing the inscription was a gift of the king of Guti to the temple at Sippar, the inscription being composed, not in the king's own language, but in the Semitic dialect of Sippar.

Still, whilst a few of the inscriptions of this early period are undoubtedly Semitic and may be adduced as evidence of the first settlements of the Semites in Babylonia, the majority of the inscriptions that have come down to us are written in a non-Semitic tongue (to which the late Sir H. Rawlinson gave the name Accadian), now generally known as Sumerian.[3] These inscriptions

43. Sumerian rulers.

[1] *KB* 3 *a* 102 *ff.* [2] *KB* 3 6 84 *f.*

[3] For many years a controversy has raged around the character, and even the existence, of this language. The theory put forward by Halévy that Sumerian was not a

have been found in the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of the land, and were the work of the previous inhabitants of the country whom the invading Semites eventually displaced. One of the most important of their ancient cities is to-day represented by the mounds known as Telloh, situated to the N. of Mukayyar and E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Šaṭṭ-el-Ḥai. These mounds mark the site of a city called by the kings and governors who ruled there Sirpurla, but known at a later time as Lagaš. The excavations that were begun on this site by De Sarzec in 1877 have resulted in a rich harvest of inscriptions on statues, cylinders, cones, tablets, bricks, etc., from which it is possible to trace the history of the city throughout a long period. Its earlier rulers called themselves 'kings,' the later ones bearing the title of patesi, which is equivalent to the Assyrian iššakku. The word patesi, whilst implying that the ruler is the representative of the national god, indicates the possession of a power less supreme than that attaching to the word lugal (Sem. šarru), 'king,' and it has been ingeniously suggested that the change in title was in consequence of an actual change in the fortunes of the city, the rule of the patesis being held to mark the subjection of their city to another power. The manner in which the succession of the various kings and patesis was determined has been already referred to (see above, § 37); the following is a brief description of their history based on those results.

44. Rulers of Širpurla or Lagash.

The oldest king of Širpurla known to us is in all probability Urukagina. After an interval, the length of which is unknown, we find Ur-Nina on the throne; and, as he gives to neither his father nor grandfather the title of king, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he was the originator of a new dynasty, a dynasty that we can trace through several generations. Ur-Ninā was succeeded by his son Akurgal, who bore both the titles, king and patesi, and it was not until the reign of E-dingira-nagin, Akurgal's son and successor, that the title patesi appears to have ousted that of king permanently. It is during the reign of E-dingira-nagin, however, that we find the first record of any extensive military operations undertaken by the inhabitants of Širpurla. To his reign belongs the famous stele of vultures, carved to commemorate his victory over the city the name of which is provisionally read as Ishan. E-dingira-nagin was succeeded by his brother En-anna-tuma I., whose son Entena and grandson En-anna-tuma II. continued the succession. After a second interval comes Ur-Bau, from whom the throne passes through his daughter to his son-in-law Nammaghani. After a third hut shorter interval there followed Gudea, who conducted a successful campaign against Elam, but, like his predecessors, devoted most of his energies to building operations. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirsu; and finally there must he placed a second Akurgal, and either before or after him Lukani, whose son Ghalalama may possibly have succeeded him on the throne.

45. Their inscriptions.

The monumental inscriptions of these old kings and patesis of Širpurla are, with the exception of one of Ur-Bau and several of Gudea, comparatively short, and are generally concerned with the erection of buildings and temples in the city, an object to which both kings and patesis without exception devoted themselves. The thousands of clay tablets, however, which have been discovered dating from this period, the high point of development attained in their sculpture and carving in relief, the elaborate but solid construction of their temples and palaces, are all evidence of a highly developed civilisation; and the question at once arises

46. Their date.

as to what date must be assigned for the rise of the kingdom of Sirpurla. Additional interest is lent to the way in which this question may be answered by the fact that even the earliest inscriptions and carvings that have been discovered cannot have been the work of a barbarous race, but demand the assumption that at least one thousand years, during which they gradually attained their high level of civilisation and culture, had passed.

language but merely a cabalistic method of writing invented by the Semitic Babylonians themselves was for years stoutly defended by its adherents, it has now, however, given way before the results of recent excavations. The thousands of archaic tablets found at Telloh and elsewhere are written entirely in Sumerian by a people who both in their inscriptions and in their art exhibit no traces of Semitic origin. The existence of Sumerian as the language of these early inhabitants of Babylonia is now generally admitted. See also below, § 77 (end).

It will be obvious that, as the date of Sargon I. is already fixed, the simplest way of answering the question and of assigning a date to the earlier kings of Sirpurla is to determine the relation in which they stood to Sargon I. Until recently it was impossible to come to any definite conclusion, though it was generally held that the archaic forms of characters on the inscriptions of the kings of Širpurla favoured the theory which assigned to them an early date. The excavations at Nippur, however, have now yielded sufficient data to justify a more conclusive answer.

In the same stratum as the inscriptions of Sargon and Alušaršid, and not far from them, was found a fragment of a vase inscribed with the name of Entena, patesi of Širpurla, who is said to have presented the vase to En-lilla or Bēl, the god of Nippur. It would be rash to conclude from this fact alone that Entena was the contemporary of Sargon I., though it may be held to indicate that approximately the same date may be assigned to Sargon and the earlier patesis of Širpurla. Excavations, however, were subsequently extended below the level at which the records of Sargon had been found, and traces of a still more ancient civilisation were disclosed. An altar with a small enclosure or curb around it, two immense vases of clay standing at short intervals from each other, probably on an inclined plane leading up to the altar, and a massive building with an ancient arch, were the principal architectural remains discovered. However, there were also found inscriptions which, though occurring at a higher level and mixed with the inscriptions of Sargon, are probably to be assigned to a pre-Sargonic period. As the majority of these are broken into small fragments, it is not unlikely that' they were intentionally broken and scattered by some subsequent invader of the country. Gate-sockets and blocks of diorite, however, were not broken, and so were made use of by subsequent kings. Thus both Sargon I. and Bur-Sin II. used for their own inscriptions the blocks which already bore the rough inscription of Lugal-kigub-nidudu, one of the kings of this early period. The characters in these early inscriptions, especially on the vases of Lugal-zaggisi, the most powerful of these early kings, bear a striking resemblance to those employed in the inscriptions of the earliest kings of Sirpurla (Urukagina, Ur-Ninā, and E-dingira-nagin), sharing with them certain peculiarities of form which are not met with elsewhere. The conclusion that they date from about the same period is, therefore, not unwarranted; and, as this period must be placed before Sargon I., we are justified in assigning to Urukagina a date not later than 4000 B.C.

47. Before Sargon.

To trace in detail the history of the predecessors of Sargon I., whose existence was not suspected until the lowest strata beneath the temple of Ekur at Nippur had been sifted, is a task that requires some ingenuity. Our only source of information is afforded by the fragmentary inscriptions themselves; but, as many of these are duplicates, it is possible to reconstruct their original text. The earliest rulers of Babylonia, such as En-Hag-sagana, are found in conflict with the city of Kiś, and spoil from Kiš was from time to time placed as an offering in the temple at Nippur. Sometimes Kiš was victorious, and then the king of Kiš, as in the case of Ur-Šulpauddu, made a presentation to the temple at Nippur in his own behalf. The ultimate superiority of Kiš, however, was assured by its alliance with the powerful city of Isban; for Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukuš, patesi of Isban, on coming to the throne, extended his sway over the whole of Babylonia. He has left us a record of his achievements in a long inscription carved

on more than a hundred vases, which he deposited in Nippur. Though he especially favoured his own city of Isban, Erech was probably his capital, while Ur, Larsa, and Nippur were important centres. Lugalzaggisi's empire did not long survive him, and the lead in Babylonian politics passed to the city of Sirpurla. E-dingira-nagin's conquest of Isban, however, was not followed up by his successors on the throne; and the hegemony passed once more to the north, this time to Sargon of Agadè, who laid all Babylonia under his sway, the rulers of Širpurla exchanging the title of king for that of patesi in consequence of their subjection to him. Such may be taken as a general sketch of the course of Babylonian history up to the time of Sargon I.

It is impossible to say to what race or nationality Lugal-zaggisi and the earlier kings belonged, though we may mention the theory of Hilprecht, who sees in their successes against the cities of Babylonia the earliest Semitic invasions of the country; regarding Kiš as their first military outpost, and Isban, which he is probably wrong in identifying with Ḫarrān, as their military base. Another patesi of Isban who may be placed in this early period is Mul-Babbar (in Semitic, Amēl-Šamaš), whose inscription on three clay cones is preserved in the British Museum.

After the fall of Sargon's empire, the first city that appears to have gained a considerable supremacy throughout Babylonia is Ur. Under Lugal-kigub-nidudu Ur had already risen to some importance; but the city had been included in Sargon's kingdom, and it was not until nearly a thousand years after his death that it again recovered its position. Only two of her kings at this later period are known to us, Ur-gur and Dungi. In addition to their title 'king of Ur,' both style themselves kings of Sumer and Akkad, a title implying that many cities throughout both southern and northern Babylonia had tendered their submission and acknowledged allegiance to them. The monuments themselves bear witness that this title was no empty boast, but had its foundation in a real supremacy.

48. Ur.

circa 2800.

A seal cylinder in the British Museum bears a dedication to Ur-Gur, 'the mighty hero, king of Ur' by a 'patesi of the city of Iškun-Sin, his servant,' while there 'is evidence that the later patesis of Širpurla were subject to Ur, the Louvre possessing a fragment of a statue dedicated to the goddess Bau by Ghala-lama 'son of Lukani, patesi of Širpurla,' for the life of Dungi, 'the 'mighty Iring, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad'; an inscription with a similar purpose of the time of Ur-Ningirsu Gudea's son and successor, is preserved in the British Museum: That Ur-gur was a great builder is attested by the many short inscriptions on bricks recovered from the ruins of the buildings which he either founded or restored. From these we gather that he built the great temple of the Moon-god in Ur, while in Erech he erected a temple to Ninā, the goddess Ištar. On a brick from a tomb discovered by Loftus at Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, is recorded the fact that Ur-gur built a temple to the Sun-god there, and bricks found at Nippur record his rebuilding of the great temple of E-kur in that city. Excavations at the latter place show that this temple was larger than any of its predecessors; buildings that had been standing since the time of Narām-Sin he razed to the ground in order to erect his huge platform of sun-dried bricks, in the NW. corner of which he built a huge zikkurratu (temple tower) of at least three stories. Ur-gur thus appears to have erected or rebuilt temples in most of the principal cities of Babylonia, in his zeal for religion, however, he did not neglect to strengthen his own capital, for we have evidence that he erected, or at any rate rebuilt, the city-wall of Ur. His son and successor Dungi, 'king of Ur, king of Snmer and Akkad, king of the four quarters,' carried on the work of temple-building to which his father bad devoted himself, and restored the temple of Ištar in Erech. An interesting clay tablet in the British Museum contains a copy of an old inscription that once stood in a temple at Cuthah. The copy was made in the later Babylonian period by a scribe named Bēl-uballiṭ, and the archaic inscription, which his care has rescued from oblivion, records the erection by Dungi of a temple to the god Nergal in the city of Cuthah.

With Dungi our knowledge of the city of Ur and its supremacy comes to an end for a time. Whether Dnngi's successors retained for long their hold over the rest of Babylonia, or speedily sank into a position of dependence to some other city, we have no means of telling. When we once more come across inscriptions we see that the lead in Sumer and Akkad has passed into the hands of the kings of Isin.

49. Isin.

At present we possess inscriptions of four kings of Isin: Ur-Ninib, Libit-Istar, Bur-Sin I., and Išme-Dagan. In the case of each of them, before their chief title 'king of Isin' is given special mention is made of Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and Erech as being under their sway. The order in which these cities are mentioned is significant. The fact that Nippur heads the list proves that Ur sank greatly in importance after the days when she held the lead in Sumer and Akkad. A fifth king of Isin, named Išbigirra, is known to us; the only evidence of his existence, however, is the occurrence of his name and title on a fragment of a clay tablet in the British Museum. The rule in Babylonia now passes once more to the city of Ur, which regains its old supremacy. Išme-Dagan was the last king of Isin who retained the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and held together the confederation of Babylonian cities which that name implies; we find his son erecting a temple for the life of Gungunu, king of Ur, as a token of homage. Under Gungunu began the second dynasty of Ur, to which the kings Bur-Sin II., he-Sin, and Gāmil-Sin belong. The many inscriptions on clay tablets that have been recovered, dated in the reigns of these three kings, testify to the great commercial prosperity of Babylonia at this time. The rise of the city of Larsa followed the second dynasty of Ur. The kings of the former city held Ur as a dependency and appear to have extended their rule still farther afield, for they assume also the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' The two principal kings of Larsa were Nūr-Rammān and his son Sin-iddina. Both erected temples in Ur, and the latter founded a temple to the Sun-god in his capital. Sin-iddina also, after meeting with success in the field, turned his attention to the internal improvement of his territory. He rebuilt on a larger scale the wall of Larsa, and by cutting a canal obtained for that city a constant supply of water.

circa 2500.

50. 2nd Dyn. of Ur.

circa 2400.

51. Larsa.

circa 2300.

Sin-iddina does not mention the name of the enemy his victory over whom he records. It has been suggested, however, with great probability, that it was Elam whom he repulsed. This must have been the period of the Elamite invasion to which Ašur-bāni-pal refers. On taking the city of Susa, about 650 B.C., Ašur-bāni-pal relates that he recovered the image of the goddess Nanā, which the Elamite Kudur-Nanḫundi had carried off from Erech 1635 years before—Le., about 2285 B.C. Though Sin-iddina repulsed the Elamites, he did not check them for long. A few years later we find them under the leadership of Kudur-Mabug, son of Simti-šilḫak, again invading Babylonia. This time they met with more success and obtained a permanent footing in the south. Kudur-Mabug was not king of Elam. He styles himself 'prince of the Western land': that is to say, he was ruler of the tract of land lying on the W. frontier of Elam. From this position he invaded the country, and, having established himself as king of S. Babylonia, he erected a temple in Ur to the Moon-god in gratitude for his success. His son, Rim-ala, succeeded him and attempted to consolidate his kingdom, restoring and rebuilding Ur and extending his influence over Erech, Larsa, and other cities; his usual titles were 'exalter of Ur. king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad.' It is a period of much interest for the biblical student (see **CHEDORLAOMER**).

52. Elam.

During the second dynasty of Ur the city of Babylon had enjoyed a position of independence, with her own kings and system of government; but her influence does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of the city. It was not until the reign of Ḫammu-rabi, the contemporary of Sin-iddina and Rim-Aku, that she attained the position of importance in Babylonia which she held without interruption for nearly two thousand years. The dynasty to which Ḫammu-rabi belongs was called by the native historians the 'Dynasty of Babylon,' and, as far as we at present know, forms the limit to which they traced back the existence, or at any rate the independence, of their city.

53 Babylon.

circa 2400.

The dynasty was founded about 2400 B.C. by Sumu-abi, who was succeeded by Sumula-ilu and Zabum, his son. It is possible that on Zabum's death a usurper, Immeru attempted to ascend the throne, but his rule cannot have been for long, as scribes of contract tablets do not give him the title of king, and his name is omitted from the list of kings of Dynasty I., Zabum's

501, Apil-Sin, being stated to have directly succeeded his father. Of the reign of Apil-Sin's son, Sin-muballiṭ, we know nothing, his only claim to remembrance being that he was the father of Ḫammu-rabi.

It is difficult to determine accurately the position occupied by Babylon when Ḫammu-rabi ascended the throne. That she was already beginning to extend her sway over the districts in her immediate neighbourhood we may conclude from a reference on a cylinder of Nabonidus, who states that the temples of the Sun-god and of the goddess Anunitu at Sippar had been falling into decay 'since the time of Zabum'; the phrase implies that Zabum had at any rate rebuilt these temples, and must, therefore, have included Sippar within his sphere of influence. We may regard it as certain, however, that the authority of the city had not penetrated into southern Babylonia.

54. Ḫammu-rabi. *circa* 2285. On Ḫammu-rabi's accession he first devoted himself to the internal improvement of his territory. In the past both Babylon and Sippar had suffered from floods, and the recurrence of these he sought to diminish by erecting dams and cutting canals. One inscription of his, written both in Sumerian and in Semitic Babylonian on clay cylinders in the British Museum, reads as follows:—

Ḫammu-rabi, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing, am I. The summit of the wall of Sippar like a great mountain with earth I raised. With a swamp I surrounded it. The canal of Sippar to Sippar I dug out and a wall of safety I erected for it. Ḫammu-rabi, the founder of the land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing am I. Sippar and Babylon in a peaceful habitation I caused *to* dwell continuously. Ḫammu-rabi, the darling of Šamaš, the beloved of Marduk, am I. That which from days of old no king for his king had built, for Šamaš my lord gloriously have I accomplished.

In addition to his works at Sippar we learn from another inscription that he cut the 'Ḫammu-rabi canal,' on both sides of which he sowed corn-fields. He erected a granary in Babylon, in which he stored grain for use in years of famine or scarcity. The inscription recording the erection of the granary has perished; but we possess a copy of it in clay, made in the Neo-Babylonian period by Rīmūt-Gula, and deposited in Babylon in the temple E-zida. Ḫammu-rabi's works of improvement, however, were not confined to Sippar and Babylon. As he extended his authority throughout the country, he introduced the same enlightened methods, rebuilding the temples of the gods in the various cities, conciliating the inhabitants, and out of scattered principalities forming a single and organic kingdom, with its metropolis at Babylon. The principal enemy to Babylonian independence at this period was Elam; but after a series of campaigns Ḫammu-rabi signally defeated her, and effectually hindered her advances to the S. and W., after which he was again at liberty to devote himself to the material improvement of his people. Ḫammu-rabi was not the first king of Babylonia to form a great empire out of scattered elements. Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon I. had already made this achievement, and it is not unlikely that their empires considerably exceeded that of Ḫammu-rabi in extent. Ḫammu-rabi's work, however, is distinguished from theirs by its permanence. Whilst Isban and Agadè soon sank back into comparative obscurity, Babylon remained the chief town of the kingdom throughout the whole course of its history.

55. His successors. *circa* 2230. Ḫammu-rabi was succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna, the other kings of the first dynasty being Ebišum, Ammi-ditana, Ammi-zaduga and Samsu-ditana, who follow one another in direct succession. Samsu-iluna continued his father's work of irrigation, and we know from two inscriptions that he built many temples to the gods. Of his successors, however, we possess few inscriptions, though many contracts, dated in the reign of each of the kings of this dynasty, have been found which throw an interesting light on the private and social sides of Babylonian life at this period.

56. 2nd Dyn. Uru-Azag. *circa* 2090. The second dynasty consists of eleven kings—Iluma-ilu, Itti-ilu-nibi, Damki-ilišu, Iš-ki-bal, and his brother Šu-uš-ši, Gul-ki-šar and his son Kirgal-dara-maš, and his grandson A-dara-lralama, A-kur-ul-ana, Melam-mātāti, and Ea-gii.mil. Of this dynasty we know nothing, though it has been conjectured with some probability that it was during this period that the Kassites first invaded Babylonia. Descending from the mountainous territory on the borders of Media and Elam, they overran the country and took possession of the cities; and at the beginning of the third dynasty we find them firmly seated on the throne. So far as we know, they were never ejected by force, but were absorbed in process of time by the Semitic element of the nation, which gradually recovered its predominance.

57. 3rd Dyn. There were thirty-six kings of the third dynasty; but only the names of the kings at the beginning and of those at the end of the dynasty have been preserved in the Babylonian list of kings. Other sources of information, however, now become available; the 'Synchronous History' gives a résumé of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria, which during the early part of the third Babylonian dynasty attained its independence (cp ASSYRIA, § 25); the account furnished by the 'Synchronous History' is supplemented by the mutilated text of a somewhat similar Babylonian chronicle; the official correspondence between Babylonia and Egypt during a small part of this period is preserved on some of the tablets found at Tell el-Amarna; and, finally, inscriptions of several of the kings themselves have been recovered, as well as contract-tablets dated in their reigns.

circa 1725. The first king of the dynasty was Gandiš, who was succeeded by Agum-ši, Gu-ia-ši, Uš-ši, Adu-me-ur, and Uz-zi-u-maš. Here the gap occurs in the list of kings; and it is probably at some point in this gap that we must place Agum, who is known to us from a long inscription, a copy of which in Neo-Assyrian characters was preserved in the library of Ašur-bāni-pal; from it we learn that he recovered and restored to the temple of E-sagila in Babylon certain images of Marduk and of the goddess Zarpanitu, which had been carried off to the land of Ḫani. *circa* 1500.

A later place in the same gap must be assigned to Kallimma-Sin (or Kadashman-Bēl 7 cp Knudtzon, *ZA* 15 269 *f.*), four of whose letters are in the Amarna series; this correspondence serves to indicate the intimate relations between Egypt and Babylonia at this period, both the sister and daughter of Kallimma-Sin being among the princesses of western Asia whom the king of Egypt married. The order of the other kings, whose names have been recovered and must be placed within the same gap in the list of kings, has not yet been ascertained.

It has recently been suggested, for example, that Šagašalti-Buriaš, the son of Kudur-Bēl, should be placed before Kara-indaš, though a later date is possible; moreover, Kurigalzu I., the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, is usually placed after and not before Kara-indaš, though a suggestion has lately been made to the contrary. According to the 'Synchronous History' Kara-indaš was a contemporary of the Assyrian king, Ašur-bēl-nišišu, between whom and Ašur-uballiṭ at least two kings, Puzur-Ašur and Ašur-nādin-aḫē, occupied the throne of Assyria; from the same document we know that between Kara-indaš and Kara-ḫardaš, the contemporary of Ašur-uballiṭ, at least one king, Burna-Buriaš, occupied the throne of Babylon; yet on the similar Babylonian chronicle Kara-indaš is mentioned as the son-in-law of Ašur-uballiṭ, and the father of Kara-ḫardaš. It is possible to reconcile these two accounts only on the supposition that the Kara-indaš of the 'Synchronous History' is not to be identified with the son-in-law of Ašur-uballiṭ. On this assumption, and at the same time admitting that certain places in the order of succession are not definitely ascertained, we are still able to summarise the chief events of the period. Kara-indaš is the first Babylonian king mentioned in the 'Synchronous History,' where he is said to have formed a treaty with Ašur-bēl-nišišu, king of Assyria; similar friendly relations with the northern kingdom were probably maintained by Kurigalzu I. and his father Kadašman-Ḫarbe. *circa* 1480. Burna-Buriaš, the son of Kurigalzu I., formed a fresh treaty with Assyria concerning the frontier between the two kingdoms, and built a temple to the Sun-god at Larsa, as we learn from a brick that has been recovered from its ruins. Ašur-uballiṭ, who succeeded Ašur-nādin-aḫē on the throne of Assyria, strengthened the ties between his kingdom and *circa* 1440.

Babylonia by marrying his daughter Muballiṭat-šerūa to a king of Babylonia, who bore the name of Kara-indaš; and when his grandson, Kara-ḫardaš, the son of Kara-indaš, Succeeded to the throne of Babylon, the relations between the two countries were still more cordial. The Kassite troops, however, possibly jealous of Assyrian influence, slew Kara-hardaš and set the usurper Nazi-bugaš on the throne. The death of Kara-ḫardaš led to the invasion of Babylonia by Ašur-uballiṭ, who avenged his grandson by slaying Nazi-hugas, and putting Kurigalzu- II., a son of Burna-Buriaš, the former king of Babylon, in his place. Kurigalzu II. was ambitious to extend the boundary of his kingdom; and with this end in view he undertook a campaign against Elam, the capital of which he conquered and sacked, as we learn from an inscription on an agate tablet which was found at Nippur. On undertaking hostilities against Assyria, however, he was defeated by Bēl-nirari, and was forced to accept the terms offered by the latter with regard to the boundary between the two kingdoms. The next defeat by the Assyrians which the Babylonians sustained was in the reign of Nazi-maruttaš, the son of Kurigalzu II., when Rammān-nirari inflicted a signal defeat on the Babylonian forces and extended the Assyrian boundary still farther southward. Kadašman-Turgu, whose name was also written Kadašman-Bēl, the son of Nazi-maruttag succeeded his father on the throne, and was in turn succdeded by his son, whose name, occurring in a broken inscription from Nippur, may probahly be restored [Kadašman]-Buriaš. The Babylonian List of Kings furnishes the names of the last kings of the dynasty. Of Is-am-me- . . . -ti we know nothing, and of Šagašalti-Šuriaš only the fact that he dedicated an object to Bēl and placed it in the temple at Nippur. Šagašalti-Šuriaš was succeeded by his son Bibè, and the names of the next three occupants of the throne are Bel-Sum-iddina, Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and Rammān-šum-iddina. We do not know the relations between Babylonia and Assyria during the early part of this period; but it is probable that the last three kings acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria. Tukulti-Ninib, king of Assyria, to whom Rammān-nirari III. ascribed the title 'king of Snmer and Akkad,' invaded Babylonia, captured Bahylon, and for seven years maintained his hold upon the country. On the death of Rammān-šum-iddina, however, the Bahylonian nobles placed his son Rammān-šum-uṣur on the throne, and proclaiming him king, threw off the Assyrian yoke. Subsequently, during the reign of Rammān-šum-uṣur, the Assyrians suffered a crushing defeat; their king, Bel-kudur-uṣur, was slain in the battle; and although Rammān-šum-uṣur, on following up his victory by an invasion of Assyria, was repulsed by Ninib-pal-Ešara, he recovered a considerable portion of Babylonian territory. During the reigns of Meli-šiḫu, and of his son, Marduk-pal-iddina, the Assyrians made no attempt to wipe out the reverse they had sustained. On the accession of Zamama-Hum-iddina, however, Ašur-dān crossed the frontier and recaptured several Babylonian cities. Zamama-šum-iddina reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Bel-Sum-iddina II., the last king of the Kassite dynasty. Under this king the country suffered attacks from Elam, and the discontent and misery which followed the defeats sustained by the Babylonians brought about the fall of the dynasty.

circa 1400.

circa 1380.

circa 1340.

circa 1210.

circa 1155.

The fourth dynasty is called the dynasty of Pašè; who its founder was we do not know, though an early place in it must be assigned to Nebuchadrezzar I. In one of the two monuments that we possess of this king he styles himself 'the Sun of his land, who makes his people prosperous, the protector of boundaries'; and it is certain that to a great extent he restored the fallen fortunes of the kingdom. He successfully prosecuted campaigns against Elam on the east, he conquered the Lulubi on the north, and even marched victoriously into Syria. Against Assyria, however, he did not meet with similar success.

58. 4th Dyn. (Pašè).

circa 1130.

On Nebuchadrezzar's crossing the frontier, Ašur-rēš-iši, king of Assyria, marched against him, and Nebuchadrezzar, who was not then prepared to nieet an army of the Assyrians, burnt what engines of war he had with him. in order to facilitate his retreat. He soon returned with 'reinforcements; but Ašur-rēš-iši, who had also strengthened his army, defeated him, plundered his camp, and carried off forty of his chariots. A king who reigned early in the dynasty and may possibly have succeeded Nehuchadrezzar is Bēl-nādin-aplu, whose name is known from a 'boundary stone' dated in the fourth year of his reign. Under Marduk-nādin-aḫē Assyria and Babylonia were again in conflict. It is probable that this king enjoyed a temporary success against Tiglath-pileser I., during which he carried off from the city of Ekallati the images of the gods Rammān and Sala which are mentioned by Sennacherih in his inscription on the rock at Bavian. This campaign is not mentioned in the 'Synchronous History,' though in the beginning of the account of the campaign there mentioned, which ended disastrously for Bahylonia. the two kings, it is said, set their chariots in battle array 'as'econd time' (see ASSYRIA, § 28). This second campaign consisted of a series of successes for Tiglath-pileser, who, after defeating Marduk-nādin-aḫē in Akkad, captured Babylon itself and other important cities [illegible] the northern half of the [illegible] Ašur-bēl-[illegible] Tiglath-pileser's [illegible] on th[illegible] of Assyria, changed his father's policy and formed [illegible] with the Babylonian king Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti.[1] On this king's death R[illegible]an-aplu-iddin[illegible], a man of obscure origin, was raised to the throne of Babylon, and Ašur-bēl-kala, in pursuance of his policy, allied himself to the new king by a marriage with his daughter. Only the beginnings of the [illegible] by the last three kings [illegible] the dynasty are preserved in the List of Kings.

circa 1110.

circa 1100.

The fifth d[illegible] was called the dynasty of the 'Sea-land,' and was a short one, consisting of only three kings, Simmaš-šiḫu, Ea-mukīn-zēr, and Kaššu-nādin-aḫi. It is not improbable that the Chaldean tribes, who are not actually mentioned in the inscriptions before the time of Ašur-nāṣir-pal and Shalmaneser II., were even at this early period making their influence felt, overrunning southern Babylonia and spreading themselves throughout the country; and the fact that at a later time we find them especially connected with the district termed the 'Sea-land' in S. Babylonia lends colour to the suggestion that the dynasty of the Sea-land was of Chaldean origin.

59. 5th Dyn. (Sea).

circa 1050.

Of the three kings of the dynasty Ea-mukīn-zēr reigned but a few months, the other two kings, who occupied the throne for longer periods, are mentioned by Nabū-aplu-iddina in connection with the fortunes of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar. At the time of Simmaš-šiḫu this temple was in ruins in consequence of the troubles and disturbances in Akkad, the powerful trihes of the Sutu having previously invaded the country, laying the temple in ruins and breaking up the sculptures. Simmaš-šiḫu partially restored the structure of the temple, and placed it in charge of a priest for whose maintenance he appointed regular offerings. In the violent death of Simmaš-šiḫu, of which we learn from the fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle, and in the shortness of the reign of Ea-mukīn-zēr, we may probably see additional indications of the disturbed state of the country at this time. Under Kaššu-nādin-aḫi the general distress was increased by a famine, in consequence of which the regular offerings for the temple of Šamaš at Sippar ceased.

The first king of the sixth dynasty was E-ulbar-šākin-šum and on his accession to the throne E-kur-šum-ušabši, the pries; whom Simmaš-šihu had placed in charge of the temple at Sippar, complained to the king that the offerings had ceased. On hearing the state of the temple's resources E-ulbar-šākin-Sum increased the regular offerings and endowed the temple with certain property situated in Babylon. The sixth dynasty consisted of only three kings, E-ulbar-&kin-Sum being succeeded by Ninib-kudurri-uṣur and Silanim-šukamuna; it was termed the dynasty of the House of Bazi, and each of the three kings on a fragment of a chronicle is termed a 'son of Bazi.'

60. 6th Dyn. (of Bazi).

circa 1025.

From this point onwards for nearly a hundred years there is a gap in our knowledge of Babylonian history. After the dynasty of the House of Bazi an Elamite occupied the throne for six years; but his name is not known, nor are the circumstances that attended his accession. He did not perpetuate his hold upon the country; for on his death the rule again passed to native Babylonians, the kings of the eighth dynasty, which was the second to hear the title 'the dynasty of Babylon.'

61. Gap.

circa 1005.

26. 8th Dyn. (Babylon).

The names of the early kings of the dynasty are not preserved though Sibir, a Babylonian king whom Ašur-nāṣir-pal mention; as having destroyed a city which he himself rebuilt, is probably to he placed in this period. The first king of this dynasty of whose reign details are known is Šamaš-mudammiḳ, who suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Rammān-nirari II., king of Assyria. Against Nabū-šum-iškun, his successor on the throne, Rammān-nirari scored another victory, several Babylonian cities falling into his hands, though we subsequently find him on good terms with Assyria and allying himself to Nabū-šum-iškun, or possibly his successor, each monarch marrying the other's daughter. Nabū-aplu-iddina is the next king who is known to have ruled in Babylon, and, though he aided the people of Suḫi against Ašur-nāṣir-pal, his relations with Shalmaneser II. were of a friendly nature. He is the king who restored and endowed so richly the temple of Šamaš at Sippar, digging in the ruins of former structures till he found the ancient image of the god. He restored and redecorated the shrine, and with much ceremony established the ritual and offerings for the god, placing them under the direction of Nabū-nādin-šum, the

circa 910.

circa 900.

circa 880.

[1] The name has also been read Marduk-šāpik-kullat.

son of the former priest E-kur-šum-ušabši. Marduk-šum-iddina succeeded his father on the throne; hut his brother
circa 850. Marduk-bēl-usāti headed a revolt against him, and compelled him *to* call in the aid of Shalmaneser of Assyria, who defeated the rebels and restored the land *to* order. Shalmaneser's son and successor, Šamši-Rammān 11., was not on the same terms of friendship with Babylonia. He directed an expedition against that country and plundered many cities before meeting with serious opposition. Marduk-balaṭsu-
circa 812. iḳbi, the Babylonian king, had meanwhile collected his forces, which included hands from Elam Chaldea, and other districts; and the two armies met near thk city of Dūr-Papsukal. Marduk-balaṭsu-iḳbi was totally defeated: 5000 of his troops were slain; 2000 more were captured; and rich booty, including 100 chariots of war, fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Rammān-nirari III., the successor of Šamši-Rammān, also subjugated a considerable portion of Babylonia, carrying away to Assyria Bau-aḫ-iddina, the Babylonian king, together with the treasures of his palace.

Here the record of the 'Synchronous History' ceases, and there follows another gap, of about fifty years, in our knowledge of the history of the country.

63. Nabonassar.

The next king of Babylon whose name is known is Nabū-šum-iškun—the first name which occurs after the break in the List of Kings. His successor was Nabū-nāṣir, the Nabonassar of the Ptolemaic Canon; and with this
747. king our knowledge of the Babylonian succession becomes fuller, as, in addition to the evidence afforded by the List of Icings, the information contained in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon becomes available. In the third year of Nabonassar's reign, Tiglath-pileser III. ascended the throne of Assyria; and one of his first acts was an invasion of Babylonia, during which he overran the northern districts and captured several cities, carrying away many of their inhabitants. The distress in the country due to the inroads of the Assyrians was aggravated during this reign by internal dissension: Sippar repudiated Nabonassar's authority, and the revolt was subdued only after a siege of the city.

The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that after a reign of fourteen years Nabonassar died in his palace at Babylon,
733. and was succeeded by his son Nādinu, the Nadios of the Ptolemaic Canon, who is to be identified with Nabū-nādin-zēr of the list of kings. The eighth dynasty ended with the country in confusion. Nabū-nādin-zēr, after a reign of only two years, was slain
731. in a revolt by his son Nabū-šum-ukīn or Šum-ukīn, who had hitherto held the position of governor of a province. After his accession the dynasty soon came to an end. He had not enjoyed his position for more than a month when the kingdom again changed hands and Ukīn-zēr ascended the throne.

64. Assyrian suzerainty.

From the fall of the eighth dynasty until the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire Babylonia was overshadowed by the power of Assyria, the kings of the latter country frequently ruling both at Nineveh and at Babylon. Ukīn-zēr had reigned only three years when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Babylonia, took him captive, and ascended the throne of Babylon, where he ruled under the name of
729. Pulu (see TIGLATH-PILESER). On his death, which occurred two years later, he was succeeded in Assyria by Shalmaneser IV., who, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, also succeeded him on the throne of Babylon, though in the List of Kings Pulu is succeeded
727. by Ululai. The two accounts can be reconciled by the supposition that Ululai was the name assumed by Shalmaneser as king of Babylon (see SHALMANESER). Shalmaneser died after a reign of five years, and, while Sargon held the throne, Merodach-baladan, a Chaldeau from southern Babylonia, freed Babylonia for a time from Assyrian control. He
721. sided with Ummanigaš, king of Elam, in his struggle with Assyria; but ten years later was himself captured by Sargon after being besieged in
709. the city of Iḳbi-Bēl (see MERODACH-BALADAN, SARGON). Sargon then ascended the throne of Babylon, which he held until his death in 705.

According to the Ptolemaic Canon, the next two years were a period of interregnum, though the List of Kings assigns the throne to Sennacherib. However this may be, we know that in 703 Marduk-zākir-šum proclaimed himself king; but he had reigned for only one month
703. when he was murdered by Merodach-baladan, who had escaped from Assyria. Merodach-baladan thus once more found himself king in Babylon; but Sennacherib marched against him, defeated him, and caused him to seek safety by hiding himself in the Babylonian swamps. After plundering Babylon and the neighbouring cities, Sennacherib returned to Assyria, leaving the kingdom in the charge of
702. Bēl-ibni, a young native Babylonian who had been brought up at the Assyrian court. On the death of Merodach-baladan, shortly afterwards, a rising headed by Šuzub, another Chaldean, brought Sennacherib again into the country. Bēl-ibni also must have displeased the king; for, after defeating Šuzub. Sennacherib carried Bēl-ibni and his nobles to Assyria, leaving his own son Ašur-nādin-šum upon the
700. throne. Sennacherib next planned an expedition against the Chaldeans whom Merodach-baladan had settled at Nagitu, on the Elamite shore of the Persian Gulf, whence they were able in safety to foment insurrections and plan revolt. Sennacherib, determined to stamp out this disaffection, transported his troops in ships across the Persian Gulf. Disembarking at the mouth of the Eulæus, they routed the Chaldeans and their allies, and returned with much booty and many captives to the Babylonian coast. Meanwhile Šuzub, who had previously escaped Sennacherib's pursnit, collected his forces and with the help of Elam captured Babylon and placed himself upon the throne.
694. He is to be identified with the Nergal-ušēzib of the Babylonian Chronicle and the List of Kings. He, however, ruled for only one year. Sennacherib, on his return from the Persian Gulf, defeated his army and sent him in chains to Nineveh. Turning his forces against Elam, he plundered a considerable portion of the country, and was stopped in his advance into the interior only by the setting in of winter. In his absence a rebel bearing the name
692. of Šuzub—the Mušēzib-Marduk of the Chronicle and the List of Kings—seized the throne of Babylon. Allying his forces with those of Elam, he attempted to oppose Sennacherib in the field; but the combined armies were defeated at Ḫalule. Next year Sennacherib returned to Babylonia, captured the city of Babylon, and deported Mušēzib-Marduk and his
689. family to Assyria. According to the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon, there now occurred a second interregnum, though the List of Icings credits Sennacherib with the control of Babylonia.

On Sennacherib's murder in 681 his son Esarhaddon
681. was proclaimed king of Assyria. He succeeded to the rule of Babylonia also, though a son of Merodnch-baladan made an attempt to gain the throne. He came to Babylon and personally superintended the restoration of the city, rebuilding the temples and the walls, and placing new images in the shrines of the gods. During his reign Babylon enjoyed a season of unusual prosperity, and was free from the internal feuds and dissensions from which she had been suffering.

On Esarhaddon's death the throne of Babylon passed
669. to his son Šamaš-šum-ukīn, his elder son, Ašur-bāni-pal, having already been installed on the Assyrian throne during his father's lifetime. For some years the two brothers were on friendly terms, and when Urtaku and the Elamites, with the aid of some discontented Babylonian chiefs, invaded the country, Ašur-bāni-pal assisted his brother in repelling their attack. During all this time Šamaš-šum-ukīn acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria and acquiesced in his brother's active control of the internal affairs of both kingdoms.

At length, however, he wearied of this state of dependence, and seizing an opportunity, organised a general rising against Assyria among the neighbouring tribes and nations who had hitherto owned her supremacy. He bought the support of Ummanigaš, king of Elam, contracted an alliance with Arabia, and at the same time enlisted the services of smaller chiefs. Though one half of the Arabian army was defeated by the Assyrians, the other half effected a junction with the Elamites. This powerful combination, however, was neutralised by the revolt of Tammaritu, the son of Ummanigaš, the king of Elam. In fact, the dissensions in the Elamite camp proved of great service to Ašur-bāni-pal, who completely crushed the confederation that Šamaš-šum-ukīn had brought against him (see AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 7). Šamaš-šum-ukīn himself was besieged in Babylon, and, on the capture of the city, he set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. According to the List of Kings, he was succeeded by Kandalanu, the
647. Kineladanos of the Ptolemaic Canon; but this king is probably to be identified with Ašur-bāni-pal himself, who, on this supposition, like Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., ruled Assyria and Babylonia under different names. The last years of his reign are wrapped in obscurity; but on his death the throne was secured by Nabopolassar, who was destined

65. Nabopolassar. to raise the fortunes of his country and to found an empire, which, though it lasted for
625. less than one hundred years, eclipsed by its magnificence any previous period in the varied history of the nation. Nabopolassar, in fact, was the founder of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

During the early part of Nabopolassar's reign Ašur-bani-pal's successors on the throne of Assyria did not relinquish their hold upon the southern kingdom. They retained their authority for some time over a great part of the country (see ASSYRIA, § 33 *f.*). Though we do not possess historical documents relating to this period, we may conclude that Nabopolassar during all these years was strengthening his kingdom and seeking any opportunity of freeing at least a part of it from the Assyrian yoke, and it is not improbable that conflicts between the Assyrian and Babylonian forces were constantly occurring. Towards the end of his reign he found the opportunity for which he was waiting in the invasion of Assyria by the Medes. He allied himself with the invaders by marrying Nebuchadrezzar, his eldest son, to the daughter of Cyaxares, and on
circa 606. the fall of Nineveh had a share in the partition of the kingdom. While N. Assyria and her subject provinces on the N. and NW. fell to the Medes, S. Assyria and the remaining provinces of the empire were added to the territory of Babylon.

Before Nabopolassar could regard these acquisitions of territory as secure, he had first to reckon with the power of Egypt. Necho II., the son and successor of Psammetichus I., soon after his accession to the throne had set himself to accomplish the conquest of Syria. In 608, therefore, he had crossed the frontier of Egypt and begun his march northwards along the Mediterranean coast. Vainly opposed by JOSIAH (*q.v.*), he pressed forward and subdued the whole tract of country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. For three years he retained his hold on Syria, and it was only after the fall of Nineveh that Nabopolassar successfully disputed his possession of the country. Nabopolassar did not himself head the expedition against the Egyptians, for he was now old; but he placed the troops under the command of Nebuchadrezzar his son. The two armies met at Carchemish, where a decisive battle took
605. place. Necho was utterly defeated; thousands of his troops were slain; and Nebnchadrezzar pressed after his flying army up to the very borders of Egypt.

While Nebuchadrezzar was still absent on this expedition Nabopolassar died. His son, therefore, returned to Babylon and was duly installed as king in his stead. It is probable that during the early part of his reign Nebuchadrezzar consolidated his rule in Syria and on the Mediterranean coast by

66. Nebuchadrezzar. yearly expeditions in those regions. After a few years, however, the country
604. showed signs of repudiating Babylonian control. Nebuchadrezzar returned to the coast to suppress the rising. For some years things remained quiet; but soon after the accession of Apries (see EGYPT, § 69) to the throne of Egypt the ferment revived. After a siege of a year and a half Jerusalem fell (see JERUSALEM).

Tyre, the siege of which also Nebuchadrezzar undertook, held out for thirteen years, 585-572 (see PHŒNICIA). Built on an island, it was practically impregnable from the land, while the blockade instituted by the Babylonians did not prevent the entry of supplies by water. More successful were Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns against Egypt. We do not possess his own account of them; but an Egyptian inscription records that on one of them (undertaken against Apries) he forced his way through the country as far as Syēnē, the modern Aṣwān, on the borders of Ethiopia: and it is not improbable that the country was subject to Babylonia during the first few years of the reign of Amasis II., who succeeded Apries on the Egyptian throne (see EGYPT, § 69). Nebuchadrezzar's hold upon Egypt cannot, however, have been permanent: a fragment of one of his own inscriptions mentions his sending an expedition to Egypt in his thirty-seventh year. During his reign the relations between Babylonia and Media were of a friendly nature, as was not unnatural from the close alliance that had been established between the two kingdoms before the fall of Nineveh. In a war between Media and Lydia, some twenty years later, the Babylonians did not take part; but, when an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of May in the year 585 put an end to a battle between the Lydians and Medes, Nebuchadrezzar, in conjunction with the king of Cilicia, used his influence to reconcile the combatants and bring the war to a close.

While constantly engaged in extending and solidifying his empire, Nebuchadrezzar did not neglect the internal improvement of his kingdom. He rebuilt the cities and temples throughout the country, and in particular devoted himself to the enlargement of Babylon, completing its walls and rebuilding its temples with such magnificence that the city became famous throughout the world (see NEBUCHADREZZAR, BABYLON). Nebuchadrezzar died after reigning forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Amēl-Marduk,
561. mentioned as EVIL-MERODACH (*q.v.*) in 2 K. 25 27 *ff.* Of this king we possess no inscription, though contracts dated in his reign have been found. He was assassinated after a reign of two

67. His successors. years in a revolt led by Neriglissar, his brother-in-law, who succeeded him upon
559. the throne (see NERGAL-SHAREZER). His inscriptions that have been recovered are concerned merely with his building operations. He
556. was succeeded by his son Labaši-Marduk, who, after reigning nine months, was murdered by his nobles. Nabu-na'id or Nabonidus, the son of Nabu-balaṭsu-iḳbi, was placed upon the throne.

Nabonidus was a ruler more energetic than his immediate predecessors on the throne. He devoted himself to rebuilding the ancient temples

68. Nabonidus. throughout the kingdom, and dug in their foundations until he found the
555. ancient inscriptions of the kings who had first founded or subsequently restored them. In his own inscriptions recording his building operations he recounts his finding of several such inscriptions, and, as he mentions the number of years that had passed since they had been buried by their writers, his evidence with regard to the settlement of Babylonian chronology is invaluable.

Nabonidus, however, in spite of his zeal for rebuilding the temples of the gods, incurred the hatred of the priesthood by his attempt to centralise Babylonian religion. Although the rise of Babylon to the position of the principal city of the land had been reflected in the importance of Mardulc in the Babylonian pantheon, the religion of the country had never radically changed its character. It had always remained a body of local worships, each deify retaining his own separate centre of ritual. Nabonidus set himself to centralise all these worships in Babylon. He removed the images of the gods from their shrines in the various cities throughout the country and transported them to the capital. By this act he brought down upon himself the resentment of the priests, who formed the most powerful section of the community, and they, by the support they gave to Cyrus on his capture of Babylon, considerably aided the Persian conquest of the country.

Cyrus, who had previously conquered the Medes. imprisoning Astyages and sacking Ecbatana, next turned his attention to the conquest of Babylonia.

69. Cyrus. 549. The Babylonian army was commanded by Bēl-šar-uṣur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabonidus; but it did not offer an effective opposition to the Persian forces. After

538. suffering a defeat at Ōpis on the Tigris, it was broken. Cyrus marched on and entered Sippar without further fighting, and Nabonidus fled. Babylon itself was taken two days later, and Nabonidus fell into the hands of the conqueror (cp CYRUS, § 2). In restoring order to the country, Cyrus adopted the wise policy of conciliating the conquered. He restored to their shrines the images of the gods which Nabonidus had removed. The popularity he acquired by this act is reflected in the inscription on his cylinder recording his taking of the city, which was probably composed at his orders by the official scribes of Babylon. Although naturally couched in flattering terms, it bears ample witness to the pacific policy of Cyrus, who therein allows himself to be represented as the vindicator and champion of Mardulc, the principal deity of his conquered foe:

'He (*i.e.* Marduk) sought out a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he might take by the hand; Cyrus, king of Anšan, he called by his name, for empire over the whole world he proclaimed his title. The land of Kutū, the whole of the tribal hordes he forced into submission at his feet, as for the men whom de had delivered into his hands, with justice and righteousness did he care for them. Marduk the great lord, the protector of his people, beheld his upright deeds and his righteous heart with joy. To his city of Babylon he commanded him to go, he made him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and helper he went by his side. His wide-spreading host, the number of which, like the waters of a river, cannot he numbered, girt with their weapons advance at his side. Without contest and battle he made him enter into Babylon his city, Babylon he spared from tribulation. Nabonidus, the king that did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, the whole of Snmer and Akkad, princes and governors beneath him bowed down, they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his kingdom, bright was their countenance. To the lord who through his strength raises the dead to life and from destruction and misery had spared all, joyfully they paid homage, they reverenced his name.' Other passages in the cylinder refer to the zeal displayed by Cyrus for Marduk and the other Babylonian gods.—'When into Babylon I entered favourably with exultation and shouts of joy in the palace of the prince; I took up a lordly dwelling, Marduk the great lord [inclined] the great heart of the sons of Babylon to me and daily do I care for his worship. . . . And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which Nabonidus to the anger of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the word of Marduk the great lord one and all in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of their heart's delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities pray daily before Bēl and Nahii for the lengthening of my days let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk my lord let them say: "May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Camhyses his son [have prosperity]."'

With the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the history of the Babylonians as an independent nation comes to an end. The country never regained her

70. End. independence, but remained a province subject to the powers which succeeded one another in the rule of W. Asia. Under Cambyses, indeed, and still more under Darius Hystaspis, discontent became very prevalent in Babylonia. Soon after the accession of Darius a certain Nadintu-Bēl put himself at the head of a revolt, declaring himself to be Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. Darius stamped out the rebellion and executed Nadintu-Bēl. A few years later he quelled a second rebellion headed by Araḫu, who was captured and crucified, and during the reign of Xerxes a similar rising proved equally unsuccessful. These rebellions were the last struggles of the national spirit to reassert itself. They met with no response among the general body of the people, who were content to serve their foreign masters. Babylonia, in fact, remained subject to the Persians until the conquests of Alexander brought her under Greek control, which she exchanged only for the Parthian supremacy.

71. Bibliography. (*a*) For the history of Babylonia, see the works by Tiele, Hommel, Delitzsch, and Winckler cited under ASSYRIA. For the early period these histories maybe supplemented by reference to the inscriptions which are being published in E. de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée* (1884, etc.), *The Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (1893, etc.), edited by Hilppcht, and *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian tablets, etc. in the British Museum* (1896, etc.). Among English histories refeience may he made to George Smith's *Babylonia* (SPCK, 1877) and G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. (1871). In Schr.'s *KB*, vol. iii., translations of many of the historical inscriptions of Babylonia are given, while the same author's *COT* describes the principal points in the OT which are illustrated by the monuments. For other works dealing with the inscriptions of Babylonia, the bibliographies mentioned in the article ASSYRIA (§ 34) may he consulted.

(6) [On the religion of the Babylonians we have as yet only one students' handbook, Jastrow's *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia* (reviewed by D. G. Lyon, *New World*, March, 1899). Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures* (for 1887) on the same subject are less systematic. On the cosmology of Babylonia, Jensen's *Kosmologie der Babylonier* is still the most complete authority; hut editions of religious texts must he consulted by the advanced student.]

(*c*) With regard to books for the study of the language, the first dictionary to appearwas Norris's *Assyrian Dictionary* (1868-72), which he did not live to complete. In his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter* (1886), Strassmaier published an immense collection of material, which has been used in subsequent dictionaries; among these may be mentioned Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (1887, etc.; unfinished), the same author's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* ('96), Muss Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (1894, etc., in progress), and Meissner's *Supplemente zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch (1898)*; Brünnow's *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, 1889 (*Indices*, 1897), contains a full list of ideographs with their values. The best Assyrian grammar is Delitzsch's *Assyr. Gramm.* (1889; transl. by Kennedy).

(*d*) The existence of the Sumerian language, which for long was disputed, is now generally acknowledged; hut a grammar of the language has yet to be written; it should be noted that the views on Sumerian which Delitzsch expressed in his *Assyr. Gram.* he has since completely changed. A list of the Sumerian values of the cuneiform signs is given by Brünnow in his *Classified List*, while Weissbach's *Die sumersiche Frage* ('98) may he consulted for the history of the controversy.

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BABYLONIANS (בְּנֵי בָבֶל; υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος [BAQ], Ez. 23 15 [BA om. Βαβ.], 17 [-ωνος B], 23; in Aram. בַּבְלָיֵא, Βαβυλώνιοι [BAL], Ezra 4 9), in every case the land, not the city, is referred to: cp especially Ez. 23 15, 'the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldea.'

BABYLONISH GARMENT, RV Babylonish Mantle (אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר, lit. 'mantle of Shinar,' *so* RVmg.), Josh. 7 21. See MANTLE.

BACA, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא, § 103), or Valley of Weeping (RV, 𝔊 ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος [Bℵ*R], εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα *τ. κ.* [ℵc.aAT]; cp Aq. Vg. Pesh.), mentioned only in Ps. 84 6 [7]. For the meaning given above cp the Wady of Weeping وادى البكا, found by Burckhardt near Sinai. The name is frequently explained 'balsam vale' (*so* RVmg.); but cp Cheyne, who reads בֹּכִים (cp 𝔊 here and at Judg. 2 5), and supposes a play on the name Bĕkā'īm. The pl. בְּכָאִים occurs in 2 Sam. 5 22 *ff.* (= 1 Ch. 14 14 *f.*), apparently

as the name of a spot (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF) where there were Baca-trees. David took his stand there to wait for YahwB's signal to attack the Philistine's.[1] 𝔊 (2 S. 5 24) speaks of it as a 'grove,' meaning an Asherah; there is no mention of trees in @. On the meaning of Baca trees see MULBERRY.

BACCHIDES (Βακχιδης, also Βα[χ]χιδης; Βαρακχ. [1 Macc. 78, A], κακχ. [*ib. v.* 12, A], Βακχχ. [*ib.* 91, ℵ*A]), the chief general of DEMETRIUS I. [*q.v.*, 1], who was sent to Judaea to enforce the claims of Alcimus to the priesthood (1 Macc. 7 8 *ff.*). Almost immediately after the death of NICANOR, he was sent again with Alcimus, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maccabæan party at Elasa,[2] who lost their leader Judas (chap. 9, 161 B.C.). Judaea suffered heavily at the hands of Bacchides; nor did any real advantage accrue when Jonathan took up the leadership (9 32 *ff.*). The capital and other important strongholds remained in the hands of Bacchides, who was engaged in fortifying them until the death of Alcimus (159 B.C.), when he returned to Demetrius (957). At the end of two years the opponents of the Maccabzean party (whose hands had become strengthened) agreed to betray Jonathan and his followers to Bacchides. This piece of treachery was discovered and avenged (958 *ff.*). Bacchides set out against Judæa (158 B.c.) and besieged Beth-basi, but met with ill success everywhere, until at last he was only too glad to accept Jonathan's overtures of peace (968). The Jewish captives of the former wars were restored, and the Maccabees had rest for four or five years.

BACCHURUS (Βακχουρος [BA], σακχουρ [L], *ZACCARUS*), singer in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), 1 Esd. 924; but not in || Ezra 10 24 [MT EV 𝔊BℵA], though 𝔊L adds ζακχουρ.

BACCHUS (*Liber*), the equivalent of the Greek Dionysus (so RVmg. Διονυσος [AV]), is mentioned in 2 Macc. 67, where it is said that on the occasion of the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) the unhappy Jews were compelled to attend the feast of Bacchus (Διονυσια; RVmg. 'feast of Dionysia') wearing the ivy-wreath (*κισσός*), the peculiar emblem of the god. A few years later Nicanor (the general of Demetrius) threatened to pull down the temple and supplant it by one dedicated to Bacchus unless Judas was handed over to him (*ib.* 14 33, *Διανυσος* [A]). The worship of Bacchus seems to have been introduced first by the Ptolemies, of which family he was the patron-god, and according to 3 Macc. 229 several years previously the Jews in Alexandria had been branded by Ptolemy Philopator (222-204) with the sign of the ivy; the object of this obviously being forcibly to identify the unwilling Jews with the detested worship of Bacchus. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 6. His worship would he specially abhorrent to pions Jews, since one of the greatest of the Dionysian festivals fell in the month Elaphebolion (March-April), thus synchronising closely with the passover. In course of time the Hellenising Jews and Greek residents were more attracted by the cult, and when Jerusalem became a Roman colony (Ælia Capitolina) we find Dionysus with his thyrsus and panther figuring upon the coins as one of the patron gods.[3]

The worship of Dionysus flourished at Cæsarea, at Damascus, and in the Ḥaurān. He was the special patron of Scythopolis, and from him the town Dionysia (Soada) received its name. Dionysus, however, soon became identified with the Nabatæan deity Dusares (the Baal, the god of heaven, and of wine). The Dionysiac character which the latter presents is not native: it is directly due to the northern influence.[1] The priest of Dionysia (see above) calls himself the priest of Dusares, and on the coins of Bostra the latter appears with the Dionysian emblem of the wine-press. Figures of the vine and wine-cup are still found upon the lintels in many of the villages in the Ḥaurān. Although the worship of Yahwè had little in common with that of Bacchus (*nequaquam congruentibus institutis*, Tacit. *Hist.* 5 5), classical writers, observing the musical and joyful nature of their ceremonial rites, now and then fell into the error of making Bacchus a Jewish god that had been worshipped by the earliest patriarchs (cp *e.g.* Plut. *Sympos.* 146).

For the various mythological forms of Bacchus, see *Ency. Brit.*(9) *s.v.* 'Dionysus'; and Roscher, *s.v.*

BACENOR occurs in an uncertain passage, 2 Macc. 12 35, *Δωσίθεος δέ τις τῶν τοῦ βακήνορος* [VA]. It is doubtful whether it is the name of a captain or the cognomen of a company or division in the army of Judas. See DOSITHEUS.

BACHRITES, THE (הַבַּכְרִי; Nu. 26 35, 𝔊BAL [*v.* 39] om.). See BECHER.

BADGER, ROCK (שָׁפָן), Lev. 11 5 RVmg.; EV CONEY.

BADGERS' SKINS, RV SEALSKINS (עֹרֹת תְּחָשִׁים, עוֹר תַּחַשׁ, תַּחַשׁ, δερματα υακινθινα [ιανθινα, Aq., Sym., Ezek. 16 10] [BAL]; Ex. 25 5 26 14 35 7 23 36 19 [BAL om.] 39 34 Nu. 4 6 8 [*δερματίνῳ ὑακινθίνῳ*] 10-12 14 25 Ez. 16 10†), are mentioned as the fourth or outermost covering of the tabernacle (next above the 'rams' skins dyed red'), and as outer wrappings for the ark and different vessels of the tabernacle during journeys. In Ezekiel's figurative description of YahwB's adorning of Israel as a beautiful maiden, shoes of this material are included. As to the meaning of *taḥaš* there have been many opinions: five chief views may be indicated.

(1) The ancient versions with one consent understood a colour: 𝔊 Syr. Chald. Vg. render 'blue' or 'violet,' Ar. Samar. 'black' or 'dark.' This view, which has been strongly maintained by Bochart, rests, however, on no philological ground, and is refuted by the syntax of the Hebrew words.[2] Apart from the versions, all Hebrew tradition is in favour of the view that *taḥaš* is an animal.

(2) In the discussion on this animal in the Talmud (*Shabb.* c. 2, fol. 28) the opinion prevails that it is a species of תלא אילן (prob. = 'ferret'), a description which would roughly suit the *badger*; and the claim of this animal has been supported (by Ges. and others) by comparison with late Lat. ***Taxus*** or *taro* (Ital. *tasso*, Fr. *taisson*) and Germ. *Dachs.*[3] The common badger, *Meles taxus*, found throughout Europe and Northern Asia, reaches its southernmost limits in Palestine, where it is common in the hilly and woody parts of the country. It is, however, improbable that the reference is to the skins of these animals. They would be difficult to procure either in Egypt or in the desert, and there is no evidence of their being used in those regions for such a purpose.[4]

1 In *v.* 24 emend צְעָדָה to סְעָרָה (*συσσεισμός* [L] for *συνκλεισμός* [BA]), 'when thou hearest the sound of a stormy wind in the tops of the Baca trees.' If is in the tempest that Yahwè 'goes out against the Philistines.

2 Doubtless an error for ADASA.

3 See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 252 *f.*

1 For the god Dusares (*Δουσαρης*, on Nab. inscr. דושרא); see *ZDMG* 14465, 41711, Baethg. *Beitr.* 92 *ff.*, WRS, *Kins.* 292 *ff.*, and We. *Heid.*(2) 48 *ff.* The name means 'possessor (*du*) of שרא.' The latter is often taken to he equivalent to 'Sarah,' in which case Dusares is equivalent to Abraham—a hazardous theory.

2 תְּחָשִׁים is obviously gen. after עֹרֹת—*i.e.*, equivalent *to* אֵילִם, not to מְאָדָּמִים, in the phrase for 'rams' skins dyed red.'

3 Philological explanations involving roots common to the Aryan and Semitic languages are, however, notoriously precarious.

4 How little value attaches to the opinion of the Rabbis may be gathered from another view, strongly supported in the Talmud, that the תחש was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose, and immediately afterwards disappeared (Bochart, i. 3 30).

(3) A more scientific etymology is that which compares the Ar. *tubas* or *duḥas*, 'a dolphin.' This would indicate a marine animal,—probably (*a*) the *seal* (RV text), or (*b*) the *porpoise* (RVmg.), or (*c*) the *dugong* or sea-cow. (*a*) has in its favour the adaptability of sealskins to the purposes referred to, the statement of Artemidorus (in Strab. 16776) that seals abounded in the Red Sea, one island there being called νῆσος φωκῶν, and the actual use of a sealskin covering in antiquity to protect buildings, because it was supposed that lightning never struck this material (*e.g.*, Pliny, *HN* 2 55, Suet. *Oct.* 90). One species of seal, *Monachus albiventer*, undoubtedly occurs in the Mediterranean, and some authorities are of opinion that the same is true of the common seal, *Phoca vitulina*.

(*b*) The *porpoise*, like the seal, is as a rule a denizen of the colder waters of the globe; but *Phocæna communis*, the common porpoise of the British coasts, occasionally enters the Mediterranean, whilst the Indian porpoise, *Ph. phocænoides*, inhabits the shores of the Indian Ocean from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, and may have been captured in the Red Sea. (*c*) The *Dugong*, being more like the dolphin, has the etymology in its favour. According to Knobel (Comm. on Ex. 255) this animal (*Halicore tabernaculi*) 'is found in the Red Sea, attaining a length of 8 to 10 or more feet, is hunted like the whale, and has a skin well adapted for sandals or coverings.' Friedr. Del. sought to strengthen the case for this identification (Prol. to Baer's *Ezek.* p. xvi *f.*) by comparison with Ass. *taḫšu*, an animal whose skin, according to various Ass. inscriptions, was used to cover the beams of ships in the manner described by Herodotus (1 194). He has since (*Prol.* 77-79 ['86]), however, abandoned the view that *taḫšu* was the dugong, and supposes it to mean *wether*.[1] The dugong of the Indian Ocean, with the Manatee of the Atlantic, composes the class Sirenia. They are usually found in the estuaries of large rivers browsing on sea-weed, and they are still actively sought off the coast of Queensland for the sake of their blubber and hide.

(4) Much less probable is the opinion of Bottcher (*Neue Aehrenl.* 32 *ff.*) that תַּחַשׁ is a form of תַּיִשׁ (he-goat) with the middle radical hardened; he supposes that goat-skin was manufactured into a kind of morocco leather. It is natural that 'rams' and 'he-goats' should come together as in Gen. 32 15 [14] 2 Ch. 17 11; but apart from this the explanation has little to recommend it.

(5) The latest and perhaps most probable view is that put forward by Bondi (*Ægyptiaca*, 1 *ff.*), who makes תַּחַשׁ a loan-word from Egyptian *ṭḥs*, 'Egyptian leather,' and gives a thorough discussion of views. This meaning is especially suitable to Ez. 16 10, but is also appropriate in the other passages.

Of all the explanations those by Ar. *duḥas* or *tuḥas*, by Ass. *taḫšu*, and by Eg. *ṭḥs*, most deserve attention.

N. M.—A. E. S.

BAEAN (Βαιαν [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 5 4 *f.* RV; AV BEAN.

BAG. Several of the Hebrew words are much more general in signification than the English 'bag.'—(1) כִּיס *kīs* (Dt. 25 13 Pr. 16 11 Mi. 6 11 Is. 46 6) for holding money, or the weights employed by merchants. In Pr. 1 14 (βαλλάντιον), EV renders PURSE. (2) חָרִיט *ḥārīṭ* (cp Ar. *ḫarīṭatun*, bag of skin, etc., and see Frank. 296) in 2 K. 5 23 (θύλακος) of Naaman's bag which contained a talent of silver. In Is. 3 22 it is mentioned in the list of 'women's adornments, and signifies probably a satchel (so RV; AV 'crisping pin'). (3) כְּלִי *kĕlī*, a word of very general meaning (see VESSEL), used of a sack for containing corn (Gen. 42 25 ἀγγίον) or if the instruments carried by a shepherd (Zech. 11 15). It is rendered 'bag' only in 1 S. 17 40 49 (AVmg. 'vessel'): see SLING. (4) צְרוֹר *ṣĕrōr* (√bind, cp verb in 2 K. 12 10 [11], וַיָּצֻרוּ, 'and they put in bags'), Job 14 17 (βαλλάντιον), Pr. 7 20, צְ׳ נָקוּב, 'a bag with holes' (Hag. 1 6). It is rendered 'bundle' in 1 S. 25 29 Gen 42 35 (of money) and Cant. 1 13 (of myrrh, RVmg. 'bag'). (5) βαλλάντιον, Lk. 12 33, RV 'purse'; and (6) γλωσσόκομον (Jn. 12 6 13 29, RVmg. 'box'). See BOX, 3.

BAGO (Βαγο [A]), 1 Esd. 8 40 = Ezra 8 14, BIGVAI, 3.

BAGOAS (from Pers. *baga*, 'God'; see Ed. Meyer, *Ent.* 157; cp Bigvai, Bigtha, Abagtha), a eunuch in the household of Holofernes; Judith 12 11 *ff.* (Βαγωας [BA1]; in *v.* 13 Βαγωε [A*]).

BAGOI (Βαγοι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 14 = Ezra 2 2, BIGVAI, 2.

BAGPIPE (RVmg. of סוּמְפֹּנְיָה Dan. 3 5 10 15 [in *v.* 10 סִיפֹּנְיָא, Kr. סוּפ׳], Gr. συμφωνια, EV 'dulcimer'). The Aramaic word is from συμφωνία, a late Gr. word, used, curiously enough, by Polybius in his account of the festivities in which Antiochus Epiphanes (who is so frequently alluded to in Daniel) indulged (xxvi. 10 5 xxxi. 48; see DANIEL, § 7). For the form of the Aram. cp ספון, σύμφωνοι, 'agreed,' in the Fiscal Inscription from Palmyra, 137 A.D. (col. 3, *ll.* 14 45). See MUSIC, § 4 (*c*).

BAHARUMITE, THE (בַּחֲרוּמִי, 1 Ch. 11 33; ο Βεερμειν [B, ℵc.a], ο -ρβειν [ℵ*], ο Βαρσαμι [A], ο Βαραμαι [L]), evidently a scribe's error for 'the Bahurimite'—*i.e.*, 'the man of BAHURIM' (הַבַּחוּרְמִי). The same reading should be restored in 2 S. 23 31. See BARHUMITE.

BAHURIM (בַּחוּרִים and בַּחֻרִים; βαουρειμ [A]; 2 S. 3 16 βαρακει [B], -μ [L]; 16 5 βουρειμ [B], χορραμ [L]; 17 18 βαορειμ [B], βαιθχορρων [L]; 19 16 βαουρειμ [B], χορραν [L]; 1 K. 2 8 βααθουρειμ [B], βαθουρειμ [AL], βοκχορης [Jos. *Ant.* vii. 9 7]), a place in Benjamin (2 S. 19 16 [17]), not included in the list of Benjamite towns, which appears prominently in two very interesting narratives—that of the return of MICHAL to David, and that of the flight of David from Absalom. Michal had been given by David's angry father-in-law to PALTI (*q.v.*) or Paltiel of Gallim, and David in his returning prosperity demanded her back. Followed by her weeping husband, Michal went from Gallim[1] to Bahurim. There Abner commanded Paltiel to return. It may naturally be asked, Why was Bahurim selected as the scene of this leave-taking? The answer is furnished by the story of David's flight. It is clear from 2 S. 16 1 5 (cp 17 24) that Bahurim lay near the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan valley. Abner would have to take this road on his return to Mahanaim, and would naturally wait at Bahurim until he knew for certain that a visit to Hebron would be acceptable to the king. Meantime the envoys of David conducted Michal to Hebron. Later it was David's turn to pass by Bahurim, when he sought the Jordan valley as a fugitive (2 S. 15 28). At Bahurim he would apparently have made his first halt had not the insults of SHIMEI compelled him to go farther[2] (2 S. 16 5-14). It was at Bahurim also that Jonathan and Ahimaaz lay hid in a well, when pursued by the servants of Absalom (2 S. 17 18). The spot which best answers the topographical conditions is (as Barclay was the first to see) SE. of the village of *el-'Isāwīyeh* (see LAISHAH). Here, to the S. of the old Roman road, van Kasteren found in the upper *Wādy er-Rawāby* a ruin without a name, which he believes to be on the site of Bahurim (*ZDPV* 13 101 *ff.*). For a less probable view, fully discussed by van Kasteren, see Marti, *ZDPV* 38 *ff.*

T. K. C.

[1] Cp Shalmaneser; Monolith inscr. ii. 56, *ina elippe ša mašak taḫšī*, 'on boats of skins of wethers'; so Wi. for good reasons; but see references in Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* s.v. 'gab-šu-u.'

[1] Sir G. Grove (Smith's *DB*) thinks this may be doubtful. The rendering of 𝔊L, however, in 2 S. 3 15 (υἱοῦ σελλειμ) suggests that the verse originally closed with מִגַּלִּים, 'from Gallim.' That Palti was with Ishhosheth at Mahanaim seems very improbable.

[2] The name of the village where he 'refreshed himself' (2 S. 16 14) seems to have dropped out. See AYEPHIM.

BAITERUS (Βαιτηρος [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 17 RV, AV METERUS; see GIBBAR.

BAJITH, RV BAYITH (הַבַּיִת, 'the temple'; text of 𝔊 differs), is taken in EV of Is. 15 2 as the name of a place, the article being neglected (cp AIN, *2)*. It is perhaps more defensible to render the stichus containing the word thus: 'They go up to the temple, Dibon (goes up) to the high places to weep' (so Ges. and formerly Che.). The temple referred to might be the Beth-bamoth of the inscription of Mesha (*l.* 26; cp BAMOTH-BAAL). בית and בת, however, are so easily confounded (see, *e.g.*, Is. 10 32 Kt.) that it is still better to read עלתה בת דיבון, 'the daughter (=people) of Dibon is gone up,' with Duhm and Cheyne (*SBOT*).

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבַּקַּר, form strange, probably corrupt; Βακαρ [B], Βακβ. [AL]; Pesh. has יְרחוֹם, which in vv. 8 12, etc. = Heb. יְרֹחָם, Jeroham), a Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 15; not in ‖ Neh. 11 16, but perhaps transposed to *v.* 17 (where MT and 𝔊ℵc.a mg. read BAKBUKIAH [*q.v.*], though 𝔊BA omits, 𝔊L βοκχειας).

BAKBUK (בַּקְבּוּק, §§ 38, 71, 'pitcher'; but see below; Βακβουκ [AL]). The b'ne Bakbuk, a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 51 (βακουκ [L], βακκ. [B]) = Neh. 7 53 (βακβου [B], νεκουβ [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 5 31† (ακουφ [B], ακουμ[1] [A]; EV, ACUB). The name can hardly be Hebrew. It may be corrupted from Assyr. Habbakuka, a plant name (see HABAKKUK). T. K. C.

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻּקְיָה, § 38, 'pitcher of Yahwè'? [or else = Bakbuk, יה being probably a simple afformative (Jastrow, *JBL* 13 127)], cp BAKBUK; Βακβακιας [ℵc.a mg. sup. L], Bℵ*A om.), one of the Nethinim; a singer in list of Levite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*, and cp *Herstel*, 105), Neh. 11 17 (Βοκχειας [L]; omitted in ‖ 1 Ch. 9 16 before Obadiah = Abda of Neh.); and porter in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6 6, § 11, and *Herstel*, 110), Neh. 12 25. In Neh. 11 17, of the three persons named, Mattaniah is a 'son' of Asaph, and Abda is a 'son' of Jeduthun. It is plausible, therefore, to take Bakbukiah to be the same name as בֻּקִּיָּה (cp 𝔊L) and identify with BUKKIAH [*q.v.*], one of the sons of Heman. The three great guilds of temple-singers will then be represented.

BAKEMEATS. In his dream Pharaohs chief baker carried on his head 'three baskets of white bread' (סַלֵּי חֹרִי, Gen. 40 16—so RV and most modern scholars; AV 'three white baskets'), in the uppermost of which were 'all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh,' literally, as we read in the margin of AV, 'meat [food] of Pharaoh, the work of a baker' (40 17).

1. Baking. The best commentary on these verses is the representation of the royal bakery on the tomb of Ramses III. at Thebes, which has been reproduced by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*, 1878, 1 176), and more recently by Erman (*Anc. Eg.* 191). The process of making the ordinary household supply is described under BREAD; here it is proposed to bring together the scattered notices in Scripture regarding other products of the baker's skill. In this connection, it is interesting to note the remarkable variety of shapes assumed by the bread and pastry in the representation referred to. Additional varieties are collected by Erman from other sources and represented on the same page. How far the Hebrew court bakers (1 S. 8 13) were able to imitate those of Egypt we do not know.

2. Cakes. There is certainly no lack of names for different species of bakemeats in the OT; but it is now impossible to identify them (cp BREAD). Thus we can only conjecture, although with a fair amount of certainty, that the cake named *kikkār* (כִּכָּר, AV morsel,' RV 'loaf'), 1 S. 2 36, must have been round, like a Scottish 'bannock'; which, from the context, must hold good also of the barley-cake (צְלוּל) of Gideon's dream (Judg. 7 13†). The *nikkūdīm* (נִקֻּדִים, possibly from נָקַד, to prick) may have been thin cakes pricked over like a modern biscuit, or dotted over with the seeds of some condiment (*see* below). They were part of the present which the wife of Jeroboam I. took to the prophet Ahijah (1 K. 14 3), and are rendered by EV cracknels, for which the American revisers prefer to read 'cakes.'[1] Still, judging from etymology, we may consider the *ḥallā* (חַלָּה), the cake which so frequently occurs in the sacrificial ritual, as having been perforated (חלל, to pierce) like a modern Passover cake. It was made of the finest flour (סֹלֶת). Mention is made of another kind of sacrificial cakes, apparently of foreign origin, which the women of Jerusalem kneaded and baked in connection with the idolatrous worship of the 'QUEEN OF HEAVEN' (*q.v.*), Jer. 7 18 44 19. 𝔊 merely transliterates the Heb. word (כַּוָּנִים, χαυῶνας [BKAQ]; χαυβῶνας [ℵ*], χαυανας [Q''] in Jer. 44 19), and the exegetical tradition varies. That these *kawwānīm* were some kind of bakemeats is clear from the kneading of the dough in their preparation (7 18). It is generally thought that they may have resembled the *selēnai* (σελῆναι), cakes shaped like the full moon, which were offered in Athens to Artemis, the moon-goddess, at the time of full moon (see especially Kue.'s essay 'De melecheth des hemels,' translated in Bu.'s edition of his *Gesammelte Abh.* 208, and the comm. of Graf and of Giesebrecht *in loc.*). A similar custom is said to have prevailed in the worship of the Arabic goddess Al-'Uzza (We. *Ar. Heid.*(1) 38 *f.*, 2nd ed. 41 *f.*).

3. Pastry. With regard to what may be called the pastry of the Hebrews, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that a more delicate relish was imparted to the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats in three ways. (1) The dough was baked in olive oil. Thus the taste of the manna is said in one passage (Nu. 11 8 JE) to be like the taste of 'calces baked with oil' (RVmg., לְשַׁד הַשָּׁמֶן), generally understood of some dainty cooked in oil (but EV 'like the taste of fresh oil'). (2) The dough was prepared by being mixed with oil and then fired. This mode of preparation was extensively used in the ritual of P: see, for example, Lev. 2 4 *ff.*, where a distinction is made between cakes 'mingled (בְּלוּלֹת—see בלל in BDB *Lex.*) with oil' and cakes merely 'anointed (מְשֻׁחִים) with oil.' *(3)* In the passage parallel to that quoted above (1), viz., Ex. 16 31 [P], the taste of the manna is likened to 'wafers (רָקִיק, for which see BREAD) made with honey.' From this passage, from the prohibition of honey in the ritual (Lev. 2 11), and from the post-biblical use of the verbal stem רבש (DBŠ), we learn that honey (*dᵉbaš*)—no doubt both the product of the bee and the artificial grape-syrup (the modern *dibs*: see HONEY)—was used in the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats. 𝔊BAL in both the passages discussed (Nu. 11 8 Ex. 16 31) renders by ἐγκρίς, which, according to Athenæus (in Di. on Ex. 16 31) denoted 'a balcemeat made with oil *and* honey.' Saadia's word here is *ḳaṭā'ifᵘ* (*pastilli dulciarii*), a species of confection still made in Syria. Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, 125) defines it as 'a flaky paste (*pâtisserie feuilletée*) made with walnut and sugar and, in spring, with cream.'[2] Some sort of dainty confection is evidently intended by the obscure *lĕbībōth* (לְבִבוֹת; 2 S. 13 6 8 10†; EV 'cakes') which Tamar baked for Amnon.[3] If the etymology

1 Cp AKKUB, 2. It is possible, however, that BA omit the name (L has βακβουκ), since ακουφ, etc. may be a duplicate of HAKUPHA (*q.v.*).

1 For Josh. 9 5, the only other passage where נִקֻּדִים occurs (EV 'mouldy'), see Di. *in loc.*

2 The curious in these matters are referred to Landberg's book for a detailed list of modern Arab confections, 123-128; cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11 517 *f.*

3 On the reading in *v.* 9 see COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 [i.].

from לֵבָב (heart) were more secure, we might conclude that the tit-bit in question was heart-shaped.

In Ez.2717 we find among the trade-products of Tyre a substance called *pannag* (פַּנַּג) which, according to the Targum, was a 'kind of confection'; so RVmg.[1] The meaning is quite uncertain, and probably the text is corrupt (Co. would read דונג, wax; see PANNAG). For the frequently mentioned אֲשִׁישָׁה or grape-cake, see FRUIT, § 5; and for the use of condiments in baking, see FOOD and SPICES. A. R. S. K.

BAKING. See BREAD, § 2; OVEN.

BAKING PAN (מַחֲבַת), Lev. 25 79. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

BALAAM (בִּלְעָם; etymology uncertain; Winckler's Bel-'am [GZ 1120] seems improbable; cp perhaps Ba-lum-me-e (Am. Tab.) and see IBLEAM, BELA, NICOLAITANS; Βαλααμ [BAL]; Joseph. Βαλαμος), b. Beor; a soothsayer or prophet whom BALAK, king of Moab, made anxious by Israel's victory over the Amorites, summoned to curse his enemies.

1. Two accounts. Instead of doing so, Balaam bore himself as the prophetic mouthpiece of Yahwè, whom he acknowledged as his God (Nu.2218), and by the spirit of Elōhim (242) foretold the future glory of Israel. No wonder that a prophet of Judah, writing probably in the dark and idolatrous days of Manasseh, recalled the history of Balaam, when he would remind his ungrateful countrymen of YahwB's 'beneficent deeds' (Mic. *65).* Balaam's character has long been regarded as an enigma, and from Bishop Butler's time onwards many subtle' solutions have been offered. The enigma, however, is mainly produced by the combination of two traditions belonging to different periods, and it is the duty of the critic to distinguish, as far as possible, the two traditions which, though one in spirit, present a palpable difference in details.

According to J, Balak, king of Moab, dismayed by the number of his new and unwelcome neighbours, called Balaam from the land of the b'nē Ammon[2] to curse Israel. Balaam protested that he could not, for all the royal treasure, go beyond Yahwè's word; but he saddled his ass and set out.[3] On the road, the angel of Yahwè, invisible to Balaam, but visible to the beast he rode, stopped his way with a drawn sword. Yahwè endowed the ass with speech, and at last opened the prophet's eyes to the apparition, and, had it not been for the fear which held the animal back, Balaam would have paid for his rashness with his, life. Still, he received permission to go, and was only warned to report YahwB's oracle faithfully. The Elohist has no occasion for these marvels. In his account, Balaam, who is an Aramæan of PETHOR (*q.v.*) on the Euphrates (or perhaps rather *a* N. Arabian of Rehoboth by the river of Muṣri), did not yield to Balak's repeated solicitations till God (Elōhim) appeared in a dream and told him to go with the Moabite ambassadors.

From this point it is not possible to separate the E and J documents with full confidence. In what follows we have four great prophecies concerning Israel's future, besides three short oracles on the destruction of the Amalekites, the Kenites, and the Assyrians. Probably the first two of the four great prophecies come to us in their present form from the hand of the Elohist,[4] while the last two are derived from the narrative of the Yahwist.

Balaam prepares for his work rather after the fashion of a sorcerer' than in accordance with the spiritual ideas of Hebrew prophecy.

2. Oracles 1 and 2 [E]. In order to influence Elōhim, he directs Balak to offer sacrifices of special solemnity[1] (seven altars, seven oxen, seven rams; cp BEER-SHEBA). Bamoth-baal, the scene of the sacrifices, was no ordinary 'high place,' but (probably) one of those high hills where huge dolmens still suggest primæval communing with God, and, *as* we learn, it commanded a view of at least 'the utmost part' of the Israelitish encampment. This was important, for a curse must be uttered in sight of those upon whom it is to fall (cp 2313 *a*). When Balaam returns to Balak and his princes after meeting God, he can but break forth into jubilant praise of Israel. Curse it he cannot. The people has a destiny of its own which parts it from the surrounding nations. The Israelite hosts N. of Arnon are the token of a mightier multitude unborn. All individual desire loses itself in the sense of Israel's greatness. Happy is he who dies in Jeshurun, and, dying, knows that his people is immortal! In vain Balak changes the seer's place of outlook. As Balaam beholds all Israel from the top of PISGAH,[2] he receives a divine oracle which confirms and transcends the former blessing. God, says Balaam, is not a man: he does not change his mind. Nor can trouble touch Israel, for Yahwè himself reigns in their midst; and the people (if we may trust the reading[3]) greet this divine king with exultant shout. With the strength of a wild-ox, they fling their foes to the ground. No magical arts avail in Israel's case: even now all has been decided, and one can but cry 'What has God done!' Like a lion, Israel rises up to devour the prey.

Again sacrificial rites are performed, and again Balaam has to disappoint the king (see PEOR). The third prophecy (J), together with some striking parallels to the second,[4] has characteristic features of its own.

3. Oracles 3 and 4 [J]. The poet still dwells on the numbers and prowess of Israel, but adds a panegyric of its well-watered and fruitful land, and surprises us by a definite mention of the kingly power as distinct from the reign of Yahwè. The king of **Israel** is described as raised even above AGAG (*q.v.*). Still more definite is the fourth prophecy. The seer beholds in spirit the rise of David, and chaunts the victories which are to crush Moab and subdue Edom.

The basis of the story of Balaam is evidently a patriotic legend, which, as we now have it, presupposes a comparatively advanced historical period.

4. Origin of story. It is true, the story of the ass, which sees the angel invisible to man, and speaks (Nu. 2222-34; cp *2* Pe. 216), has *a* highly primitive flavour.[5] Still, this story, though welded with some psychological skill into the surrounding narrative, is a decoration derived from folklore, and the narrative as a whole is designed to accentuate the uselessness of jealous and rebellious feelings in the Ammonitish and Edomitish neighbonrs of Israel. Ammon and Edom

[1] The word 'confection' here used in the RVmg. refers everywhere else in EV to perfumes or spices (Ex. 30 35, RV 'perfume'; 1 Ch. 9 30, AV 'ointment,' RV 'confection'; Ecclus. 38 *8)*; cp the 'confectionaries' or perfume-compounders of 1 S. 8 13.

[2] 2256; read עַמּוֹן for עַמּוֹ with Di. after **Sam.** Pesh. Vg., and some Heb. MSS. For a third view, however, see PETHOR.

[3] Nu. 22 19-21*a* belongs to E. The reason why Balaam went **is** not told in the extant portions of J.

[4] The Elohistic account of the prophecies must, however, have made some reference to Moab, and must therefore, have contained more than is now given in chap. 23.'

[1] It is Balak, not Balaam, who sacrifices, 'Balak and Balaam' in Nu. 23 2 should evidently be omitted (as in 𝔊BAL).

[2] This is certainly E's meaning in Nu. 23 13*a*. The second part of ***v.*** 13, which limits Balaam's range of vision to 'the utmost part of the people,' must be due to a redactor. Its object is to harmonise *v.* 13 *a* [E] with 24 2 (J), which tells us that Balaam is *now* taking his first complete view of the people of Israel. In reality, however. ***v.* 136** destroys the progress which E intended from 22 41 to 23 13. Since **a** limited view of Israel had not resulted in the utterance of **a** curse, Balak deemed it necessary to try the effect of the wider outlook from Pisgah.

[3] Cheyne, however, reads ותפארת, 'and the glory of the king is among them.'

[4] It is doubtful, however, whether Nu. 23 22 23 is not a Yahwistic fragment (see Bacon, *Triple Tradition*, 228, and cp Di.'s note). According to Cheyne, תפארת occurs both in *v.* 21 d and in ***v.*** 22 *b*.

[5] Cp the Babylonian beast-stories, the speaking horse in Hom. *Il.* 19 404, and the speaking serpent in Genesis.

were older as nations; but Israel alone had secured permanent foothold W. of Jordan, and for a time reduced the oldest nationalities to vassalage. The story of Balaam points out that Yahwè had ordained these privileges of Israel long before. The Moabitish king and the Ammonitish, Arabian,' or Aramæan soothsayer had striven to turn aside the irreversible decree, and Yahwè had turned the very means they took into the instrument by which he announced the triumphs and the unique destiny of his people.

It is much harder to fix the date and origin of the poems. We can scarcely attribute them without reserve to J and E, for the points of contact between the prophecies (cp especially 23 22 and 24 8) suggest that an ancient poem has been expanded and changed in diverse ways. The kernel of the poem may go back to the early days of the kingdom,—even, it may be, to those of Solomon. The national fortune is painted in glowing colours, and the historical references stop short at David, who was the only king to conquer both Moab and Edom. On the other hand, the clear sense of Israel's separateness from the nations (23 9) had not arisen, so far as is known, before the time of the literary prophets, and the phraseology does not permit us to place the poems, as we now have them, earlier:

5. Origin of poems.

The appendix (24 20-24), at any rate, is generally admitted to be comparatively modern (note the exaggeration respecting the Amalekites). The structure shows that the oracles are from one hand (cp 24 20, end, with *v.* 24, end). The writer was quite familiar with the Assyrian power, and speaks of the deportation of the Kenites by the Assyrians. He speaks of the Kenites, rather than more famous peoples, because he considers them to be (like the Amalekites; cp 1 S. 15 6) within Balaam's horizon. He also (if the text of 24 24 be correct) predicts that Assyria in its turn will be destroyed by ships from CHITTIM (*q.v.*). Was he thinking of the Persian empire (Assyria = Persia, Ezra 6 22), and its overthrow by Alexander the Great (cp 1 Macc. 1 1)? The theory has been widely accepted, and much controversy as to the limits of prophecy has grown out of it. It seems bolder than the evidence as a whole warrants (see Di.), and it has lately been pointed out that 'they shall afflict' (ענו, *v.* 24) is a misreading which has arisen out of the loss of an ethnic name in *v.* 23. Analogy requires that the last of the three little oracles in *vv.* 22-24 should begin thus:

6. The appendix.

> **And he saw . . . and began his oracle, and said,**
> **Alas who will live (survive) of . . .**

And the discoveries of the Tell of Zenjirli enable us to 'restore the missing name, which was, not 'Samuel' (שמואל, as many MSS and some editions), but 'Sham'al.' Then in *v.* 24 we may continue:

> **And there shall be ships from the direction of Cyprus,**
> **And Assyria shall afflict him (ענו), and Eher shall afflict him,**
> **And he too (shall come) to destruction.**[2]

The kingdom of Sham'al in NW. Syria was not *so* very far from Balaam's native place Pethor. (The *poet*, at any rate, placed Pethor in Aram.) That it was destroyed by Assyrians and peoples from the other side of the Euphrates (= Eber), and plundered by shipmen from Cyprus, was probably within the recollection of the author, who is, therefore, not to be regarded as post-exilic. Assyria may have been no longer at the height of its prosperity, but was still a conquering power.[1]

We have passing notices of Balaam in Josh. 24 9 (E_2) and in Dt. 23 4 *f.*, cp Neh. 13 1 *f.* (see AMMONITES, § 3). In Dt. *l.c.*, as in E, he is an Aramæan from Mesopotamia, hired to curse Israel; but Yahwè turned his curse into a blessing. The Priestly Writer represents Balaam in a much more unfavonrable light, Nu. 31 8 16 Josh. 13 22 (cp Nu. 25 6-18). He is a sorcerer, at whose instigation the Midianite women seduced the Israelites into sensual idolatry; and he died in the battle between the Israelites and the Midianites. Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 6 6) dwells at great length on the corrupting advice of Balaam, given in the first instance (cp Rev. 2 14) to Balak, and in Rabbinical literature Balaam is the type of false teachers (*Aboth*, 5 19; cp Rev. *l.c.*) and sorcerers. Cp also 2 Pet. 2 15 Jude 11. For Arabic parallels to the efficacy of Balaam's oracles, see Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, 26 *ff.*

7. Allusions to Balaam.

8. Literature. See Di.'s *Comm.* and cp Tholuck, 'Die Gesch. Bileams,' *Vermischte Schriften*, 1 406-432; Oort, *Disput. de Nu. xxii.-xxiv.*, 1860; Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. 1, 1877: Kue. *Theol. Tijd.* 18 497-540 ['84]; van Hoonacker, 'Observations critiques concernant Bileam,' *Le Muséon*, 1888; Halévy, Rev. *sém.* 1894, pp. 201-209; Schr. *COT* 1 143-145; We. *CH* 346 *ff.*; Kit. *Hist.* 1 202, 214, 229; Kautzsch, *Abriss* (sketch of literature appended to *HS*), 143; Hommel, *GBA* 9; Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899, pp. 399-402.

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BALAC (Βαλακ [Ti. WH]), Rev. 2 14. See BALAK.

BALADAN (בַּלְאֲדָן), 2 K. 20 12 Is. 39 1. See MERODACH-BALADAN.

BALAH (בָּלָה), Josh. 19 3. See BAALAH, 2.

BALAK (בָּלָק, Βαλακ [BAL]; *BALAC*), b. Zippor, an early king of Moab (Nu. 22-24 Judg. 11 25, and elsewhere; cp Rev. 2 14, BALAC), inseparably connected with Balaam. For the alliteration cp Jabal and Jubal, Bera and Birsha, Eldad and Medad, etc. See BALAAM.

BALAMO, RV **Balamon** (Βαλαμων [BℵA]), Judith 8 3. See BELMEN.

BALANCE. (1) *Mōzĕnáim* (מֹאזְנַיִם,—the dual refers to the two *ear-like* pendants[2]) are scales for weighing money (Jer. 32 10), hair (Ez. 5 1, מאזני מִשְׁקָל), etc.; cp the metaphor of weighing calamity (Job 6 2), men (Ps. 62 9 [10], cp Dan. 5 27),[3] and hills (Is. 40 12). The dust of the balance is a simile for an insignificant or negligible quantity (Is. 40 15). The frequent metaphor of a just or even balance (מ' צֶדֶק, Lev. 19 36, cp Job 31 6 Ez. 45 10; מ' מִשְׁפָּט, Prov. 16 11, RV 'scales'), as opposed to one that is false (מ' מִרְמָה, Prov. 11 1, cp 20 23 Am. 8 5 Hos. 12 7 [8]; מ' רֶשַׁע, Mic. 6 11), is analogous to the well-known Heb. and Aram. idiom which expresses honour and integrity by the simile of 'heaviness' (cp כָּבֵד and

(2) For *kind*, קָנֶה (Is. 46 6: only here in this sense), see REED, 1, n. Other words are (3) *péles*, פֶּלֶס, Prov. 16 11 RV, AV 'weight,' Is. 40 12 (σταθμός [BℵAQ]), EV 'scales'; cp the verb in Ps. 58 2 [3]; but hardly מפלשׂי in Job 37 16, 'the balancings (מפלשׂ) of the clouds?' (see Budde). (4) ζυγόν, Rev. 6 5, frequent in 𝔊 for the above.

The balances used in Palestine were probably similar to those found on Egyptian monuments. One type consists of an upright pole rising from a broad base with

[1] See above, § 1, second paragraph. Cp Gen. 36 32, and see BELA (2), MIZRAIM.

[2] The importance of this correction will appear if we compare the alternative explanation of Hommel (*AHT* 245 *f.*), which produces the following most unnatural and unworthy distich:

> 'Jackals (אִיִּים) shall come from the north
> And wild cats (צִיִּים) from the coast of Kittim,'

where 'jackals' and 'wild cats' are figurative expressions for wild invaders, and Kittim is, Hommel says, 'the familiar term for the Hittites (var. chittim).' See ASSHURIM, EBER.

[1] Che. *Expositor*, 1896, pp. 77-80 (following D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, 1 215 *f.*).

[2] In Ar. *mīzān* with *e*, whereas *uḏn* (= אֹזֶן) has *ḏ*; see Fränkel, 198.

[3] Cp Phœn. בעלפלס, 'B. hath weighed out.'

[4] Cp the deprecation of unfair weights (אֲבָנִים, lit. 'stones') in Lev. 19 35 Prov. 11 1 Mic. 6 11.

cross beams turning upon a pin. An arm on either side ended in a hook to which the article to be weighed was attached in bags (cp Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2246, fig. 415, 5 *d*, see BAG, 1). Small ones of a particularly ingenious nature, as well as hand-scales, are found (Wilk. 1 285 fig. 95). Above the pole is sometimes placed the figure of a baboon representing Thoth the regulator of measures. The steelyard (in Egypt) does not seem to have been known until the Roman period.

BALASAMUS (Βααλσαμος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 43 = Neh. 8 4. MAASEIAH, 15.

BALD LOCUST (סָלְעָם; ἀττάκης [BAFL]). The *sol'ām* is apparently a species of edible locust, or a locust in a particular stage of growth. See further LOCUST, 2.

BALDNESS. See CUTTINGS, § 1; HAIR.

BALM (צְרִי or צֹרִי; ῥητίνη [PIT. AEF] ῥιτηνη [E' once]: cp Ezek. 27 17 AV^mg. 'rosin'; Vg. *resina* Gen. 37 25 43 11, Jer. 8 22 46 11 51 8, Ezek. 27 17), a valuable product of Palestine, the identification of which has given much trouble.

1. OT Ṣŏrī. EV's rendering, 'balm,' is an unfortunate inheritance from Coverdale's Bible (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). Let us look first at the Hebrew name צְרִי (*ṣŏrī*). The Arabic *ḍarw* or *ḍirw*[1] is identical with it, and since the root means to 'drip' or 'bleed,' the product referred to must be *resinous*, but it need not be *aromatic*. From the *OT* notices we learn that *ṣŏrī* (EV 'balm') was found abundantly in Gilead, that it was in early times exported thence to Egypt (Gen. 37 25), was sufficiently prized to form an appropriate gift to a lord of that country (Gen. 43 11), was applied as a remedy for violent pain (Jer. *ll. cc.*), and was among the chief products of Palestine that were brought into the Tyrian market (Ez. 27 17).

Next, we must point out that the modern commercial name 'balm of Gilead' has, like the botanical specific name *Gileadense*, no foundation but the hypothesis that the substance so designated is the OT '*ṣŏrī* of Gilead'; and that from the earliest times resins and turpentines have been used in medicine, as stimulants and as antiseptics for wounds, and as counter-irritants for pain. The *ṣŏrī* (EV 'balm') of Jer. 8 22 46 11 is clearly a local product in Gilead; its association with *mōr* (EV 'myrrh') in Gen. 37 25 43 11 proves that it was a valuable article of commerce.

2. Probably = mastic. It has been shown elsewhere (BALSAM) that the so-called 'balsam of Mecca,' produced by the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, is most probably not the '*ṣŏrī* of Gilead' but the Hebrew *mōr*, which EV mistakenly renders 'myrrh' (see BALSAM, MYRRH). *Ṣŏrī* (EV balm), then, must be something else.

(1) Arabic usage is in favour of the rendering of RV^mg. Gen. 37 25 etc., MASTIC—*i.e.*, the resin yielded by the mastic tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*.

This tree 'is a native of the Mediterranean shores, and is found in Portugal, Morocco, and the Canaries' (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacogr.*, 161). According to Tristram (*NHB* 362), it is extremely common in all the Mediterranean countries, especially on the African coasts and in the Greek islands, where it overruns whole districts for many miles. Tristram states, also, that it is indigenous in all parts of Palestine, though, according to Post (Hastings, *BD* 236 *a*), it is not now to be found E. of the Jordan. The mastic of commerce is mainly derived from the Isle of Scio. Down to the seventeenth century mastic was an ingredient of many medicines. Unlike most resins, it readily softens with moderate heat, even that of the mouth.

As the Arabic word *ḍarw* (or *ḍirw*) is used mainly of this tree and its products, we are not rash in concluding that a substance of this kind is intended in the biblical passages, though it seems unnecessary to limit צְרִי *ṣŏrī* to the resin of *P. Lentiscus*: it may include the resins of the *terebinth* (*P. Terebinthus*) and *Aleppo pine* (*Pinus halepensis*; see ASH). The former yields 'Chian turpentine,' which has recently been brought into notice as an alleged remedy for cancer. According to Tristram (*op. cit.* 400), the terebinth is not now tapped for turpentine in Palestine, 'where the inhabitants seem to be ignorant of its commercial value.' There is abundant evidence of the medicinal use of these resins in antiquity (see Movers, *Phön. Alt.* iii. 1223).

(2.) *Balanites ægyptiaca*, called *zakkūm* by the Arabs (Tristram, *op. cit.* 336), yields an oil 'prepared by the Arabs of Jericho and sold in large quantities to the pilgrims as balm of Gilead.' This, however, was the περσέα of Greek writers, and clearly, therefore, distinguished by them from βάλσαμον or ῥητίνη. It is merely a modern substitute.

(3.) Lastly must be mentioned Lagarde's view that Gr. στύραξ = צְרִי (*ṣŏrī*). There is great probability in this identification of the words, for στ- is employed in several instances to transliterate צ (*ṣ*); but evidence is wanting to connect צְרִי with the substance στύραξ, which seems to have been called in Hebrew לִבְנֶה (*libhneh*). See further STORAX.

W. T. T.-D.—N. M.

[1] The Syriac *ṣarwā* must be a loan-word from Arabic (Lag. *Mitth.* 1 234).

BALNUUS (Βαλνουος [B], Βαλνουος [A]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30. BINNUI, 4.

BALSAM appears in RV^mg., once for בֶּשֶׂם *bāsām* (Cant. 5 1†, ἀρώματα), and twice in rendering the phrase עֲרוּגַת הַבֹּשֶׂם *'arugath habbōsem*, 'bed of balsam' (Cant. 5 13 6 2, φιάλαι τοῦ ἀρώματος). RV text and AV have 'spice,' 'bed of spices.'

1. Heb. bāsām. The verb (in Aram. *bĕsém*) signifies to 'have pleasure,' 'be attracted by desire,'[1] and in Heb. the nominal forms[2] denote enjoyment connected with one particular sense—that of smell. From one or other of the Semitic forms comes Gr. βάλσαμον. Although *bašām* and *bōsem* in the above passages *may* have the general sense of spice or perfume,[3] it is more probable that, like *bašām* and βάλσαμον, they denote the balsam tree or plant *par excellence*. We now know that the proper source of Mecca balsam is *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* (see § 4); and a tree of this kind seems to be intended in the passages from ancient writers which are here summarised.

2. Ancient References.

(*a*) Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 9 6) has a long passage about the production of balsam. It is produced, he says, 'in the hollow about Syria' (ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι τῷ περὶ Συρίαν). This phrase Stackhouse explains from Strabo as meaning Κοίλη-Συρία; but at the present day *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* does not grow farther N. than Suākim; it is essentially a tropical plant. Theophrastus, who is so minutely accurate in all his other details (note his happy expression φύλλον δὲ . . . ὅμοιον πηγάνῳ, 'with leaves like rue'), cannot have meant what Stackhouse supposes. It is certain, however, that the term CŒLE-SYRIA [*q.v.*] in the Greek period had a wider application, and Veslingius (*Opobalsami Vindiciæ* 243) rightly remarks, 'Vallem hic intelligendam esse Hierichubtis . . . persuademur.' The fruit, Theophrastus continues, resembles the terminth (turpentine) in size, shape, and colour. The 'tear' is gathered from an excision made with iron at the season when the stems and the upper parts are tensest (πνίγη). The odour is very strong; the twigs also are very sweet-smelling. No wild balsam is met with anywhere. The unmixed juice is sold for twice its weight in silver; even the mixed, which is often met with in Greece, is singularly fragrant.

circa 322 B.C.

(*b*) Strabo (763) is somewhat less full; but there can be no doubt that it is the Mecca balsam plant which he describes as grown in a παράδεισος at Jericho. He says that it is shrub-like (θαμνῶδες), resembling cytisus and terminth, and sweet-smelling. The juice is obtained by means of incisions in the bark; it is very much like a viscous milk (γλίσχρῳ γάλακτι) and solidifies when stored in little shells (κογχάρια). He praises its medicinal use, and says that it is produced nowhere else.

24 B.C.

Diodorus Siculus (2 48) mentions 'a certain hollow' in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea as the habitat of the balsam, and adds that great revenue is derived from this plant, because it is met with nowhere else in the world, and is of great value to physicians.

8 B.C.

Pliny too (*HN* 12 25) affirms that the balsam plant is confined

[1] Curiously enough, Ar. *basima* has the contrary sense of *loathing* (see Lag. *Uebers.* 143); but *bašām* denotes the balsam tree.

[2] Heb. does not possess the verb.

[3] See SPICE. *Besem* is the word used in 1 K. 10 2 10 25 (Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon).

to Judaea. 'In former times it was cultivated only in two gardens, both of them royal; one of them was no more than twenty jugera in extent, and the other less. The emperors Vespasian and Titus had this shrub exhibited at Rome; . . . it bears a much stronger resemblance to the vine [*i e.*, in the stems; here Pliny seems to borrow from Trogus Pompeius] than to the myrtle. The leaf bears a very close resemblance to that of [rue][1] and it is an evergreen. . . . At the present day it is cultivated by the fiscal authorities, and the plants were never known to be mpre numerous. They never exceed a couple of cubits in height.

70 A.D.

Josephus makes several references to the balsam. He says (*Ant.* viii. F6) that the first routs of balsam (ὀποβαλσάμου) were brought to Palestine by the queen of Sheba. To give an idea of the site of Pompey's camp (at Jericho), he says it is where that balsam (ὀποβάλσαμον) which is of all unguents (μῦρα) the chief grows, and describes how the juice (ὀπός) is obtained (*Ant.* xiv. 4 1). Again, when speaking of the districts around Jericho assigned to Cleopatra, he speaks of the preciousness of this plant, which grows there alone (*Ant.* xv. 42). Lastly, in a second reference to Pompey, he says that the region of Jericho bears the balsam tree (βάλσαμον), whose stems (πρέμνα) were cut with sharp stones, upon which the juice 'drops down like tears' (*BJ* i. 6 6).

90 A.D.

Trogus, an author of the time of Augustus, is reproduced by Justin (36 3). He describes the closely shut-in valley in which alone the opobalsamum grows; the name of the place is Jericho (Hierichus). 'In that valley is a wood, notable alike for its fertility and its pleasantness, being adorned with a palm grove and opobalsamum. The opobalsamum trees have a form like pine trees (*piceis*), except that they are less tall (*magis humiles*), and are cultivated after the manner of vineyards. These at a certain time of the year sweat balsam.'

1st cent. A.D.

It is remarkable that the Greek and the Roman writers dwell so constantly on the uniqueness of the balsam-tree of Jericho.

3. Balsam in Arabia. Some of them, at any rate (*e.g.*, Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus), were not unaware that the plant grew on the coasts of Arabia; and Josephus, in his legendary style, actually attributes to importation from Arabia its presence in Palestine (*Ant.* viii. 66). No doubt this is substantially correct. Prosper Alpinus (*De Balsamo*, 1592) and Veslingius (*Opobalsami Vindiciæ*, 1643) long ago investigated the subject. In the time of the former, balsam plants were brought to Cairo from Arabia; Alpinus himself (*op. cit.* 64) apparently possessed a living specimen. The Arabic writer 'Abdallaṭīf (*d.* 1231) also speaks of the balsam tree as in Egypt at 'Ain Shems ('Fountain of the Sun')—*i.e.*, in the gardens of Maṭarīya, close to Heliopolis. It was about a cubit high, and had two barks; the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. When the latter was macerated in the mouth, it left an oily taste, and an aromatic odour. Incisions were made in the barks, and the amount of balsam oil obtained formed a tenth part of all the liquid collected.[2] The last balsam tree cultivated in Egypt died in 1615; but two were alive in 1612. This was the only place in Egypt where the balsam tree would grow. We can well understand, therefore: that the neighbourhood of Jericho was the only habitat of the tree in Palestine.

It would, however, be unreasonable to suppose that the needs of the luxurious class in Palestine in pre-Roman times were altogether supplied from Jericho.

4. Probably = OT *mōr* EV *myrrh*. The precious unguent derived from the balsam tree, not less than the costly frankincense, was doubtless always one of the chief articles brought by Arabian caravans. The tree that produces the so-called 'balsam of Mecca' is the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*. This tree, as Schweinfurth reports,[3] 'averages above 15 ft. in height, possesses a yellow papery exfoliating bark, and produces thin, grayish black twigs, from the ends of which a small quantity of balsam exudes.' 'It is widely distributed over the coast territory of Arabia, the adjacent islands, and S. Nubia'; hut 'the balsam is collected only in the valleys near Mecca.' It is thus described by Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* 1317): 'Balsam of Mecca, when freshly imported into Bombay, is a greenish turbid fluid of syrupy, consistence, having a very grateful odour, something like oil of rosemary.' Jewish tradition seems to have held that Mecca balsam is what the OT writers call *ṣŏrī*—whence the rendering 'balm' of AV and RV (text); but the tradition was impugned long ago by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 2 51), and does not agree with the use of the Arabic cognate word *ḍarw* (mastic; see BALM, 1). Schweinfurth holds that the OT name for Mecca balsam was not *ṣŏrī* (EV balm, perhaps really mastic; see BALM, 1), nor *bōsem* (see above, § 1), but *mōr* (see MYRRH). Certainly *mōr* was (like Mecca balsam) strongly aromatic and also a *liquid* substance (Ex. 30 23 Cant. 5 5 13), whilst the OT references do not necessarily imply that *ṣŏrī* was aromatic. It is not unlikely that both *bōsem* (§ 1) and *mōr* mean Mecca balsam. (Cp *Kew Bulletin* for Mar.-Apr. 1896, p. 89.) See MYRRH. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.—T. K. C.

[1] *Rutæ* in old editions; but Mayhoff prefers *tuburi* (*tuberi*).
[2] See 'Abdallaṭīf, ed. De Sacy, 88 (Budge, *The Nile*, 181).
[3] We quote from a *résumé* of his researches in *Pharm. Journ.* April 1894, p. 897.

BALSAM TREES (בְּכָאִים; RV^mg. 2 S. 5 23 1 Ch. 14 14 Ps. 84 6). See MULBERRY.

BALTHASAR, RV **Baltasar** (ΒΑΛΤΑΣΑΡ [BAQΓ]), Bar. 1 11 *f.* See BELSHAZZAR.

BAMAH (בָּמָה, Ez. 20 29). See HIGH PLACES, § 5.

BAMOTH (בָּמוֹת; ΒΑΜΩΘ [RAFL]), a station of the Israelites between NAHALIEL (*q.v.*) and 'the glen (𝔊^A νάπη) which is in the field [plateau] of Moab, [by] the summit of [the] Pisgah, etc.' (Nu. 21 19). Eus. (*OS* 101 22) describes it as 'on the Arnon' (like Nahaliel), which must be wrong. See BAMOTH-BAAL.

BAMOTH-BAAL (בָּמוֹת בַּעַל—*i.e.*, 'the high places of Baal') lay in the Moabite territory (see Nu. 22 41, RV; ΣΤΗΛΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΑΛ [BAFL]), to the north of the Arnon, and was assigned to Reuben (Josh. 13 17: ΒΑΙΜΩΝ ΒΑΑΛ [B], ΒΑΜΩΘ Β. [AL]). The order of enumeration in Nu. 21 19 *f.*, where it is called simply BAMOTH, leads to the supposition (so Di.) that it must have lain somewhere on or near the Jebel 'Aṭṭārūs, on the south side of the Wady Zerḳā Ma'in (cp Is. 15 2: 'the high places'). Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 144) and G. A. Smith (*HG* 562), however, find the Bamoth in the dolmens immediately north of el-Maslūbīyeh, near the Wādy Jideid. The Beth Bamoth of the Moabite stone is perhaps the same place (cp BAJITH); but this whole region is thickly strewn with the remains of ancient altars and other religious monuments (Conder, *op cit.* 140 *ff.*). The name Bamoth-baal is suggested also by Nu. 21 28, where the בַּעֲלֵי בָּמוֹת אַרְנֹן (EV 'lords of the high places of Arnon'—but see 𝔊) are mentioned in parallelism with Ar of Moab. G. A. S.

BAN, RV^mg. BAENAN (ΒΑΝ [A], ΒΑΕΝΑΝ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 37 = Ezra 2 60, TOBIJAH, 2.

BAN (חֵרֶם), to Ban (הֶחֱרִים).

1. Terms. 𝔊 renders by ἀνάθεμα, ἀνάθημα, ἀνατεθεματισμένον, and in a few instances ἀπωλεία and other words denoting destruction; ἀναθεματίζειν and more rarely ἀνατιθέναι once 1 Esd. 9 4, ἀνιεροῦν, ἐξολοθρεύειν, and in a few instances other verbs denoting 'kill' or 'destroy.' Vg. has *anathema, consecratio*, etc.; *occido, consumo, consecro*, etc. AV translates *curse, utterly destroy, accursed thing*, etc.; RV, *devote, utterly destroy, devoted thing.*

The root *ḤRM* in Hebrew denotes devoting anything to Yahwè by destroying it: *ḥērem* is any person or thing thus devoted. The root is found in a similar sense in all the Semitic languages, of sacred things which men are partly or wholly forbidden to use. It is especially common in Arabic: *e.g.*, the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina is *ḥaram*, and the *ḥarīm* (harem) is ground forbidden to all men other than the master and his eunuchs. It may be noted that the exclusive use of the root in the strong sense of devoting by destroying is characteristic of Hebrew (and of the dialect spoken by the Moabites; see §§ 3 *f.*), and that in other languages *ḥrm* bears a meaning more nearly approaching טָמֵא (unclean), קָדֹשׁ (consecrated).

(*a*) Idols are ḥērem in themselves. In Dt. 7 25 the Israelites are ordered to burn all heathen idols and not to bring them into their houses. The idols are ḥērem, and make those who keep them herem.

2. Law of Ḥērem.

(6) Public ḥērem. The Israelites or their rulers are ordered to treat as ḥērem in certain circumstances, guilty citizens or obnoxious enemies. In Ex. 22 19[20] (Book of the Covenant, E) any one sacrificing to any deity other than Yahwb is to be made ḥērem. *So* in substance Dt. 13 6-11, though the term ḥērem does not occur till *v.* 16. In Dt. 13 13-19 [12-18] any idolatrous Israelite city is to be made herem : all living things are to be killed and 'all its spoil' is to be burnt. *So* far, in **(a)** as in (*b*), the ḥērem is something abominable in itself and distasteful to God. Its destruction is a religious duty, and an acceptable service to Yahwè. Similarly, in Dt. 20 16-18 all Canaanite cities are to be made ḥērem, that they may not seduce Israel to idolatry. In Dt. 20 10-14, if any distant city refuses to surrender when summoned, all the males are to be slain, and all other persons and things may be taken as spoil. The term 'herem' is not used in that paragraph, and is perhaps not applicable to it. (c) We gather from certain passages that individuals might devote some possession to destruction as a kind of service to Yahwb, and that also is called herem (see VOW). In a section of P concerning vows, Lev. 27, two verses (28 *f.*) deal with this individual ḥērem. Other vows may be redeemed; but individual (like public) herem must be destroyed—it may not be sold or redeemed : it is most holy (*ḳōdesh ḳŏdāshīm*) unto Yahwb. Among the objects which an individual may make ḥērem, men are specially mentioned : they must be put to death. It is startling to find such a provision in one of the latest strata of the Pentateuch. Possibly only criminals could be made ḥērem ; or the text may be fragmentary. Cp Dillmann and Kalisch on Lev. 27 28 29.

In Josh. 6 24 we have a provision that metal hhem (obviously because indestructible) is to be pnt into the treasury of the sanctuary. By an extension of this principle, Nu. 18 14 (P) and Ez. 44 29 ordain that ḥērem shall be the property of the priests.

3. Practice.

Ḥērem is met with in Hebrew literature in all periods. The sweeping statements that all Canaanite cities E. and W. of the Jordan were made herem are late generalisations; but Nu. 21 2 (JE) and Judg. 1 17 (J), though otherwise discrepant, agree that the city on whose site Hormah was built was made ḥērem. Other instances of ḥērem are Jabesh-gilead (Judg. 21 10 *f.*), Jericho (rebuilding forbidden under supernatural penalty, Josh. 6 26 *f.*), the Amalekites (1 S. 15), and the children of Ham at Gedor (1 Ch. 4 41). Similar cases—in regard to which, however, the term ḥērem is not used—are Gibeah and Benjamin (Judg. 20) and Saul's attempt to execute Jonathan (1 S. 14 24-46). On the Moabite stone (*l.* 16 *f.*) Mesha' says that he made the whole Israelite populace of Nebo ḥērem to Ashtarchemosh. The prophets speak of Israel or Yahwè making ḥērem of enemies (Is. 34 2 etc.) or of enemies' property (Mic. 4 13), or, conversely, of the heathen (Jer. 25 9), or Yahwè (Is. 43 28), making herem of Israel. In the later literature the root *ḥrm* often only means exterminate (2 Ch. 20 23). The old meaning, however, was not quite forgotten, and in Ezra 10 8, if any Jew failed to obey Ezra's summons to Jerusalem, his property was to be made herem and he himself excommunicated. In post-biblical Hebrew ḥērem came to mean excommunication as well as property set apart for the priests and the temple (Levy and Jastrow's Dictionaries, *s.v.*; S. Mandl, ***Der Bann***, '98, pp. 24-51) See, further, EXCOMMUNICATION.

4. Origin and parallels.

The character of ḥērem, the diffusion of the root in a similar sense throughout Semitic languages, and its use in the Hebrew sense by the Moabites, show that it was an ancient Semitic institution belonging to Israel in common with its kinsmen. Stade *(Gesch.* 1 490) holds that a Semitic people besieging a city vowed to make it ḥērem to their god in order to secure his aid. Moreover, the idea of ḥērem—as the use of the root in allied languages shows—was kindred to that of sanctity and uncleanness. Like these, it was contagious (cp CLEAN, §§ 2, **14)** : the possessor of hhem became hhem (Dt. 7 26 Josh. 6 18; Achan). OT legislation, as we have seen, converts the bribe to a venal deity into a legitimate penalty. The various degrees of severity are not important in relation to the principle.

Ḥērem has something in common with taboos, especially in its fatal effect on its possessor—*e.g.*, in New Zealand tabooed food is fatal to any one who eats it (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. 'Taboos') ;—but it is not *so* closely allied to taboos as the idea of uncleanness (טמא; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 450 *ff.*). The Arab *ḥarīm* often assimilates to ḥērem : *e.g.*, clothes used at the circuit of the Ka'aba are *ḥarīm*, and may not be worn or sold. Cp also the Roman ceremony of *devotio*, by which an enemy was devoted to destruction as an offering to the infernal gods (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* 124, 466). The instance of Kirrha and the Amphictyonic council, in which the cultivation of land laid under a curse was made the pretext for a holy war, may also be compared with the case of Jericho. W. H. B.

BANAIAS (Βαναιας [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 35 = Ezra 10 43, BENAIAH, 10.

BAND. 1. In the sense of a troop or company of men, soldiers, etc. (see ARMY, § 3).

The rendering of *'ăgappīm*, אֲגַפִּים (prop. wings, cp Bab. *agappu*), Ez. 12 14, etc.; *gĕdūd*, גְּדוּד, 1 K. 11 24 AV 2 K. 13 21, etc.; *ḥayil*, חַיִל (prop. force), 1 S. 10 26 AV Ezra 8 22; *maḥăneh*, מַחֲנֶה, Gen. 32 7 [8] **AV** (prop. camp), see MAHANAIM; aiid *rōš*, רֹאשׁ, 1 Ch. 12 23 AV Job 1 17; 'by bands,' **Pr.** 30 27, represents **a** participle חֹצֵץ, *ḥōṣēṣ*, 'dividing (itself).' In this sense the common **Gr.** word is σπεῖρα (cp Mt. 27 27 **Mk.** 15 16, etc.), 'cohort' (so RVmg., Acts 10 1).

2. In the sense of a ribbon.

So *ḥēšebh*, חֵשֶׁב, Ex. 28 8, RV 'cunningly woven band'; AV 'curious girdle.

3. Finally, to denote anything that connects or encloses, the following words (also rendered 'bonds,' etc.) are employed.

'Ēsūr, אֵסוּר, Judg. 15 14, cp Aram. אֱסוּר, Dan. 4 15 23 [12 20]; *ḥebhel*, חֶבֶל, Ps. 119 61 (RV CORDS, *q.v.*), and esp. Zech. 11 7 14, where 'Bands' (mg. 'binders' or 'union') is the name of one of the prophets staves; *ḥarṣubbōth*, חַרְצֻבּוֹת, Is. 58 6 and Ps. 73 4 (RVmg. 'pangs,' doubtful); *mōṭāh*, מוֹטָה, Lev. 26 13 Ez. 34 27, RV 'bars' (AGRICULTURE, § 4); *mōsēr*, מוֹסֵר, Job 39 5 Ps. 2 3, *mōšĕkhōth*, מוֹשְׁכוֹת, Job 38 31†, *of* the 'bands' of Orion; see STARS, § 3*b*; *'ăbhōth*, עֲבֹת, Job 39 10, elsewhere (in plur.) rendered 'cords, 'ropes, etc.

BANI (בָּנִי, §§ 5, 52; cp Palm. and Nab. בני; probably shortened from BENAIAH, 'Yah hath built up'; cp Gen. 30 3 Dt. 25 9 Ruth 4 11, and see Haupt, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* Ap. 22 ['92]; Βαν[ε]ι [BℵAL], -αι [L], -αια [BL], -αιας [ℵAL], Βααν[ε]ι [Bℵ A]) is a frequently occurring name (chiefly post-exilic), and in some cases it is difficult to separate the persons bearing it; there is often confusion between it, the parallel names BUNNI and BINNUI [*qq.v.*], and the noun B'ne (בְּנֵי). See Mey. *Entsteh.* 142.

1. A Gadite, one of David's 'thirty'; 2 S. 23 36 (υἱὸς γαλααδδει [B], υἱ. γαδδι [A], *ut.* αγηρει [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 38, on which see HAGRI. Cp DAVID, 5 11 (ii.).

2. A family of Bne Bani occurs in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9 8*c*), Ezra 2 10 (βανου [B], -νι [A]) = Neh. 7 15 (βανουι [BℵA], -αιου [L]) AV BINNUI (*q.v.*) = 1 Esd. 5 12; and various members of it are enumerated in Ezra 10 29 (βανουει [Bℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 30 (μανει [BA]) EV MANI and among those who had married foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5) in Ezra 10 34-42 : viz., in *v.* 34 (Ανει [Bℵ], βαναιει [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 34 AV MAANI, RV BAANI, and in *v.* 38 (οἱ υἱοὶ βανουὶ [BℵA], βοννει, καὶ υἱοὶ

βοννει [L] = MT וּבָנִי וּבִנּוּי, EV BANI and BINNUI) = 1 Esd. 9 34 (EV BANNUS, ELIALI; *βαννους*, *Εδιαλεις* [B], *β.*, *Ελιαλει* [A], *βεννει. και υιοι βοννει* [L]). It is plausible, however, to correct Bani into BINNUI or perhaps Bigvai in *v.* 34 (cp 2 14). The family is also referred to on important occasions in Neh. 3 17 and 10 13 (*βανουια* [L]?) and as in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (1) *d*), 1 Esd. 6 36, AV BANID, RV BANIAS (*βανειας* [B], *-ναιας* [L], *-νι ασ-* [A]) = Ezra 8 10 (*υἱῶν* [*Σαλειμουθ*, B], *υἱ.* [*Σαλιμωθ*, L], *βαανις* [*ελειμμουθ'*., A^vid.]) where Bani should be restored in MT (see Be. *ad loc.*).

3. One of the expounders of the Law (Neh. 8 7; see EZRA ii. § 13 *f.*: cp i. § 8, ii. § 16 [5] 15 [1] *c*) who officiated at the institution of the 'congregation' (9 4 *f.*; see EZRA, ii. § 12, § 13 [*f.*]). In 9 4 (Bani Kadmiel; 𝔊BℵAL *υἱοὶ καδμιηλ*) the name is repeated, probably by an error (cp Ryssel); Grätz, after Pesh., reads Binnui for the second Bani. In 9 5 𝔊BℵA has simply *καδμιηλ*. Cp also Ezra 2 40 ('and Kadmiel of the children of Hodaviah') = Neh. 7 43 with 1 Esd. 5 26 (*καδμιηλου και βαννου* [A]). In Neh. 11 22, UZZI (5) b. Bani (*βονει* [ℵ^c.a], *βοννει* [L]) is called overseer of the Levites at Jerusalem.

4. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 14 [15] (*βαννι* [L]; *υἱοὶ βανι* [BℵA]; cp BUNNI, 1).

5. A Merarite; 1 Ch. 6 31 [46].

6. A Judahite; 1 Ch. 9 4 Kr. (𝔊BAL omit).

BANID, RV Banias (ΒΑΝΕΙΑC [B]), *i.e.*, BANI (*q.v.* 2 [end]).

BANISHMENT. On various forms of temporary or permanent exclusion from the community as a consequence of crime or ceremonial disqualification, see BAN, § 3; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 15 *f.*; SYNAGOGUE; EXCOMMUNICATION.

In 2 S. 14 14 allusion is made to Absalom in the word נִדָּח (EV 'banished'), elsewhere usually rendered 'outcast' ('outcasts' or 'dispersed of Israel'); see DISPERSION, § 1. The nature of the punishment threatened in Ezra 7 26 (שְׁרשׁוּ) RVmg. 'rooting out' (*παιδεία* [BA], *παιδεύειν* [L]) was already obscure to the editor of 1 Esd. (8 24: *τιμωρία* [BA], && [L]). Ezra 10 8 ('separated [יִבָּדֵל] from the congregation of the captivity') may give an explanation of the phrase.

BANK. For *sōlĕlāh*, סֹלְלָה, in 2 S. 20 15 2 K. 19 32 Is. 37 33 AV (elsewhere EV always MOUNT) and *χάραξ* in Lk. 19 43 (AV TRENCH, RVmg. PALISADE) see FORTIFICATION.

BANK (ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ, Lk. 19 23 EV), BANKER (ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΗC, Mt. 25 27 RV). See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BANNAIA (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΟΥC [A]), 1 Esd. 9 33 AV = Ezra 10 33, ZABAD, 5.

BANNAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 26 RV = Ezra 2 40, BANI, 3.

BANNEAS (ΒΑΝΝΑΙΑC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 26 RV = Ezra 10 25, BENAIAH, 7.

BANNER (אוֹת, דֶּגֶל, נֵס). See ENSIGNS, § 1, *a*, *b*, *c*.

BANNUS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 38, BANI, 2.

BANQUET, Banqueting House. See MEALS.

BANUAS (ΒΑΝΝΟΥ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 26, apparently a misprint for Bannas (so RV). See BANI (3).

BAPTISM (ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ, ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕΙΝ). Among the permanent witnesses to the birth of Christianity out of Judaism is the primary institution of the Christian Church, the rite of baptism. With the Jews the bathing of the whole body in pure cold water—if possible, in a running stream—was a recognised means of restoration from a state of ceremonial uncleanness. Passages like Num. 19 11 *f.*, 31 19, also Is. 1 16 Zech. 13 1, and especially Ezek. 36 24 *ff.*, may be compared. The pouring of water on the hands—a symbolic representation, perhaps, of baptism in a running stream—was a Pharisaic precaution insisted on before every meal (cp Mk. 7 3 Lk. 11 38). The Gentile, whose whole life had been ceremonially unclean, was required to submit to baptism among other conditions of his reception as a Jewish proselyte (Schurer, *Gesch.*(2) 2 569 *ff.*; 3rd ed. 3 129). See PROSELYTE, § 5.

1. Origin.

The connection between Jewish and Christian baptism is strikingly illustrated by the regulations prescribed for the latter in the *Didaché*, to be noticed presently; but, the ceremonial baptisms of Judaism, though they lie behind Christian baptism and exert an influence on its history, are not its immediate antecedent. The Jewish baptisms were the outcome of the Jewish distinction between clean and unclean—a distinction which was done away by Christianity (cp WASHINGS). Christian baptism is a purification, not from ceremonial, but from moral impurity. The historical link is found in the baptism of John in the river Jordan. John adapted the familiar ceremony of baptism to a moral purpose: his was 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,' a purification of the nation from that moral uncleanness of which ceremonial uncleanness was properly typical. It was by means of this development of its true significance that baptism was rescued from mere formalism, and prepared to become the initiatory rite of the new Christian society.

As Jesus' work took up John's, and as he himself had chosen to be baptized by John, it was natural that his first preaching of repentance should be coupled, like John's, with a baptism. It is significant, however, that he did not perform the rite himself: only his disciples did so (Jn. 4 1 *f.*). Christian baptism was not yet instituted; and when it came it was to add a spiritual element which John's baptism lacked. Meanwhile Jesus was indicating by his own action, and by his defence of the action of his disciples, that the frequent Pharisaic baptisms—the ceremonial washing of the hands, and the 'baptisms' of vessels and dishes (Mk. 7 4)—had no permanent claim on the conscience; and certain of his words are directly explained by one of the Evangelists as repealing altogether the ceremonial distinction of clean and unclean, and as 'cleansing all meats' (Mk. 7 19). Only when the whole purport of Jewish baptisms was annulled was the way clear for the institution of which was that it should be performed once for all, with no possibility of repetition.

On the day of Pentecost Peter answers the inquiries of the multitude in words which, whilst they recall the baptism of John, indicate the fuller significance of Christian baptism: 'Repent ye, and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2 38). About three thousand were thereupon added by baptism to the original band of believers. It is expressly stated that at Samaria, as the result of Philip's preaching, both men and women were baptized 'in the name of the Lord Jesus'; but the gift of the Holy Spirit did not follow until the arrival of Peter and John from Jerusalem (8 12-17). The eunuch after Philip's instructions asks for baptism; and 'they go down both together into the water' (8 36 38). Saul is baptized by Ananias at Damascus (9 16). When Peter preached to Cornelius and his friends 'the Holy Spirit fell on all that heard the word'; whereupon the apostle 'commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10 44 *ff.*). Special stress is laid on this incident as the first occasion of the baptism of Gentiles as such (10 45 11 18). It was justified by the apostle on the ground of the previous gift of the Holy Spirit, which was the baptism promised by Christ in contradistinction to John's baptism (11 16 *ff.*).

Baptism was thus recognised as the door of admission into the Christian Church for Jews and Gentiles alike; and certain disciples of the Baptist whom Paul found at Ephesus were baptized afresh 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (19 5). Of Lydia, the purple seller of Thyatira, found by Paul at Philippi, we read that she 'was baptized, and her household' (16 15); and of the Philippian gaoler, that he was baptized, 'he and all his straightway,'—*i.e.*, in the middle of the night (16 33). At Corinth a few of the earliest converts were baptized by Paul himself—Crispus, Gaius, and the household of

Stephanas ;—hut the apostle's language shows that this was'quite exceptional (1 Cor. 1 14-17). In 1 Cor. 15 29 Paul mentions a custom; apparently prevailing in Corinth, of vicarious baptism in behalf of the dead. He neither commends nor rebukes it, and it 'would seem to have soon died out.'

The earliest notice of the method of baptism is perhaps that which is found in the *Didaché*, and, as we have already said, it illustrates the recognition of a connection between the Jewish and the Christian baptisms.

2. Method.

The *Didaché*, here as elsewhere, is strongly anti-Judaic in its tone, and at the same time shows the influence of Jewish practices upon the community which it represents. The Mishna draws six distinctions in the kinds of wafer available for various purificatory purposes (*Mikwā'ōth* 1 1-8, qnoted by Schiirer, 2 403 *ff.*), and in certain cases it insists upon the full stream of running water, in which the whole body can be immersed. The *Didaché* (chap. 7) recognises 'living water'—*i.e.*, the running stream—'other water,' 'cold,' and 'warm' ; and finally allows. a triple pouring, where a sufficiency of any water for immersion cannot be had; but, though it indicates a preference in the order here given, it admits the validity of baptism under any of these conditions.

It is sometimes urged that, because βαπτίζειν means 'to dip,' Christian baptism must originally have been by immersion. In the NT, however, as in classical writers, the usual word for 'to dip' is βάπτειν (Lk. 16 24 Jn. 13 26). βαπτίζειν had a wider usage, and could be used even of a mere ceremonial handwashing, as we see from Lk. 11 38, 'he marvelled that he had not first washed (ἐβαπτίσθη) before dinner.' Already the partial ablution would seem to have been regarded as symbolical of the whole. It is difficult to suppose that the 3000 converts on the day of Pentecost could all have been baptized by immersion. Such a method is indeed presupposed as the ideal, at any rate, in Paul's words about death, burial, and resurrection in baptism (Rom. 6 3 *f.*) ; but pouring water on the head was in any case symbolical of immersion, and tantamount to it for ritual purposes.

(*a*) *In the Name*, not 'into the name.' Although εἰς is the preposition most frequently used, we find ἐν in Acts 2 38 10 48 ; and theinterchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the NT.

3. Formula.

Moreover, the expressiou is a Hebraism; cp ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Mt. 21 9 (= Ps. 118 26 בְּשֵׁם) ; so in the baptismal formula of Mt. 28 19 the Syr. version has ܒܫܡ (Lat. *in nomine*).

(*b*) *In the name of Jesus Christ*, or *of the Lord Jesus.* The former expression is used in Acts 2 38 10 48 ; the latter in Acts 8 16 19 5 ; cp also Acts 22 16, 'Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on his name.' From these passages, and from Paul's words in 1 Cor. 1 13 ('Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? '), it is natural to conclude that baptism was administered in the earliest times 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' or in that 'of the Lord Jesus.' This view is confirmed by the fact that the earliest forms of the baptismal confession appear to have been single —not triple, as was the later creed. When Philip's baptism of the eunuch appeared to have been abruptly narrated, the confession was inserted in the simple form, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (Acts 8 37) ; and the formula 'Jesus is Lord' appears soon to have become a stereotyped confession of Christian faith (cp Ro. 10 9 1 Cor. 12 3 Phil. 2 11) ; moreover the 'question and answer' (ἐπερώτημα) connected with baptism in 1 Pet. 3 21 would appear to represent only the central section of the later creed.

On the other hand, we have in Mt. 28 19 the full formula, 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' We have no synoptic parallel at this point ; and thus, from a documentary point of view, we must regard this evidence as posterior to that of Paul's Epistles and of Acts.

The apparent contradiction was felt by Cyprian, who suggested (*Ep.* 73 17 *f.*) that in baptizing Jews the apostles may have been contented with the one name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as they already believed in the Father ; whilst in baptizing Gentiles they used the full formula, which was given (as he points out) with the command to 'make disciples of all the nations' or 'Gentiles.' This explanation, however, breaks down in face of Acts 10 45-48, the opening of the door to the Gentiles.

Three explanations deserve consideration: (1) that in Acts we have merely a compendious statement—*i.e.*, that as a matter of fact all the persons there spoken of were baptized in the threefold name, though for brevity's sake they are simply said to have been baptized in the single name; (2) that Matthew does indeed report exactly the words uttered by Jesus, but that those words were not regarded as prescribing an actual formula to be used on every occasion, and that the spirit of them was fulfilled by baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus ; (3) that Matthew does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality.

The first of these explanations cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the absence of any historical evidence of the employment of the threefold formula in the earliest times. A decision between the second and the third would involve an inquiry into the usage of the evangelist in other parts of his Gospel, and belongs to the discussion of the synoptic problem ; but in favour of the third it may be stated that the language of the First Gospel, where it does not exactly reproduce an earlier document, shows traces of modifications of a later kind.

It has been argued that when Paul (Acts 19 2 *f.*), in answer to the statement of the Ephesian disciples of the Baptist, 'We have not so much as heard if there be a Holy Spirit' (εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἔστιν), said, 'Unto what, then, were ye baptized?' he presupposed the use of the longer formula which expressly named the Holy Spirit. The statement can hardly mean, however, that they had never even heard of a Holy Spirit, for disciples of the Baptist could scarcely *so* speak (Mk 1 8) : it must refer to the special gift of the Holy Spirit which Christians were to receive. Accordingly, Paul's question simply implies that Christian baptism could scarcely have been given without some instruction as to this gift which was to follow it. In any case, it would be exceedingly strange that at this point Lk. should not have referred to the threefold formula, had it been in use, instead of simply saying, 'When they heard it, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19 5).

The threefold formula is attested by the *Didaché* (chap. 7), both in express words and by the mention of the alternative practice of triple effusion; but, as the *Didaché* shows elsewhere its dependence on Matthew, this is not independent evidence.

Justin Martyr (chap. 153), in describing baptism to heathen readers, gives the full formula in a paraphrastic form (*Apol.* 1 61), 'in the name of God, Father of the Universe and Ruler, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.' Such a paraphrase was necessary to make the meaning clear to those for whom he wrote.

We find the full formula again in Tertullian some

1 Tertullian (*Res.* 48 c. Marc. 5 10) assumes that the custom was current in Paul's time, hut is wrongly cited as attesting it for his own day. Chrysostom (*ad loc.*) says that Marcionites practised it ; and Epiphanius (*Hær.* 28 6) had heard of a tradition that the Corinthians had done the same. This is very weak evidence for a second-century custom, and it is most probable that if the practice was found it was due to the passage in Paul's Epistle, and cannot be regarded as independent testimony to the existence of the custom among primitive Christians.

The difficulties in which Commentators who reject the obvious meaning of the words find themselves involved may he seen at length in Stanley's *Corinthians* (*ad loc.*).

forty years later (*De Bapt.* 13, *Adv. Prax.* 26); and when the First Gospel was widely known it was certain to prevail. Exceptions are found which perhaps point to an old practice dying out. Cyprian (*Ep.* 73) and the Apostolic Canons (n. 50) combat the shorter formula, thereby attesting its use in certain quarters. The ordinance of *Can. Apost.* 50 runs—' If any bishop or presbyter fulfil not three baptisms of one initiation (τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυήσεως), but one baptism which is given (as) into the death of the Lord, let him be deposed.' This was the formula of the followers of Eunomius (Socr. 5 24), 'for they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the death of Christ' (for other references see Usener, *Relig. Untersuch.*, 1889, 1184); they, accordingly, used single immersion only.

No statement is found in the NT as to the age at which baptism might be administered. Circumcision, **4. Age.** which Paul regards as fulfilled in Christian baptism (see below, § 5), enrolled the Jewish boy in the covenant of his fathers on the eighth day after birth, so that there could be no doubt that young children were truly members of the holy people. Thus, if children had been excluded from baptism when whole families were won to Christianity, we should almost certainly have had some record of the protest which would have been raised against what must have seemed so inconsistent a limitation to the membership of the new 'Israel of God.' It seems reasonable to suppose. therefore, that where 'households' are spoken of as being baptized (Acts 16 15 31-33 1 Cor. 1 16), there must have been, at least in some cases, instances of the baptism of infants. That Paul could speak of the children of a believing husband, or of a believing wife, as 'holy' is an indication in the same direction.

Paul, as we might expect, sees in baptism the means by which the individual is admitted to his place in the **5. Interpretation.** one body, of which he thus becomes a member; 'For as the body is one and hath many members, but all the members, many though they be, are one body, so also is the Christ; for indeed by one Spirit (ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι) we all were baptized into one body—whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bondmen or free' (1 Cor. 12 12 *f.*). Baptism was thus the fundamental witness of Christian unity (Eph. 4 5, 'one baptism'); and in both the passages here referred to it is emphasised as such in view of the variety of spiritual gifts. A parable of Christian baptism might be found in the cloud and the sea through which all the Israelites had alike passed; 'they were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 Cor. 10 2).

In Rom. 6 1 *ff.* Paul regards baptism as effecting a union with the death of Christ: 'we were baptized into his death.' It was a kind of burial of the former self, with a view to a resurrection and a new life. The same conception recurs in Col. 2 11 *f.*, where it is immediately preceded by the thought that it corresponds in a certain way to the circumcision of the old covenant. It is 'the putting off'—totally, not merely partially and symbolically—of the whole 'body of the flesh'; and so it is the fulfilment of the old rite: it is 'the circumcision of the Christ.

In Gal. 3 26 *f.* Paul further speaks of baptism as involving a kind of identification with the person of Christ, so that the divine sonship becomes ours in him; 'For ye are all sons of God, through faith (or 'the faith') in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as were baptized into Christ put on (or 'clothed yourselves with') Christ.' The old distinctions, he again reminds us, thus disappeared —Jew and Greek, bond-man and free, male and female —'for ye all are one [man] in Christ Jesus' (εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χρ. 'Ι.).

Eph. 5 26 speaks of Christ as cleansing the Church by the 'washing (λουτρόν = 'washing,' probably not 'laver.' [In 𝔊 כיור is always λουτήρ: λουτρόν is רחצה Cant. 4 2 6 5 Ecclus. 34 25; so Aquila renders רחץ in Ps. 60 10 108 10]) of water with the word' (ἐν ῥήματι). This last expression finds its interpretation in the ῥῆμα, or formula of faith, to which we have already referred—which, whether as the confession in the mouth of the baptized or as the baptismal formula on the lips of the baptizer, transformed the process of ablution into the rite of Christian baptism. With this passage we may compare Tit. 3 5, 'He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit' (διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πν. ἁγ.).

This last passage reminds us of the teaching of Jn. 3. The relation of that chapter to the sacrament of baptism is exactly parallel to that of chap 6 to the sacrament of the eucharist (see EUCHARIST). We are secure in saying that the evangelist's interpretation of the significance of baptism must have followed the line of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus as there related. That a Gentile, or even a Jew who had been neglectful of the Rabbinical discipline of ablutions, should need to begin entirely anew in the religious life, to be 'born again of water and the Spirit,' as a condition of entry into 'the kingdom of God,' would seem natural. The marvel and the stumbling-block was that this should be required of those who, like this 'teacher of Israel,' had been strictest in their ceremonial purity; 'Marvel not that I said unto *thee*: *ye* must be born again.'

Jn., then, recognises, with Paul, the universal character of the initial rite; whilst at the same time the narrative teaches the radical nature of the change in the individual soul. J. A. R.

BAPTISMS (ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΟΙ), Mk. 7 4, etc., RV^mg., EV WASHINGS (*q.v.*).

BARABBAS (ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΣ [Ti. WH], § 48), the name of the prisoner whom, in accordance with a Passover custom, Pilate released at the demand of the Jews while condemning Jesus to death (so Mt. 27 15-26 Mk. 15 6-15 Lk. 23 17-25 Jn. 18 39 *f.*).

More precisely than Mt., who simply calls him a 'notable' (ἐπίσημον) prisoner, and Jn., who calls him **1. Story.** a robber, Mk. describes him as lying 'bound with them that had made insurrection (μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος), men who in the insurrection had committed murder.' As Mk. has not previously referred to these insurgents, it seems all the more probable that he is borrowing verbatim from another source, although about this particular insurrection we are in as complete ignorance as about the Galileans mentioned in Lk. 13 1. Lk. (23 19), who follows Mk., adds that the insurrection had occurred in Jerusalem, but says nothing about any fellow-prisoners with Barabbas, and thus leaves the impression that Barabbas personally had committed murder. Mk. is entitled to the preference, not only on this point but also when he represents the Jews as having demanded the release of a prisoner on their own initiative, as against the less probable view that Pilate offered them this of his own accord.

Reference is sometimes made to the analogy of the Roman Lectisternia; but of these all that Livy (v. 13 8) says—and that only with reference to their first celebration—is that during those days such also as were bound (*vinctis*) were relieved of their chains (*vincula*), and such was the religious awe inspired by the proceedings that no one dared afterwards to rebind (*vinciri*) the recipients of this divine favour. Thus he says nothing about release from prison; and his contemporary Dion. Halicar. (12 9 [=10]), on the authority of the Annals of a certain Piso, who himself had been censor, while he does indeed speak of such release, limits it to the case of slaves who had been laid under arrest by their masters (λελυμένων μὲν τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσους πρότερον ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς εἶχον οἱ δεσπόται).

Those who find some difficulty in accepting the narrative as it stands may perhaps find themselves better able to explain its origin on the lines indicated by W. Brandt, by whom every detail has been discussed with great care (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893. pp. 94-105). Brandt takes the kernel of the story to be that a certain prisoner who had been arrested in connection with some insurrection, but against whom no

crime or at least no grave crime could be proved, was released on the application of the people, who intervened in his behalf because he was the son of a Rabbin (see below, § 2). The incident, even although it was not simultaneous with the condemnation of Jesus, gave occasion in Christian circles for the drawing of this contrast : the son of the rabbin was interceded for and released, Jesus was condemned. In the course of transmission by oral tradition the statement of this contrast might gradually, without any conscious departure from historical truth, have led to the assumption that the two things occurred at the same time and on the same occasion. Finally, the liberation of a seditious prisoner—in any case a somewhat surprising occurrence—seemed explicable only on the assumption of some standing custom to account for it ; this assumption must presumably have arisen elsewhere than in Palestine.

2. Name. The above theory presupposes that βαραββας stands for בַּר אַבָּא, 'son of the father'—i.e., here, of the rabbinical 'master.' (It was not till afterwards that *Abba* began to come into use as a proper name [of rabbins], explained by Dalman [*Gram.* 142] as an abbreviation, like אַבַּי, of אביה : in the time of Jesus it was a title of honour [Mt. 23 9].)

Jerome, indeed, in his commentary on Mt. 27 16-18 says that in the Gospel of the Hebrews (*quod scribitur juxta Hebræos*) Barabbas is explained as 'son of their teacher' (*filius magistri eorum*), where *eorum* apparently implies an etymology similar to that found in a scholion of a Venice MS in WH App. 19*b*—viz., that βαραμβᾶν (only another form for βαραββᾶν ; see Winer *Gram.*(8) § 5, n. 70) means 'son of our teacher.' In that case we must (with Syr. hr.) write βαρραββαν, taking the second element as being 'teacher,' and assume that ῥαββᾶν was explained as = רַבָּנָא, 'our teacher,' or רַבְּהוֹן, 'their teacher.' The meaning, however, is not essentially changed by this, as ? (as also רַבּוֹן) is, like אַבָּא, a title of honour for a great teacher.

The most remarkable fact in connection with the name of Barabbas is that Origen knew MSS, and did not absolutely reject them, in which Mt. 27 16 *f.* read 'Jesus' (Ἰησοῦν) before 'Barabbas'—a reading still extant in some cursives, as well as in the Armen. vers., in Syr. sin., and partly also in Syr. hr. Whether the Gospel of the Hebrews, referred to by Jerome, also had this reading is uncertain (see WH). In this reading 'Barabbas' would be only an addition made for the sake of distinction, as in Simon Bar-jona, but not yet with the full force of a proper name.

Some support for it might perhaps be found in the fact that the first mention of the name in Mk. is preceded by ὁ λεγόμενος. The meaning would then be 'He who, for distinction's sake (though it was not his proper name), was called Barabbas.' Only, in that case, in Mt. the λεγόμενον (here without the article), since it is followed, on the reading at present in question, by Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν, would simply mean 'whose name was Jesus Barabbas', and it may be so in Mk. also. In any case it is remarkable that in all the MSS in question Barabbas should have the name Ἰησοῦς exclusively in Mt. and there only in two verses, while *vv.* 20 and 26 simply give τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν as an antithesis. Thus we may be tolerably certain that the name Jesus as given to Barabbas has arisen merely from mistake.

A fairly obvious explanation would be the conjecture of Tregelles, that a very early transcriber had 'per incuriam' repeated the last two letters of ὑμῖν and that these were at a later date taken for the familiar abbreviation of the name of Jesus. If this theory be adopted we must assume further that a later copyist inserted also in *v.* 16 the name Ἰησοῦν, which he had found in *v.* 17 ; but it is specially interesting to observe that in the Latin translation of Origen the word Jesus stands in *v.* 17 but not in *v.* 16 also. Cp Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 2 697-700. P. W. S.

BARACHEL (בָּרַכְאֵל, 'God blesses,' § 28 ; Βαραχιηλ [BKA]), the father of Job's friend Elihu (Job 32 2 6).

BARACHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָה, בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ), Zech. 1 1 7, the reading of AV ed. **1611**, and some other old editions. See BERECHIAH (4).

BARACHIAS, RV **Barachiah** (Βαραχιας [Ti. WH]), Mt. 23 35. See ZACHARIAS.

BARAK (בָּרָק, 'lightning,' § 66, cp Sab. ברקם Palm. ברק, Pun. *Barcas* [the surname of Hamilcar], and the Ass. divine names *Ramman-birḳu* and *Gibil-birḳu* [Del. *Ass. HWB* 187]), b. Abinoam (Judg. 4 6-5 12 ; Βαρακ [BL], Βαραχ [A]). See DEBORAH.

BARBARIAN (Βαρβαρος), primarily, one who speaks in an unintelligible manner :[1] hence a foreigner (cp 12.2 867), in which sense it is employed by Paul in 1 Cor. 14 11 Acts 28 2. This usage was not restricted to the Greeks alone : it is met with among the Romans (cp Ovid, *Trist.* v. 10 37), and (according to Herod. 2 158) among the Egyptians. In agreement with this, the people of Melita, who perhaps spoke some Phœnician dialect, are called 'barbarians' (Acts 28 2 4), and 𝔊 uses βάρβαρος to render the לֹעֵז of Ps. **114 1**—a people 'of strange tongue' (Targ. עמא ברבראי).[2] The not uncommon Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, accordingly, includes the whole world : cp Rom. 1 14 (also Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 1) and the similar 'Barbarian, Scythian,' Col. 3 11 ; see HELLENISM, § 2.

The use of βάρβαρος became so customary that the term was used actually in referring to the speaker's or writer's own people ; cp Philo, *Vit. Mos.* § 5, and Jos. (*BJ*, pref., § 1), who applies the designation 'upper barbarians' to his countrymen beyond the Euphrates.[3] At a later date the word gets the meaning 'cruel,' 'savage,' etc. (cp Cic. *Fontei.* 10 21, 'immanis ac barbara consuetudo'), in which sense it recurs in 2 Macc. 2 21 4 25 15 2 and in the 𝔊 of Ez. 21 36 [31] (for MT בֹּעֲרִים, 'brutish').

BARBER (גַּלָּב, Ph. גלב, Ass. *gallabu*), Ez. 5 1.† See BEARD.

BARCHUS (Βαρχουε [A], 1 Esd. 5 32 RV = Ezra 2 53, BARKOS.

BARHUMITE, THE (הַבַּרְחֻמִי, 2 S. 23 31 ; ο Βαρ-λιαμειτης [B], ο Βαραιαμ [Mai], ο Βαρωμ [A], ο αβεννι [L]). See BAHARUMITE.

BARIAH (בָּרִיחַ, Μαρει [B], Βερια [AL]), a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 22).

BARJESUS, the Jewish sorcerer and false prophet in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus at Paphos, in Cyprus, who (Acts 13 6-12) withstood the preaching of Paul, and was punished with temporary blindness.

1. Names. At the outset, the names present great difficulties. In **13 6** his name (ὄνομα) is expressly said to have been Barjesus (Βαριησοῦς), and such a compound (son of a father named Jesus) can quite easily have been a proper name (cp Barabbas, Barnabas, Bartholomew). In *v.* 8, however, he is abruptly called 'Elymas the sorcerer, for so is his name by interpretation (Ἐλυμας ὁ μάγος, οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ). A translation has relevance only when it is a translation into the language of the readers : in any other case it would be incumbent on the author to state what foreign language he is translating into.

(*a*) This being assumed, we must take it that 'the sorcerer' (ὁ μάγος) is the translation. Elymas (Ἐλυμας), in that case, would be the word translated. Accordingly, the name has been identified with the Arabic *'alīm*, which occurs in the Koran (7 106 [109] 26 33 and 36 [34 and 37]) as an adjective following the noun *sāḥir* which denotes a sorcerer, and has thus been taken to mean 'wise,' 'able.' Less appropriate is the derivation from Aram. אֵלִים or אַלִּים, meaning 'strong.' Equate μάγος, however, etymologically, with *Elymas* as we

[1] Del. (*Ass. HWB*) explains Ass. *barbaru* 'jackal.'

[2] Akin to this are the expressions οἱ ἔξω (1 Cor. 5 12 *f.*) and τὰ ἔθνη (like the Heb. גּוֹיִם, see GENTILES, § 1) to denote those outside the Christian world. Cp the Talm. use of אֲרָצוֹת.

[3] Similarly, the Jews frequently employed אֲרַמ[א]י, Syr. *armāyā—i.e.*, 'Aramæan,' in the sense of 'barbarian,'—and so the Syr. translations of the NT, under their influence, retain the term to translate Ἕλληνες, ἐθνικοί,—etc. In process of time it was felt that a word which was used in the NT to designate 'heathen' could hardly be borne by a Christian people, and the old name was modified into *ārāmāyā* ; cp. NÖ. *ZDMG* 25 113, Wright, *Comp. Gram.* 15.

may, it still has to be explained how Bxrjesus came suddenly to be called by the other nanie, Elymas. 'The only way in which a plausible explanation could be reached would be if Elymas (in the sense indicated) could be taken as a title or cognomen assumed by Barjesus—a foreign tongue being used to heighten' still further the prestige which he sought to acquire by it. It is not as a title, however, that the author employs it. On the contrary, he gives the word without the definite article, and expressly adds that the word which he is translating was the actual name (ὄνομα) of the bearer.

(*b*) It was quite sound method, therefore, to take Barjesus for the name translated, and Elymas for the translation.

Even Pesh., in *v.* 8, for Ehvpas *b* μάγος arbitrarily has 'this sorcerer Barshuma [so Pesh. reads for Βαριησους in *v.* 6; see below, (*c*)], whose name, being interpreted, means Elymas.' Klostermann (*Probleme im Aposteltexte*, 1883, pp. 21-33), however, is able to support this view only on three assumptions, each one of which is bolder than the other. We must read, he holds, not Ehupas, hut Ἕτοιμος. secondly, we must read, not Βαριησοῦς, hut Βαριησουαν, or, 'to be exact, the Latin *Barjesuban;* and, in the third place, the 𝕾 בַּר so transcribed (whether we derive it etymologically from the root שׁוה, or, with more probability, from the root ישׁן which underlies יֵשׁ, *præsto est)* means 'son of preparedness' or 'son of fitness,' and thus, by the same Hebraism as we find in the name Barnabas (*q.v.*), *paratus,* ἕτοιμος.

a. **As** to the first of these assumptions, it has to be noted that the reading Ἕτοιμος is met with only in Lucifer of Calaris (*ob.* 371), and even there not as Hetœmus but as Etcemus; D has Ετοιμας, which, indeed, we cannot explain, but which, from its ending, is clearly intended to be taken as a proper name ;*paratus* is found only in Lucifer, one Vg. MS, and two Latiu MSS, in which in many places is found the markedly divergent text of Acts which Blass takes to be Luke's earliest draft (see ACTS, § 17)

β. Next, as regards the second assumption. Βαριησουαν is found only in D; *Barjesuam*, only in the Latin translation of D; *Barjesuban* or rather, according to the one MS known to us, *Barjesubam*, only in Lucifer. The corrector of D has restored Βαριησουν, which, as accusative, fits his reading ὀνόματι καλούμενον for ᾧ ὄνομα, but, in spite of ᾧ ὄνομα, is found also in AHLP and the Greek margin of the Philoxenian ; ℵ, Vg., Copt., Armen., and the Philoxenian version as well as '*nonnulli*' known to Jerome read Βαριησου—that is to say, the simple Hebrew form without a Greek termination. On this Jerome (on the Hebrew names in Acts; *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, 399) remarks, 'nonnulli Barjesu corrnpte legunt,' himself declaring the right reading to be Barieu or Berieu, for which, by very daring etymologising from the Hebrew, he obtains the meanings *maleficium*, or *maleficus*, or *in malo*. Perhaps, however, even Jerome's aversion to Βαριησου rests upon the very obvious dogmatic 'consideration put forward by Beda in the eighth century, 'non convenit hominem flagitiosum et magum filium Jesu, id est, salvatoris, appellari quem e contrario Paulos (*v.* 10) filium diaboli nuncupat.' The form Barjeu in Jerome can readily be accounted for as merely a clerical error for Barjesu, or as arising out of the Greek abbreviation IHY which is met with in the oldest MSS along with the more frequently occurring IY for Ἰησοῦ. The explanation in the case of the readings preferred by Klostermann is much less easy. On this account, in spite of their weak attestation, one might he inclined to regard them as the true ones; hut all the authorities for the reading *paratus* have the word, not in *v.* 8 instead of Ehupas, hut as an interpolation after Βαριησους in *v.* 6, 'quod interpretatur paratus.' This addition is met with elsewhere only in E, in the form ὁ μεθερμηνεύεται Ελυμας—rendered in the Latin of this MS : *guod interpretatur Elymas*. It is evident that in neither case have we more than a late attempt to obviate the impression that Elymas, first introduced in *v.* 8, was the name of another person. Blass, on the other hand, regards the added words as part of Luke's earliest draft. He sees, however, that Luke could not have written at the same time in *v.* 8 'for thus is his name interpreted' (οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ); and, accordingly, he rejects these words from Luke's earlier draft. For this he has not a single authority; and how can he explain Luke's having, after all, introduced the words into his second transcript, leaving out those in *v.* 6 instead? Are we really to believe that with his own hands Luke changed his good and thoroughly intelligible first text into a positively misleading after-text? Cp ACTS, § 17 (*f*). If, however, the addition '*quod interpretatur paratus*' at the end of *v.* 6 is to be regarded as a late interpolation, Lucifer also, who has it, lies open to suspicion : his form Etcemus in *v.* 8 may be not taken from an authoritative source, but a mere conjectural adaptation to allow of the word's being rendered *paratus* and itself regarded as a rendering of Βαριησους. What etymology he was following when he preferred (or perhaps conjecturally intrcduced) the form *Barjesuban* is a matter of indifference. In ancient times, as the *Onomastica Sacra* abundantly show, people made out Hebrew etymologies in a most reckless way.

γ. Klostermann's proposed etymology, *paratus*, rests upon a very weak foundation, as no such word as ישׁון (Yišwān) can be shown to exist (the proper name ישׁוה, ISHVAH, in Gen. 46 17 has no importance in this connection), and the root שׁוה or שׁוא which is used in Syriac frequently for ἄξιος, ἴσος, ὁμαλός, as also for συν-, ὁμο-, ἀξιο-, in compounds, is never used for ἕτοιμος.[1] Besides, as we have said, the codex has not *Barjesuban* but *Barjesubam*. Above all, however, Klostermann's hypothesis remains untenable as long as one is unprepared to accept the further assumption that *b* μάγος after Ελυμας (or Ἕτοιμος) in *v.* 8 is a mere gloss to he deleted ; for ὁ μάγος necessarily leads to the assumption dealt with under (*a*). This had no doubt already been perceived by the scribe of H, who wrote *b* μέγας (the great) for ὁ μάγος, and so also by Lucifer, if the *editio princeps* (of Tilius) is right in attributing the reading *magnus* to him (the only MS of Lucifer at present known has *magus*). If Lucifer really wrote *magnus*, this increases the suspicion that the other variants in Lucifer are in like manner arbitrary and unauthorised alterations of the text.

(*c*) In order to make out Elymas to be a translation of the name of the sorcerer, stress has been laid on the remarkable Peshiṭta rendering Barshuma for Βαριησους.

Already, in the seventeenth century, we find Castell (*Lex. Heptagl.* s.v. שׁוּם) and Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* ad loc.) interpreting Βαριησους as *filius vulneris*, and deriving Elymas from the Arabic *'alima=doluit* (אלם). Over and above the reasons to the contrary that have already been urged under (*b*), however it has to be observed (see above) that a translation into Arabic would explain nothing to the readers : it would itself require to be explained. A somewhat different turn is given to the matter by Payne Smith (*Thes. Syr.* 598). Barshuma was in the first instance given in *v.* 8 as a rendering of Elymas, and only later introduced by copyists also into *v.* 6 in substitution for Barjesus in the erroneous belief that it was the man's proper name. But the Peshiṭta in its arbitrary change of text in *v.* 8 (see above (*b*), *ad init.*) says precisely the opposite,—that Barshuma was the proper name, and Elymas the translation. It must, therefore, from the outset have held Barshuma to be a reproduction of the proper name Barjesus. Thus Barshuma probably means merely 'son of the name ; and 'the name' is most easily to he accounted for as a substitute for 'Jesus' from the feeling of reverence which we have already heard expressing itself in Beda [see above (*h*)*β*], a reverence similar to that shown by the Jews when they said 'the name' instead of 'Yahwè.'

(*d*) Van Manen, contrariwise (*Paulus* 1, Leyden, 1890, pp. 98 *f.* 147), holds Elymas to be the proper name, and interprets Barjesus in the Hebrew sense as meaning 'son of Jesus'—*i.e.*, 'follower of Jesus.'

In this he assumes that the primary document here made use of by the author of Acts did not refer to the man as a Jew, or as a sorcerer, or as a false prophet; that it simply contained the information that at Paphos Paul came into opposition with one of the older and very conservative disciples of Jesus, and got the better of him with Sergius Paulus. This hypothesis admittedly departs so widely from the trxt of Acts that it is impossible to control it thereby.

(*e*) Dalman (*Gram.* 129, n. 1 ['94]) proposes a purely Greek explanation.

Ἐλυμᾶς (so accented) he regards as contracted from Ἐλυμαῖος (on these contractions see NAMES, § 86 *ad fin.*). In 𝔊 [except the Apocrypha] and NT indeed, the Elamites are always Ἐλαμ, Ἐλαμῖται ; hut with the Greeks the forms are as invariably Ἐλυμαίς, Ἐλυμαῖοι ; su in Tobit 2 10 Judith 16 ; 1 Macc. 6 1 has Ἐλύμαι.

Philologically this derivation is the simplest of all; but it contributes nothing towards the solution of the riddle.

The failure of all the attempts enumerated above renders inevitable the suggestion that here the author of Acts has amalgamated two sources, one of which called the man Barjesus while the other called him Elymas.

2. Different sources?

Even Klostermann, in order to explain the peculiar distribution of the names in *vv.* 6 8, seeks the aid of this hypothesis in addition to the hypotheses already referred to [above (a), beg.]. The addition, οὕτως γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (for so is his name translated), however, would in any case be a very unskilful way of amalgamating the two sources unless 6 μάγος (sorcerer), as suggested above, be deleted as a gloss. Still, it once it is agreed to assume two sources, a further and larger question arises : the question, namely, whether the addition itself be substantially right — that is to say, whether the one name be really a translation of the other. Nay, more : it is even conceivable that the two names do not denote the same person ; that accounts relating to

[1] So Nestle, in private letter to the present writer.

two different persons have been transferred to a single person. This inference is suggested also by the epithets applied; for, though it is not altogether inconceivable that a 'sorcerer' (μάγος) should be a "false prophet" (ψευδοπροφήτης), the two ideas are widely different.

Of the critics mentioned in ACTS, § 11, who discuss our present passage with reference to the distinction of sources, only Spitta and B. Weiss regard 13 6-12 as all of one piece, Clemen and Hilgenfeld are convinced of the opposite, but make no definite suggestions as to separation of the portions; Sorof and Jüngst derive *v.* 6 *f.* from a written source, *vv.* 8-12 from the pen of the redactor or from oral tradition. Jüngst further attributes to the redactor the word μάγον in *v.* 6. Yet not even so are all the difficulties cleared up.

How far the narrative as a whole is to be accepted as historical becomes a serious question as soon as it has been traced to more than one source; but its credibility has been doubted even by Spitta, B. Weiss, and others, who defend its unity.

3. Credibility of Narrative.

As regards the miracle in particular, one is not only surprised by its suddenness, but is also at a loss to see its moral justification. On the other hand, a misunderstanding would account for it readily enough. A sorcerer, a false prophet—nay, any Jew (Acts 28 27)—is, in the judgment of the Christian, spiritually blind, and this is what Paul and Barnabas proved of Barjesus in their disputation with him. In being handed down by tradition this thought could easily undergo such a change as would lead to the representation that physical blindness had been brought on as a punishment by the words of Paul. On the other hand, one would expect the blindness, if it is to be regarded as merited, to be permanent, or, at least, would expect to be told of some reason for its subsequent removal, as, for example, that the sorcerer had ceased to withstand Paul and Barnabas, or even had become a convert to Christianity. It is very noticeable that the narrator shows but little interest in the subsequent history of the man. The conversion of the proconsul (not his existence; see ACTS, § 13 *ad fin.*) also is doubtful to many.

All the more does it now become incumbent to enquire whether the narrative reveals in any measure the tendencies discerned elsewhere in Acts.

4. Tendency.

(*a*) In the first place, and generally, it is clear that it has a place in the parallelism between Peter and Paul (ACTS, § 4), in respect alike of the miracle of chastisement, the confutation of a sorcerer, and the conversion of a high Roman officer (cp Acts 5 1-10 8 18-24 10 1-48). It is also in harmony with that other tendency of Acts, to represent the Roman authority as friendly, and the Jews as hostile to Christianity (ACTS, § 5 (1); § 4 *ad init.*; compare very specially the Jewish exorcists in close relation to sorcery, Acts 19 13-16).

(*b*) A conjecture of wider scope[1] connects itself with what is said of Simon Magus (see SIMON MAGUS). If Paul was the person originally intended in the story of Simon, then in Acts 8 9-24 we find attributed to him the one deed which used to be flung in his teeth by his Judaistic adversaries—that, by his great collections made in Macedonia and Achaia, he had sought to purchase at the hands of the original apostles that recognition of his equality with them which they had so persistently withheld. The romance of Simon Magus, however, of which we still possess large portions (see SIMON MAGUS), had for its main contents something different, viz., that the sorcerer had spread his false doctrines everywhere and supported them by miracles, but in one city after another was vanquished in dispute and excelled in miracle by Peter. Thus, apart from the repetition of the occurrence in many cities, we are told of Barjesus in Acts 13 6-12 exactly what is told in the romance about Simon (that is, Paul), and of Paul exactly what is told in the romance about Peter. Hence the belief that in 13 6-12 we can discover the same purpose on the part of the author as we discover in 8 18-24. He was acquainted with the unfriendly allegation about Paul, did not believe it, and wished to set forth another view. In the two passages, however, the method is not the same. In 8 18-24 it is shown that Paul could not possibly have been the infamous sorcerer, inasmuch as Simon the sorcerer was a Samaritan and was quelled by Peter indeed, but before the conversion of Paul. In 13 6-12, on the other hand, it is shown that it was Paul himself who victoriously met a sorcerer of this kind. One of the reasons for this divergence is seen in the desire, already noted, to establish a close parallelism between Paul and Peter. It is believed possible also to explain on the same lines why in Acts 13 6-12 the scene is laid in Cyprus, with a Jew in the *entourage* of a high Roman officer as one of the *dramatis personæ.* To Cyprus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 7 2, §§ 141-143), belonged the Jewish sorcerer Simon, who, at the instance of Felix of Judaea, procurator (*i.e.*, highest Roman officer), had induced Drusilla to quit her husband, King Azizus of Emesa, and marry Felix. The purpose of the narrator would have been sufficiently served had he been able to say that the sorcerer in question—Simon, to wit—under whose name the Judaisers imputed to Paul so much that was shameful, had been met and vanquished by Paul himself. That, however, was impossible; the tale had already been related of Peter. Accordingly (so it is supposed) the narrator found it necessary to give another name to the sorcerer worsted by Paul.

(*c*) His choice of the names Barjesns and Elymas is still unaccounted for. There is, therefore, a motive for our attributing a historical character to a certain other sorcerer, Barjesus (or Elymas), as well as to a Samaritan sorcerer named Simon. Although it is not easy to believe that Peter met the Samaritan Simon, there is no reason for assuming that Paul did not meet Barjesus. Indeed, it can easily be conceded that in Acts 13 6-12, just as, in Acts 8 9-24, the author was not consciously giving a false complexion to what he had heard. He believed himself able to offer a material correction. He assumed, that is to say, that what the Judaisers were in the habit of relating of Simon the sorcerer, while really intending Paul and his opposition to the 'true' Gospel, rested in actual fact upon a mistaken identification with this Barjesus (or Elymas), and that the latter was vanquished not by Peter but by Paul. It is less easy to suppose that Cyprus was given by tradition as the scene of the occurrence. Even without any tradition, the name could be suggested by Josephus's mention of the native place of the Jewish sorcerer, and the name of Paphos would naturally present itself from the fact that the Roman proconsul had his residence there.

(*d*) The hypothesis has received developments to a point where we have to depend on less clear indications. If the accusations in Acts against Simon and Barjesus had originally been brought against Paul, what is said of the intimate relations of Barjesus with Sergius Paulus would belong to the same class. Now, in Acts 24 26, it is said that Felix often sent for Paul and communed with him. It is assumed that the Judaisers had gone so far as to allege that Paul had purchased the friendliness of Felix with money; or even, perhaps, to insinuate that he had been negotiator between Drusilla and Felix. It is to meet those accusations (so it is assumed) that the writer of Acts alludes to bribery by Paul as merely a hope on the part of Felix, and informs us that Paul had stirred Felix's conscience by a solemn 'reasoning' with him about his sinful marriage (24 25 *f.*).

(*e*) There are two more explicit indications that what we now read about Barjesus was originally told of Paul. Ἐχθρός, 'enemy,' the epithet applied by Paul to Bar-

[1] See for example, Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1868, pp. 365-67; De Wette-Overbeck on Acts 13 6-12; Lipsius, *Quellen der röm. Petrussage*, 1872, pp. 28, 32, also *JPT*, 1876, p. 573; Holtzmann, *ZWT*, 1885, p. 431; and very specially Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lukas* 180-190 ['94]. Lipsius afterwards withdrew his earlier view; see *Apokryph. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 1 ('87), p. 52; cp. 51, n. 2.

jesus (13 10), is, with or without the substantive ἄνθρωπος, the standing designation for Simon (that is, Paul) in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The name, 'enemy of righteousness,' fits Paul and his doctrine of the abrogation of the Mosaic law through Christ (Rom. 10 4) all the more because his Judaistic opponents in Corinth came forward as 'servants of righteousness,' that is, men of strict observance of the law (2 Cor. 11 15). In that case, the temporary blinding of Barjesus will represent what befel Paul at his conversion; even the expressions μὴ βλέπων (without sight) and χειραγωγοῦντες (leading by the hand) in 9 8 *f.* have their parallels in 13 11. Here, then, unless the whole hypothesis under consideration be rejected, we may say, with reasonable probability, that the blindness of Paul at his conversion (whether historical or not is immaterial) was originally represented by the Judaisers as a divine visitation for his hostility to the 'true' (that is, the legal) gospel, and that it was simply passed on by the author of Acts to Barjesus the Jew.

Whatever else be the result of what has been said in the present section, one thing at least is clear: it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion unless the tendency of the author is taken into account.

According to the περίοδοι Βαρνάβα—a legendary work composed by a Cyprian abont 488—Barjesus opposed the work of Barnabas when, along with Mark (Acts 15 39), Barnabas visited Cyprus for a second time. He withstood him in various ways at his entrance into the cities where he desired to preach, and at last stirred up the Jews to burn him at the stake at Salamis. (Cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 283-286 278 297.)

5. Later legends.

P. W. S.

BAR-JONA, RV **Bar-Jonah**, the patronymic of Simon Peter (Mt. 16 17† Βαρ ἰωνᾶ [Ti. WH]). See PETER.

Iova is a Gr. contraction of ἰωάννης (cp Jn. 1 42 Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου [Ti.], Σ. ὁ υἱ. Ἰωάνου [WH]; 21 16 *2.* Ἰωάννου [Ti.], *2.* Ἰωάνου [WH]; Elzev. etc. present ἰωνᾶ; see Var. Bib.), which corresponds to an Aram. בר יוחנא; cp B. Talm. *Hull.* 133 *a*, Dalm. *Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* 142 n. 9, and see JOANNA.

BARKOS (בַּרְקוֹס, § 82, Βερκως [L]). The Bne Barkōs, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 53 (Βαρκους [B], -κος [A]) = Neh. 7 55 (Βαρκουε [BKA], L om.) = 1 Esd. 5 32, CHARCUS, RV BARCHUS (Βαχους [B], Βαρχουε [A]). The NETHINIM (*q.v.*) were mainly of foreign origin, and the name Barkos seems to be Aramaic and to signify 'son of the God Kos or Ḳaus.' The name of this god occurs in many theophorous proper names among the Northern Semites; we have Ḳaus-malak as king of Edom on an Assyrian inscription (Schr. *KAT*(2) 150), Kosnathau (קוסנתי) in Euting's *Nabat. Inscr.* n. 12 l. 1, and a variety of Semitic names on Greek inscriptions from Egypt containing the same element (*Rev.-Archéol.*, Feb. 1870, p. 109 *ff.*). Cp also the Edomite Kostobaros[1] (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 79). Names designating the worshipper as son of his god are common in Aramaic—*e.g.*, the biblical BENHADAD [probably], the Palmyrene ברנבו, 'son of Nebo' (cp BARNABAS, § 1), בני ברשמש, 'sons of the son of the Sun-god,' the Syrian Bar-ba'šmīn, 'son of the lord of heaven,' Barlāhā, 'son of God,' etc. W. R. S.

BARLEY (שְׂעֹרָה, שְׂעֹרִים,[2] κριθη, κριθαι [BAL], Ex. 9 31 Lev. 27 16 Dt. 8 8 Judg. 7 13, etc.) was in biblical times one of the most characteristic products of Palestine (Dt. 8 8), regarded as one of the necessaries of life (Joel 1 11). It comes second in the series of grains mentioned in Ez. (4 9) as ingredients to be used in bread-making—wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt (cp BREAD). It may be inferred from a variety of passages, such as Ru. 2 17 Jn. 6 9 13, that barley was, even during the times when it was cultivated along with wheat, the staple food of the poorer class (cp FOOD). Such a reference as that in 1 K. 4 28 (5 8) shows us bow largely it was used to feed horses and cattle.[1] It may also be gathered from the part played by the barley-cake in the dream of the Midianite, overheard by Gideon (Jndg. 7 13), where it stands as a type of the Israelite peasant army, that as in other countries, so in Palestine, the cultivation of barley preceded that of wheat, and was the earliest stage in the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life.[2] (Cp Pl. *HN* xviii. 72, 'antiquissimum in cibis hordeum.') This is, on the whole, more probable than the view of Jos. (*Ant.* v. 64). which has been very generally accepted, that barley-cake represented the *feebleness* of Gideon's three hundred, and we are entitled to conclude that there was a time when barley was the staple food of all classes among the Israelites. The fact referred to in Ex. 9 31 *f.*, that in Egypt barley ripens some time earlier than wheat, is supported by the testimony of Pliny (*HN* xviii. 106) as well as of modern writers (see references in Di. *ad loc.*).

1. Common use.

In the single case in which the use of barley is prescribed in an offering under the ritual law (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF, § 2), it is somewhat difficult to determine the reason. Some (*e.g.*, Bahr, *Symbolik*, 2 445) have regarded it as expressive of the sordid nature of the alleged offence and the humiliation of the accused[3] (a wife suspected of adultery). A reason which has recently found more acceptance is that in the case of a simple appeal to God for a judicial decision a less valuable offering was sufficient than was requisite when a suppliant besought God for the bestowal or continuance of his divine grace[4] (Di. on Nu. 5 11, etc.). The prohibition to mingle oil or frankincense with the offering will, of course, receive a similar explanation.

2. Ritual.

Two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichon*), which may be presumed to be the feral form, is a native of W. Asia. It may have been cultivated by Semitic races; but it is not represented on Egyptian monuments. The kind most frequently cultivated in antiquity was six-rowed barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*). This occurs on the most ancient Egyptian monuments and on the coins of Metapontum six centuries B.C. It was no doubt derived by cultivation from the two-rowed kind (cp De Candolle, *Orig.*(3) 294-297, and authorities quoted there).

3. Variety.

The word 'gerah' (Ex. 30 13) 'is defined by Rabbinical writers as equal to sixteen barley-corns'; hut see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

BARN (מְגוּרָה), Hag. 2 9; see AGRICULTURE, § 10. Also for Job 39 12 (גֹּרֶן) and (AV BARNFLOOR) 2 K. 6 27, RV correctly 'threshing floor.'

BARNABAS (Βαρναβας [Ti. WH]; § 48), otherwise JOSEPH (or JOSES).

According to the author of Acts (4 36), the name Barnabas (= υἱὸς παρακλήσεως) is derived from the Aram. בַּר (son) and the same root as the Heb. נָבִיא, προφήτης—the duty of παράκλησις ('address, exhortation'), according to 1 Cor. 14 3, and also according to Acts 15 31 *f.*, being one of the duties of the προφήτης. When more

1. Name.

[1] [κοστοβαρος may perhaps be a scribal error for κοσγοβαρος—*i.e.*, קוסגבר—which finds a striking parallel in the name Ḳauš-gabri, an Edomite king mentioned on an inscription of Esar-haddon (cp Schr. *l.c.*).]

[2] The less common singular form is used for the growing crop. The name, which Hebrew has in common with Aramaic, but not with Arabic, is derived from a root meaning 'to be rough' or 'bristling.'

[1] So in the *Physiologus* (Land, *Anecd. Syr.* 4 24 *f.*, cited hy Löw, 277) barley is called the food of cattle as apposed to wheat the food of man.

[2] Cp, especially, the parallel cited by Budde (*ZDPV* 18 93) from Radloff's *Aus Sibirien*, 1 329. Cp also Moore on the passage.

[3] It is noteworthy that barley formed part of the price paid by Hosea to redeem his adulterous wife (Hos. 3 2); hut this may be a mere coincidence.

[4] See, especially, the full discussion by Nowack (*Arch.* 2 249 *ff.*), who agrees with Dillmann's view, and points out that the offering in question is neither a sin-offering nor a guilt-offering in the ritualistic sense.

closely examined, however, this etymology is not without its difficulties. It combines words from two different languages, and moreover fails to account for the form -ναβα. Klostermann (*Probl. im Aposteltext*, 1883, pp. 8-14) seeks to derive the meaning παράκλησις from the Aram. בַּר נְוָחָה, *filius quietis*, but finds in it no further reference than to the satisfaction which Barnabas caused to the apostles by becoming a convert to Christianity. Ualman's etymology (*Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 142), which makes παράκλησις a rendering of נַחְמָא, this last being an abbreviation (not elsewhere met with) of a proper name נחמיה or נַחְמָן (נַחְמָנִי), takes us very far from the form to be explained. Deissmann comes nearer the sound when (*Bibelstudien*, 175-178 ['95]; *Neue Bibelstudien*, 15-17 ['97]) he compares the Barnebo (ברנבו) of a Palmyrene inscription of the year 114 A.D. (see De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale* no. 73), and the Semitic Βαρνεβοῦς (son of Nebo) on a North Syrian inscription of the third or fourth century A.D.[1] In Is. 46 1, as also in Ναβουχοδονοσορ, Ναβουζαρδαν, Nebo is transliterated into Greek with *a* instead of ε, and the termination -ας may possibly have been substituted for -ους with the view of disguising the name of the heathen divinity. (For examples of such a custom, see Winer, *Gram. d. NTlichen Sprachidioms*,(8) § 5 27*a*.) On this theory the rendering παράκλησις is merely a piece of popular etymology: Nestle (*Philol. sacr.*, 1896, p. 19 *f.*) is inclined to take the Syr. בעא, which signifies παρακαλεῖν, as the starting-point of the etymological interpretation; but he refrains from explaining more minutely the structure of the form.

If Joseph really did first receive the surname of Barnabas from the apostles, this seems to have been on account of his distinction as a speaker. In this respect, however, the author of Acts (13 1 15 16 14 12) invariably subordinates him at least to Paul. Many Jews, with a view to their dealings with Greeks and Romans, assumed in addition to their Jewish name a Greek (or Latin) or at least Greek-sounding surname (*e.g.*, Acts 1 23 12 25 13 19 Col. 4 11, and Ἰανναῖος = יַנַּי); and it may at least be asked whether this cannot perhaps have been the case with Barnabas also (see NAMES, §§ 48, 84).

According to the Epistle to the Galatians (our primary source), Barnabas was a companion of Paul in

2. References: in Galatians. his missionary journeys for at least some time before the council of Jerusalem. In the council he joined Paul in supporting the immunity of Gentile Christians from the Mosaic Law (Gal. 2 1 9), which makes it all the more surprising that he afterwards retreated from the position he had taken long before, that a Jewish Christian was at liberty to eat at the same table with a brother Gentile freed from the law (Gal. 2 13). As in the case of Peter, so also in that of Barnabas, the reproach of hypocrisy hurled at both by Paul on this account may safely be toned down into one of inconsistency (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). In point of fact, Barnabas *had* shaken off the Mosaic law; but he had never thought out all the bearings of the step so fully as to be able to vindicate it when the venerable and sacred duty of observing the whole law was *so* authoritatively pressed upon him. From this date it was, of course, no longer possible for him to work along with Paul on the same lines; and thus the dispute at Antioch more than sufficiently explains why the two separated. The mention of Barnabas in 1 Cor. 9 6 only proves that at that time also he was a prominent missionary, and that he held to the Pauline principle of supporting himself by his own labour; it is no evidence that he was personally known to the Corinthians, or that he had again become one of the companions of Paul.

In the Acts of the Apostles the separation of Barnabas from Paul is explained as due not to a difference on a

3. In Acts. matter of principle, but to a personal question; Barnabas wished to take John Mark—a near relation of his, according to Col. 4 10—as companion on a second journey planned by Paul and himself; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion (Acts 13 13) Mark had left them in the lurch Acts 15 36-39). Even if this be accepted as a historical explanation (and we have no means of controlling it), it cannot be said to have been the chief one (see above, § 2); as to which Acts (see ACTS, §§ 4, 6) is scrupulously silent. In virtue of the intermediate position,—as between Pauline and Jewish Christianity,—which was held, as we have seen, by Barnabas, he is admirably fitted for a mediating rôle in Acts. Although a native of Cyprus, he is regarded as a member of the church of Jerusalem 4 36 *f.*; on the sale of his estate, see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1, 5); it is he who negotiates Paul's admission to that church (9 27); it is on that church's commission that he inspects the church which had been founded by dispersed Christians at Antioch in Syria (11 22-24); it is he who fetches Paul to Antioch from Tarsus and introduces him to his field of work (11 25 *f.*), and he also is the apostle's travelling companion when the collection for the poor Christians there is being brought to Jerusalem (11 30 12 25); as in this case, *so* also in the so-called first missionary journey, undertaken along with Paul through Cyprus and the south of Asia Minor, his name is placed first, at least till 13 7, and then again in 14 14 and even 15 12 25. All this is not easy to reconcile with Paul's well-known independence as shown in his letters; but the journey in Acts 11 30 12 25 must also on other grounds be pronounced unhistorical (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1), and the rest of what is related in Acts 11 is inconsistent with the order τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας in Gal. 1 21, as is the rest of what we read in Acts 9 with Gal. 1 15-20 (cp ACTS, § 4, and, for the doubtfulness of the contents of Acts 13 *f.*, and the probability of a Barnabas source there, §§ 13 and 10). But, although the object of the narrative in Acts is inconsistent with history in as far as it seeks to suggest that the missionary activity of Paul among the Gentiles was no departure from the views of the primitive church,—that on the contrary it was authorised and even set on foot by it,—we may without hesitation accept as historical (see ACTS, § 4) not only the co-operation of Barnabas with Paul shortly before and at the Council at Jerusalem, which is vouched for by the Epistle to the Galatians, but also the part which he took in the first missionary journey (Acts 13 *f.*), and even perhaps in Paul's introduction to Jerusalem (of course according to Gal. 1 18 *f.*) at his first visit to that city three years after his conversion. We may also accept in all probability the second journey of Barnabas to Cyprus in company with Mark (Acts 15 39). From this point his name disappears from the NT.

Our later notices of him are of little value. According to Clem. Al. (*Strom.* ii. 20, § 116; cp Eus. *HE*

4. Later notices. ii. 1 4), he was one of the Seventy of Lk. 10 1; in the frankly anti-Pauline *Clem. Homilies* (i. 9-16), which date from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century—or rather, in the sources from which these Homilies were drawn—he was a personal disciple of Jesus, Palestinian by origin, but Alexandrian by residence, a strict adherent of the law; according to *Hom.* i. 8, ii. 4, Clement meets him in Alexandria, but in *Clem. Recog.* (1 7) the meeting was in Rome. According to this presumably earlier (but none the less unhistorical) representation, he proclaimed the gospel in Rome even during the lifetime of Jesus, and therefore before Peter. In *Hom.* 1 7 this statement is made only of some person who is left unnamed, and later means were found for the complete suppression of any such tradition, so full of danger to the authority of Peter and his alleged successors. From the fifth century onwards its place was taken by the statement that Barnabas was founder and bishop of the Church of Milan—a statement, however, accompanied by the clause, 'after he had been the first to preach the gospel in Rome.' It was upon this allegation that the archbishops of Milan afterwards based their claims to metropolitan authority over the

[1] In *Die Worte* 3, 32 ('98), Dalman comes over to Deissmann's view, which is also ably defended by G. B. Gray, *Exp. Times*, Feb. 1899, p. 232 *f.* Cp also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 47 *f.* ('96).

whole of Northern and part of Central Italy. In the interests of Roman supremacy (which had originally been helped by it), the allegation was violently disputed by Roman theologians of the eighteenth century.

In complete independence of the Roman and Milanese tradition, there arose, after 431 A.D., the legend that Barnabas had been the missionary to his native island of Cyprus, and had suffered martyrdom at Salamis, where he was buried. On this plea the Cyprian church, between 485 and 488 A.D., obtained from the Emperor Zeno its independence of the Patriarchate of Antioch. The implied assumption is that Barnabas was an apostle in the full sense of the word.

Ecclesiastical writers often substitute him for Barsabbas (Acts 1 23; cp BARSABAS, § 2), perhaps on account of the name Joseph, common to both (the Sahidic and Philoxenian versions have, on the other hand, Joses in both cases, and there are isolated authorities for Barnabas alone), but perhaps in order to bring him nearer the apostolic circle. This object is effected in a more pronounced way by *Clem. Recog.* (1 60), which identify him with Matthias (Acts 1 26). There is an isolated notice in the (Gnostic) *Actus Petri Vercellenses* to the effect that Barnabas was sent along with Timothy to Macedonia before Paul's journey to Spain. Cp. Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 270-320 (especially 310), 260, 373.

5. Alleged authorship. Tertullian's claim of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews for Barnabas is quite inadmissible. It is difficult to attribute to a born Levite (Acts 4 36) such grave errors about the temple (or tabernacle) as occur in Heb. 9 3 *f.* 7 27; or to any member of the primitive church of Jerusalem any such declaration as that in Heb. 2 3, that he had first received the gospel at second hand through hearers of Jesus. Nor is such an origin consistent with the thoroughly Alexandrian character of the Epistle. Even, however, if we must refrain from basing any argument on the statements about Barnabas in Acts 4 36, we are still confronted by a decisive fact: the man who at a critical moment was so much subject to the Mosaic law (Gal. 2 13), could not have spoken of its abolition and even of its carnal character, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks in 7 12 18 16. Doubtless the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas because it was supposed that the λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως of Heb. 13 22 could only have come from the υἱὸς παρακλήσεως of Acts 4 36.

That Barnabas should have written the anonymous epistle which since the time of Clement of Alexandria has borne his name, and on that account has been included among the writings of the 'apostolic fathers,' is still more inconceivable than his authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It goes far beyond Paul in its assertion of freedom from the law. As to its date, see under ACTS (§ 16). P. W. S.

BARODIS (Βαρωδεις [BA]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, ii. §§ 9 8 *c*, 15 1 *a*), one of the eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (om. 𝔊L) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ‖ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

BARREL (כַּד γδρια [BAL]; 1 K. 17 12 14 16 18 33). See COOKING UTENSILS, § 2; POTTERY.

BARRICADE (מַעְגָּל), 1 S. 17 20 RVmg. See CAMP, § 1.

BARSABAS or **BARSABBAS** (§§ 48, 72). The etymology is doubtful. Βαρσαβας has been derived

1. Name. from בַּר ('son') and שְׁבָא or סְבָא ('Sheba,' —which, however, as far as we know, is always the name of a country, never of a person), from בר and צבא (= 'warrior'; cp Nu. 31 53), or from בַּר and סָבָא ('old man's son,'). Βαρσαββας ([Ti. WH] the better attested form of the name) suggests 'child of the Sabbath.' Dalman (*Gram. d. jüd.-paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 143) instances analogies to show that שַׁבְּתַי or שבתי could by contraction become שַׁבָּא, though בַּר שַׁבְּתָא is what we should more naturally expect in such a case.

1. Joseph Barsabbas, surnamed Justus (Ἰοῦστος [Ti. WH]), was nominated, though not chosen, for the

2. Joseph. vacancy in the apostolate caused by the death of Judas. The account of the election in Acts 1 15-26 could not be held to be historical if we regarded the number twelve for the original apostolate as having been fixed, and invested with special dignity, only after the controversy as to Paul's equality in privilege with the apostles of Jerusalem. But even were we to set aside the reference to the δώδεκα in 1 Cor. 15 5, as being unparalleled elsewhere in the Pauline writings, we should still be at a loss to explain why Paul never vigorously protested against an innovation—if innovation it was—so arbitrary and so derogatory to his own position. Occasion enough for doing so presented itself in Gal. 2 and 2 Cor. 10-13. We must, accordingly, ascribe to Jesus himself the choice of twelve of his disciples who stood in peculiarly close relations to their Master. But in that case it was very natural that these should seek to keep up their number—that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Whether the election was in Jerusalem is more open to question. On the arrest of Jesus all the disciples, according to Mk. 14 50 Mt. 26 56, had taken to flight, and that they should have returned to Jerusalem so soon is not likely. The view of Lk. and Jn., according to which they are present in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection of Jesus (and remain there), cannot be reconciled with what we are told by Mk. and Mt.; the explanation is that the third and fourth evangelists found the statement of the first and second incredible. According to this last, Jesus, in Jerusalem, through the women, sends the disciples, who are also in Jerusalem, to Galilee, in order that he may there show himself to them. The kernel of historical fact, however, is not as Lk. and Jn. have it, but the reverse: namely, that the apostles were not in Jerusalem at all, but in Galilee, and thus in Galilee received the manifestations of their risen Lord. It may even be questioned whether they were again in Jerusalem and able to come forward publicly and unopposed so early as at the following Pentecost (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL).

In a still higher degree must the discourse of Peter in Acts 1 16-22 be regarded as entirely the work of the author (see ACTS, § 14).

Instead of Ἰωσήφ in Acts 1 23, there is some (though inferior) authority for Ἰωσῆς, a reading due perhaps to a conjecture that the 'brethren of Jesus' named in Mk. 6 3 were of the number of the Twelve; the same conjecture, if in Acts 1 23 the reading Ἰωσήφ be retained, appears to find support in the fact that in Mt. 13 55 the brother of Jesus in question is called, not as in Mk. 6 3 Ἰωσῆς, but according to the best MSS Ἰωσήφ. The assumption, however, is quite inadmissible (see CLOPAS, §§ 4, 5).

According to Papias (Eus. *HE* iii. 39 9), Justus Barsabas drank deadly poison with impunity. From the fifth century onwards he is named as one of the seventy of Lk. 10 1; in the list of these preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* (Bonn ed. i. 400) he is identified with Thaddæus = Lebbæus; in that of Pseudo-Dorotheus (*ib.* ii. 128), with Jesus Justus (Col. 4 11), to whom the see of Eleutheropolis is assigned. In the *Passio Pauli* (attributed to Linus, but really dating from the 5th or 6th cent.) 'Barnabas et Justus,' in another redaction 'Barnabas Justus,' and in a third ὁ Βαρσαβας Ἰοῦστος, are enumerated among servants of Nero who, converted by Paul, are cast into prison and condemned to death by the emperor, but afterwards released after an appearance of the risen Paul to the latter. The identification of this Justus with the biblical Barsabas seems to have

been made at a comparatively late date. See Lipsius; *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* i. 201-3, 24; ii. 194-96, 150, **161,** 281 *f.*

2. Another Barsabbas called Judas appears in Acts 15 22-34, along with Silas, as a prominent member of the early church in Jerusalem, and as a προφήτης—that is to say, as a man endowed with the gift of παράκλησις (see BARNABAS, § 1). The mission ascribed to him—that of conveying the decree of the council of Jerusalem—cannot, of course, be more historical than the decree itself (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10).

3. Judas.

P. W. S.

BARTACUS (Βαρτακογ [BA], Βαζακογ [L], *BEZACIS* [Vg.]), father of Apame, a concubine of Darius (1 Esd. 4 29). His title or epithet τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ is obscure. Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 35) gives it as τοῦ θεμασίου, which may possibly be for μαθεστου = old Pers. *mathišta* (simply 'colonel'), and, at any rate, is hardly a misunderstanding of the τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ in 1 Esd. (RV 'the illustrious B.'), which is not a very natural epithet. The form given by Josephus, Ραβεζακου (cp Syr. ܪܒܙܩܐ), seems nearest to the original name, which was probably Artabāzak. Out of this 'Bartacus' may have arisen in this way: the MS had βαζακου, and over the first four letters was written αρτα—a correction which the scribe misunderstood (so Marq. *Fund.* 65).

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαιος [Ti. WH]) is enumerated in Mt. 10 3 Mk. 3 18 Lk. 6 14 Acts 1 13 (see APOSTLE, § 1) as one of the twelve apostles of Jesus. The second portion of the name represents the OT proper name vocalised by MT as תַּלְמַי (Θολμει; for the variants see TALMAI). In Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 1 1 § 5) the name Tholomaios (Θολομαῖος) occurs as borne by a robber-chief. It is not necessary to derive from Ptolemy (Πτολεμαῖος); the θ instead of τ is against this, though the second ο for ε presents no difficulty (Winer,[8] § 5 20 *d*). Bartholomew may have been either a genuine proper name like Barnabas, Barjesus, etc., or a mere addition to the real proper name of the bearer, given for the sake of distinction, like Simon Bar-jona (cp BARABBAS, § 2); on the latter supposition we do not know the true name of Bartholomew. It is the merest conjecture that identifies him with Nathanael [see NATHANAEL). If we neglect this conjecture the NT has nothing further to tell us about Bartholomew.

1. In NT.

Ecclesiastical tradition makes him a missionary to the most widely separated countries, and attributes to him a variety of martyrdoms. The oldest writer from whom we have an account of him is Eusebius (*HE* v. 10 3), who represents him as having preached in India (in those days a very wide geographical expression, including, for example, Arabia Felix), and as having left behind him there the Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew; but Lipsius (*Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2 54-108; cp Ergänz.-heft. 130 *f.*, 189-191), from the closely related character of the tradition regarding him and Matthew, assigns an earlier date to a tradition that the shores of the Black Sea were the scene of the labours of both, although this tradition is found only in authors later than Eusebius. According to other accounts he preached the Gospel among the Copts, or (with Thomas) in Armenia, or (with Philip) in Phrygia, and, after the death of Philip, in Lycaonia. In the lists of the apostles his name is always coupled with that of Philip,—a fact which makes it all the more remarkable that in this group of legends he is expressly designated as one of the 'seventy' disciples of Lk. 10 1. On the other hand, the Parthian legend which gives Mesopotamia and Persia as the field of his labours, identifies him with Nathanael. A heretical *Gospel of Bartholomew* is mentioned by Jerome in his preface to Mt.

2. Post-biblical.

P. W. S.

BARTIMEUS (Βαρτιμαιος [Ti. WH]; on the accent see below, § 2, end), the name of the blind beggar whom (according to Mk. 10 46-52) Jesus healed as he was leaving Jericho for Jerusalem. The parallel narratives of Mt. and Lk. show various discrepancies in points of detail. According to Lk. 18 35-43 the healing happened as Jesus was entering, not when he was leaving, Jericho, and according to Mt. 20 29-34 two blind men were healed. It might perhaps be suggested that each of the two evangelists, or at least Mt., was thinking of some occurrence other than that recorded by Mk.; but, as against this, the very close coincidence with the text of Mk. shows clearly that both are dealing with the story which is associated in Mk. with the name of Bartimæus.

1. Story.

As regards this particular class of miracle, our judgment on which must depend on our doctrine of miracles in general, so much at least may be remarked, that in speaking to the disciples of John (Mt. 11 5 = Lk. 7 22) of his giving sight to the blind, and other similar wonders, Jesus meant to be understood in a spiritual, not in a physical, sense. Otherwise the closing words, 'and to the poor the gospel is preached,' would have no force; for no proof of supernatural physical power is involved in this crowning instance. It is plain, however, that the evangelists understood his words in a physical sense. For in Mt. there is recorded, before the account of the message to John, not only the healing of a leper (8 1-4) and of a lame man (9 1-8), as in Lk., but also the bringing to life of Jairus's daughter (9 18-26), which Lk. records after that message (Lk. 8 40-56), the healing of a κωφός (9 32 *f.*), which Mk. does not record at all and which Lk. relates, like the raising of Jairus' daughter, after the message to John (11 14), and, above all, the healing of two blind men (9 27-31), which does not appear in the parallel narratives. It thus appears that, in the first gospel, instances of all five classes of miracle are recorded as having occurred before Jesus appeals to them (if we may disregard the consideration that in Mt. 9 32 *f.* κωφός is used in the sense of dumb; while Jesus in the message to John uses it in the sense of deaf). Lk., on the other hand, in whose narrative the message to John is preceded only by the raising of the widow's son at Nain (7 11-17), in addition to the healing of a leper and a lame man (5 12-26) relates in 7 27 that Jesus wrought upon many persons in the presence of the disciples of John the miracles to which he was immediately afterwards to appeal. Of these miracles we have no indication in the other evangelists. The conclusion is that the words 'to the poor the gospel is preached' cannot have been the addition of the evangelists or of any of their predecessors. The words destroy the physical-supernatural interpretation which the evangelists seek to put upon the preceding clauses. They are the authentic words of Jesus himself, and they prove that he did not claim to be a healer of the physically blind.

Some of the critics who argue that the evangelists have misapprehended Jesus's words do not deny the historicity of the story of Bartimæus. They point out that, in Mk.'s narrative at least, Bartimæus, 'casting away his garment, sprang up and came to Jesus' (and thus cannot have been completely blind); also that the event helps to render intelligible the popular enthusiasm at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem immediately afterwards. They account for the divergence of Lk. by pointing out that for the story of Zacchæus a great concourse of people *before* the entry of Jesus into Jericho is required, and that the evangelist (erroneously) believed this to have been due to the healing of the blind man; Mt.'s divergence they account for by supposing that he had fused together the story of Bartimaeus and that of the blind man, recorded in Mk. 8 22-26, which he had previously passed over. Finally, they appeal to the express mention of the name of the person healed—a rare thing in the gospels—as guaranteeing a genuine reminiscence.

This last argument would, of course, lose its validity should the name prove to be no real name but merely a description.

2. Name.

According to Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* 588, 1461-2, the Syrian lexicographers Bar 'Ali (*circa* 885 A.D.) and Elias of Anbar (*circa* 922) interpret Timæus as meaning blind (*samyā*); similarly *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag.[1] 176 35; Βαρτιμαῖος, υἱὸς τυφλός; and Jerome (*ib.* 66 10) even gives the corrected form 'Barsemia filius cæcus' and adds: 'quod et ipsum corrupte quidam Bartimæum legunt.' The reading Barsemia, however, has no support except in Barhebræus (*ob.* 1286 A.D.), who found in two Greek MSS 'Samya bar Samya';[1] and the interpretation

1 The reading is suspicious for the very reason that it depends on that of the Syriac translation, which could not render ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος otherwise than by the awkward and meaningless repetition of בַּר. It accordingly left 1 υἱός untranslated, thus making Timæus the blind man's own name, and designating him טִימַי בַּר טִימַי (so in Syr. sin. and nearly so in Syr. hr.; cp Land, *Anec.* 4 141: טִימַאי בַר טִימַאי). This might be held to indicate that the combination ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος cannot be due to the evangelist, who habitually introduces the Greek translation of an Aramaic expression by ὅ ἐστιν (3 17 7 11 34) or ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον (5 41 15 22 34). Thus ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου is the marginal note of some very ancient reader.

'blind' cannot he established. Hitzig, who upholds it, has only inferred an Aramaic טמי, 'to he blind,' as being the intermediate step between the Syr. *semī* and the Arabic *'amiya* of this meaning (in Merx's *Archiv*, 1 107 *f.*, and *Kritik paulinischer Briefe*, 1870, p. 9 *f.*); but the inference is not sound. It would appear, then, that the ancient interpretation 'blind' was hit upon simply because τυφλός stood near. Neubauer (*Stud. Bib.* 1 57), without expressing any view as to the etymology, gives בַּר תִּימָא as the original form. This rests, however, only on the writing of the name in some MSS of the Vet. Lat. with *th* instead of *t*, and the termination *-eas* instead of *-æus*,—to which, however, the unanimous testimony of the Greek MSS is surely to he preferred (only D has Βαριτειμιας). Thus the most likely rendering of the name would he בַּר טַמְאַי, 'son of the unclean.'

Accepting this interpretation, Volkmar still regarded the name as only a description of the actor in the story. Uncleanness, he armed, is the characteristic of the Gentile world: what Mk. means to say is, not that an individual man, but that the whole Gentile world, is freed from spiritual blindness by Jesus—that is, hy the preaching of his gospel (*Marcus u. d. Synopse*, 422, 502-6, 675, 711 *f.*; *Jesus Nazarenus*, 266 *f.*). But in the sight of Christianity, Judaism, as well as heathenism, is blind, and Volkmar finds Judaism, too, represented, in the blind man whose healing is described in an earlier chapter (Mk. 8 22-26; see *Marcus*, 338 *f.*, 403-11; *Jesus Nazarenus*, 243-5). The text, however, supplies not the slightest indication or hint that in the one place the Jews, in the other the Gentiles, are intended; in fact, as Bartimæus uses the words 'son of David' and 'Rabbuni,' Volkmar finds himself constrained to pronounce him not a Gentile in the full sense of the word, but a proselyte—thereby, however, destroying his own position, which is that the two healings taken together express the deliverance hy the gospel of the whole of humanity from spiritual blindness.

We are shut up, then, to the conclusion that Bartimaeus is a proper name like Barnabas, Barjesus, and the like, and it is a matter of indifference whether the second element be the appellative טַמְאַי, 'unclean,' or the personal name טימי (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* 2 154),[1] or the place name טמיא (*ib.* 166), or the second part of the Syriac place-name בֵּית טִימַי (*Thes. Syr.* 486, 1462), and whether any or all of the last three forms admit of being traced to a Jewish-Aramaic root טים, 'to close up' (Syr. טמם).

Bartimaeus remains a proper name, also, if the second part of it be supposed to he the Greek name Τίμαιος (found *e.g.*, in Plato). Origen seems to have had this derivation in his mind when he called Bartimæus ὁ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπώνυμος. Such a blending, however, of Aramaic and Greek is unlikely. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Greek word may have had influence on the accent. With a Semitic derivation this would naturally be Βαρτιμαῖος, as in Ματθαῖος, Ζακχαῖος, and so forth. But just as, on the analogy of the very common Greek termination -ανός, the accepted pronunciation of Urbanus and Silvanus was Οὐρβανός and Σιλουανός (Rom. 16 9 2 Cor. 1 19), although in Latin the accent lay on the penultimate, so conceivably the name under consideration may have been accented Βαρτίμαιος, even without supposing it to be etymologically derived from the Greek.

For the philology see, especially, Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1893, pp. 83-92, and for the subject in general, Keim, *Gesch. Jes. von Naz.* 3 51-54 (ET 5 61-64). P. W. S.

BARUCH (בָּרוּךְ, 'blessed [of God]'; Βαρουχ [BℵAQ]; Βαρουχος [Jos.]), son of Neriah and brother of SERAIAH (*q.v.*, 4), one of Jeremiah's most faithful friends in the upper class of the citizens of Jerusalem (cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 9 1, ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας). We hear of Baruch first in 604 B.C. as the scribe who committed to writing the prophecies delivered by his master up to that date, and then in 603 B.C. (?) as the fearless reader of those prophecies before the people, the princes, and the king (Jer. 36). After the roll from which he read had been burned, Baruch wrote down the substance of the former roll afresh —a fact not without significance for the criticism of the Book of JEREMIAH (*q.v.*). In 587 B.C., it was to Baruch that Jeremiah when in prison committed the deeds of the land which he purchased from his cousin Hanamel at Anathoth (32 12), and after the fall of Jerusalem it was this faithful scribe who was charged with having induced Jeremiah to dissuade his countrymen from seeking a refuge in Egypt (43 3). The disciple appears to have been similar in character to his master. In the language of strong emotion he complained of the troubles which had come upon him, and of the wandering life which he was forced to lead. 'Seekest thou great things for thyself' (*i.e.*, the leadership of a new and better Israel)?: 'Seek them not' was the answer; for still worse troubles are in prospect; but Baruch's own life will be spared (45 1-5; cp 12 1-5). We may be thankful for this brief record of Baruch's inner life. Its genuineness has been too hastily doubted:[1] the date given in 45 1 is, of course, too early to suit the contents, and must be interpolated; but the prophecy itself is altogether in character with Jeremiah.

No other trustworthy facts respecting Baruch have reached us. In the *Midrash Shir ha-Shirim* (on Cant. 5 5) and in *Megilla* 16*b*, he is said to have been the teacher of Ezra; and the *Midrash* adds that Ezra did not go up to Jerusalem directly after the edict of Cyrus, because he did not like to miss the instructions of his teacher. This is obviously an attempt to prove the unbroken transmission of the oral tradition. An equally great and equally groundless honour was conferred on Baruch when Bunsen represented him as the 'great unnamed' prophet who composed Is. 40-66. That various apocryphal writings claimed Baruch as their author is not surprising: Ezra and Baruch, the two great scribes, were marked out for such distinctions. See APOCRYPHA, § 20; APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 5 *ff.*, and BARUCH, Book of.

2. In list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5*b*, § 15 [1] *a*); Neh. 11 5. Not mentioned in ‖ 1 Ch. 9 2 *ff.*

3. b. Zabbai (or Zaccai), in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*); Neh. 3 20.

4. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7); Neh. 10 6 [7]. T. K. C.

BARUCH, Book of, a short book which in the LXX is placed immediately after Jeremiah, and is reckoned by the Roman Catholic Church as one of the so-called deutero-canonical writings.

Its contents may be summarised as follows:—

1. Contents. (Chap. 1 1-2.) The book is said to have been written by Baruch the son of Neriah at Babylon in the fifth year, at the time when Jerusalem was burned by the Chaldeans.

(Chap. 1 3-14.) Baruch reads his book in the presence of Jeconiah (*i.e.*, Jehoiachin), the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and in the presence of the other Jewish exiles who dwell at Babylon by the river Sud (Σούδ [?]). After mourning and fasting, they send money to Jerusalem to the priest Jehoiakim (Ἰωακείμ), the son of Hilkiah, commanding him to offer sacrifices in behalf of Nubuchodonosor (Nebuchadrezzar) king of Babylon and his son Belshazzar, in order that Israel may find mercy. At the same time, the Jewish exiles send the following book, which is to be read publicly on feast days in the Temple.

(Chaps. 1 15-3 8.) This section is a confession of sin, put into the mouth of Israel and accompanied by prayers that God will at length pardon his people whom he has so justly punished. Special stress is laid upon the sin which the people committed in refusing to serve the king of Babylon, notwithstanding the solemn injunctions of the prophets.

(Chaps. 3 9-5 9.) Now follows a discourse addressed to the Israelites dispersed among the Gentiles. It begins by showing that the calamities of the people are due to their having forsaken God, the only source of wisdom, and then proceeds to console them with promises of restoration—Jerusalem will he gloriously re-established for ever and ever, and the oppressors of Israel are to be humbled to the dust.

2. Integrity. It will be seen that the book is very far from presenting the appearance of an organic unity. After the heading of chap. 1, 'These are the words of the book which Baruch wrote,' etc., we might expect the book itself to follow immediately; but, instead of this, we have a long account of the effect produced upon the people by the reading of the hook. Nor are we clearly informed whether 'the book' sent

[1] This personal name טימי, however, is not certainly made out, for, according to Dalman (*Theol. Lit.-Glatt*, 1893, p. 257 *f.*, and *Aram. u. neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, 1898, p. 162), in the sole proof-text cited, the reading in the first edition is שימי, which he explains from שמעון.

[1] Schwally, *ZATW* 8 217.

by the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem (1 14), which they cite at full length in the following section (1 15-3 8), is or is not identical with 'the book' written by Baruch. Moreover, the historical situation described in the narrative (1 3-13) does not agree very well with the subsequent portion, since the narrative assumes the continued existence of the temple, whereas 2 26 implies its destruction. Finally, the discourse which occupies all the latter half of the book begins quite abruptly and stands in no definite relation to what precedes: it presupposes, indeed, the dispersion of Israel; but to Baruch and to the special circumstances of the *Babylonian* captivity there is no allusion.

To these general considerations may be added several difficulties of detail. The date given in 1 2 is so obscurely worded that several modern commentators (*e.g.*, Ewald and Kneucker) have felt obliged to emend the text. Even if the omission of the month be explained, we still have to decide whether 'the fifth year' means the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity or the fifth year after the burning of Jerusalem; and to both views there are serious objections. Chap. 1 8 disturbs the sense, and if it be genuine must originally have stood in some other place.

3. Origin. Though the Book of Baruch never formed part of the Hebrew Canon (for which reason Jerome excluded it from his Latin translation of the Bible), it was regarded as authentic by many of the Christian fathers, from the second century onwards. Sometimes, owing to the place which it occupies in the LXX, it is cited as a part of Jeremiah. Even in quite recent times, it has been maintained by Roman Catholic theologians that the book is a translation of a genuine work of the well-known Baruch, the friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. All competent critics, however, have long ago concluded that it dates from a very much later period, and belongs to the large class of Jewish books which were put forth under false names. Its origin and history remain, however, in some respects obscure. That 1 15-3 8 and 3 9-5 9 are by different authors is generally acknowledged: both in substance and in style there is a marked contrast, the language of the former section being simple and full of Hebraisms, while that of the latter is highly rhetorical. The dates of the various parts, however, and the question whether the whole or any part was originally written in Hebrew are matters about which critics differ.

Ewald ascribed the first half (1 1-3 8) to a Jew living in Babylonia or Persia under one of the latter Achæmenian kings, and regarded the rest of the book as having been written soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter (*320* B.C.); 4 32 Ewald explained as a reference to the deportation of Jews to Alexandria. Very few critics, however, are now in favour of so early a date. Kneucker thinks that the work, in its original form, was composed in the reign of Domitian, and consisted of only the heading (*i.e.*, 1 1 2 in part, 3), and the discourse contained in 3 9-5 9; the confession of sin (1 15-3 8) was, according to Kneucker, probably written a little earlier (in any case after the year **73** of our era) as an independent work, and was subsequently inserted into the Book of Baruch by a scribe, who himself composed 1 4-14. Schurer, on the contrary, whilst admitting that the middle of chap. 1 does not harmonise very well with what precedes and follows, thinks it on the whole probable that all the first half of the book (1 1-3 8) is by the same author, whom he places soon after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the second half being by a different hand but of about the same period. With regard to the original language, Ewald, Kneucker, and others believe the whole to be a translation from the Hebrew, whilst Bertholdt, Havernick, and Noldeke regard the Greek as the primitive text. Fritzsche, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, and Schürer maintain the theory of a primitive Hebrew text in the case of the first half only. In favour of this hypothesis, it may be mentioned that on the margin of the Syro-Hexaplar text of Baruch there are three notes by a scribe stating that certain words in 1 17 and 2 3 are 'not found in the Hebrew' (cp APOCRYPHA, § *6* (1)).

4. Historical value. As to the question of historical credibility, it is obvious that if, with the majority of critics, we ascribe the book to the Roman period, its value as a record of facts is reduced to nothing. Whether, for example, the statements about Baruch's residence in Babylon, the river Σούδ, and the priest Jehoiakim are based upon any really ancient tradition it is impossible for us to decide. The author of the first half borrows largely from Jeremiah and from Daniel; in the second half we find many reminiscences of Job and of the latter part of Isaiah; and it may be that sources now lost also were employed. It is particularly important to observe that the closing passage (4 36-5 9) bears a striking resemblance to one of the pieces in the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (Ps. 11—see the edition of Ryle and James, pp. lxxii.-lxxiv.), which probably date from about the middle of the first century B.C. Since there is every reason to believe that the Psalms of Solomon were originally composed in Hebrew (cp APOCALYPTIC, § 83), the close verbal agreement seems to indicate that the author of this part of Baruch used the Psalms of Solomon in their present Greek form.

6. Texts and comm. The most important of the MSS containing the Greek text of Baruch are B, A, and the Marchalianus (*Q*). In ℵ this book is missing. Fritzsche's edition of the Apocrypha (*Libri apocryphi veteris testamenti græce*, 1871) does not accurately represent the B text of Baruch; but trustworthy information about this MS may be obtained from Swete's *Septuagint* iii., in the preparation of which the photographic reproduction of B was used.

The ancient versions are—(1) the old Latin, contained in the editions of the Vg.; (2) another Latin version, first published at Rome in 1688 by Joseph Maria a Caro Tommasi; (3) the Old Syriac, edited by Paul de Lagarde in his *Libri veteris testamenti apocryphi syriace*, 1861, from a MS in the British Museum, Add. 17,105; (4) the Syro-Hexaplar—*i.e.*, the Syriac translation of Origen's Hexaplaric text—contained in the Codex Ambrosianus, which was reproduced in photo-lithography by Ceriani in 1874; (5) the Ethiopic—a much abridged form of the text—ed. by Dillmann (Berlin 1894) in the 5th vol. of his *Vetus Testamentum Æthiopicum*; (6) the Armenian, of which the best edition is contained in the Armenian Bible published at Venice in 1805; (7) the Coptic, edited by Brugsch in *ZÄ* x.-xii.

Of modern commentaries the most valuable are those of Fritzsche (in *Kurzgef. Handb.*, 1851), Reusch (*Erklärung des Buchs* Baruch, 1853), Ewald (*Propheten* des *alten Bundes*,(2) iii. 1867-68), Kneucker (*Das Buch Baruch*, 1879), and Gifford (in Wace's *Apocrypha*, 1888). The best general account of the book will be found in Schürer (*GJV*, 1886-90, ii. pp. 721-726, ET). The reader may consult also Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, 1812-19, pt. iv.), Havernick (*De libro Baruchi commentatio critica*, 1843), Hitzig (in *ZWT* 3 262-273), Hilgenfeld (*ibid.* 5 199-203, 22 437-454, 23 412-422), Nöldeke (*ATliche Lit.*, 1868, p. 214 n.), Reuss (Gesch. *d. heiligen Schriften ATs.*,(2) 1890), and the article on this book in Smith's *DB*,(2) 1893—an article valuable chiefly on account of the additions made by Prof. Ryle.

6. Appendices. In many MSS and printed editions the apocryphal *Epistle of Jeremiah* is appended to Baruch, and it is reckoned in the Vg. as the sixth chapter of the book. The Book of Baruch is not to be confounded with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 5 *ff.*). The work known as 'The Rest of the words of Baruch,' extant in Greek, Ethiopic, and Armenian, seems to be a Christian imitation of the Apocalypse of Baruch. We possess, moreover, a third apocalypse of Baruch extant in Greek and in Slavonic, and a fourth extant only in Ethiopic. The Greek text of the former has been published by James in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, second series ['97] (*Texts and* Studies, vol. 5, no. 1), where some information will be found also about the Ethiopic apocalypse (lii.).

A. A. B.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזִלַּי; Βερζελλ[ε]ι [BℵAL]). The meaning can scarcely be 'iron,' for such a name would be without a parallel. According to Nestle (*ZDPV* 15 257; cp Kampfmeyer, *ib.* 9), the name is Aramaic ('son of ——?'); but the latter part of it is still obscure.

1. A wealthy Gileadite of Rōgĕlim, who befriended David in his flight from Absalom at Mahanaim (2 S. 17 27). He refused David's offer to live at the court at Jerusalem, but entrusted to him his son CHIMHAM

(*q.v.*; 2 S. 19 32 *ff.*). David on his death recommended the sons of Barzillai to Solomon (1 K. 2 7).

2. A Gileadite [see (3)], Ezra 2 61 *b* (βερζελλα[ε]ι [B], -λλαι [A]) = Neh. 7 63 *b* (-λλα [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 38 *b* (BERZELUS, RV ZORZELLEUS, RVmg. PHAEZELDAEUS; φαηζελδαιου [B], ζορζελλεου [A]).

3. A man who married one of the daughters of (2) and changed his name to Barzillai.[1] In post-exilic times the b'ne Barzillai were among those deposed from the priesthood because they were unable to prove their pedigree. In 1 Esd. 5 38 the original name of the founder of the family is said to have been JADDUS, AV ADDUS (ιαδδους [B], ιοδδ. [A])—*i.e.*, Jaddua (cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8 4; ιαδδους);—but in the parallel passages he is simply called Barzillai; Ezra 2 61 *a* (ζαρβελθει [B], ζερβελλαι [A]) = Neh. 7 63 *a* (βερζελλαι [A]), and so L in 1 Esd. 5 38 (βερζελλει). The same passage gives AUGIA as the name of his wife.

4. A man of Abel-meholah (not far. therefore. from Gilead), whose son ADRIEL (*q.v.*) also has been thought to bear an Aramaic name (2 S. 21 8).

BASALOTH (Βααλωθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 52, BAZLUTH, *q.v.*

BASCAMA (Βακαμα [AℵV]; Βακα, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6), an unknown place, in Gilead, where Jonathan the Maccabee was put to death by Trypho (1 Macc. 13 23). Furrer's identification (*ZDPV* 12 151) with *Tell-Bāzūk* on the W. Goramâye (to the E. of the extreme N. of Lake Tiberias) is precarious (see Buhl, *Pal.* 241). Equally unsubstantiated is the identification with BEZEK, i.

BASE. For מְכֹנָה, מְכוֹנָה, *mᵉkhōnāh*, the word employed to denote the structure upon which each of Solomon's lavers rested (1 K. 7 27 *f.* 30 32 34 *f.* 37 *ff.* 42 *f.*: 2 K. 16 17 25 13 16 2 Ch. 4 14, μεχωνωθ [sing. and pl.]; Jer. 27 [34] 19 om. BℵA, μεχωνωθ [Theod.]; Jer. 52 17 βασεις [BℵQΓ]), see LAVER; also for כֵּן, *kēn*, Ex. 31 9 etc., RV [AV 'foot']. For יָרֵךְ, *yārēkh*, Ex. 25 31 37 17 RV [AV 'shaft'], see CANDLESTICK, § 2, n. 3; and for גַּב, *gāb*, Ezek. 43 13 RV, see ALTAR, § 11.

BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת), Gen. 36 3 RV; AV BASHEMATH.

BASEMENT (גַּבָּה), Ez. 41 8 RV. See GABBATHA, PAVEMENT.

BASHAN (בָּשָׁן, always in prose [except 1 Ch. 5 23], and sometimes also in poetry, with the art. הַבָּשָׁן: the

1. Name. appellative sense of the word, to judge from the Arab. *buthainatun*, was probably 'fertile, rich and stoneless soil': see Wetzstein, in Del. *Hiob*(2) [App.], 556 *f.*: 𝔊BAL βασαν or ἡ βασανεῖτις), the name of the broad and fertile tract of country on the E. of Jordan, bounded (somewhat roughly) on the S. by the Yarmiik and a line passing through Edre'i and Salchah (mentioned as border cities in Dt. 3 10), on the E. by the imposing range of extinct volcanoes called the Jehel Hauriin, on the W. by Geshur and Ma'acah (see Josh. 12 5), and on the N. stretching out towards Hermon (cp Dt. 33 22: see further, on the limits of Bashan, Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1890, pp. 231-4). The name (in its Gk. form Βαταναία,[2] and its Arabic form *Bathanīyeh*[3]) was, however, afterwards restricted to the southern portion of the area thus defined, other parts of the ancient 'Bashan' being distinguished as TRACHONITIS (*q.v.*)—*i.e.*, the remarkahle pear-shaped volcanic formation in the NE. now called the Lejā—Auranitis (probably the Jebel Hauriin and its environs in the SE.), and Gaulanitis (which, however, may have included parts of Geshur and Ma'acah, beyond the limits of Bashan proper) in the West. The principal part of the Bashan of the OT must have been the broad rolling prairie now called by the Bedawin *en-Nuḳra*, a word properly denoting the 'hollow hearth' dug by the Bedawi in the middle of his tent, and applied to this great plain because, though it is

[1] The adoption of the family name of the wife suggests that she was an heiress.

[2] See Schiirer, *GJV* 1353.

[3] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 83-88, and in the app. to Del. *Hiob*,(2) 553-558, where it is shown also that the modern ''arḍ el-Bathaniyeh,' or 'Land of Bathaniyeh,' is the name of a comparatively small district N. of the Jebel Ḥaurān and E. of the Lejā, which can never (as was supposed by Porter and others) have formed part of either Bashan or the province of Βαταναία.

some 1800-2000 ft. above tlie level of the sea, it forms a depression between the hilly Jaulān (across the Nahr er-Ruḳḳād) on the W., the Zumleh range on the S., and the Jebel Ḥaurān and the Lejā on the E.:[1] the S. and SE. part of en-Nukra also hears the special name of ḤAURĀN (*q.v.*).

Bashan, as defined above, is distinguished geologically from the country S. of it. The Yarmūk forms a natural

2. Character. dividing line, on the S. of which the limestone comes to the surface, while on the N. it is covered by volcanic deposits. Jebel Hauriin, on the SE., is simply a range of extinct volcanoes; volcanic peaks extend from N. to S. in Jaulān, along the edge of the Jordan valley, on the W.;[2] and there are isolated volcanic hills in other parts of the country. The Lejā, that strange 'petrified ocean' NW. of the Jebel Ḥaurān, which measures some 25 m. from N. to S. by 19 from E. to W. (see TRACKONITIS), owes its origin entirely to streams of basaltic lava emitted from the Gharārat el-Kibliyeh, a now extinct volcano at the NW. corner of the Jebel Hauriin. The soil both of the slopes of the Jebel Ḥaurān and of the Nukra is a rich red loam,[3] formed by the lava scoria, which has become disintegrated under atmospheric action. The soil thus constituted is celebrated for its fertility: the best corn grows upon it, and in summer time the plain is covered far and wide with waving crops. The country is, however, in general almost entirely destitute of trees: only on the slopes of Jebel Ḥaurān, especially in its central and southern parts, are there abundant forests of evergreen oak[4] (cp the allusions to the 'oaks of Bashan' in the OT: Is. 2 13 Zech. 11 2 Ez. 27 6, also Is. 33 9 (𝔊 ἡ Γαλ[ε]ιλαια), Nah. 1 4). In ancient times, also, it must have supplied rich pastures: the strong and well-nourished herds of Bashan are mentioned in Ps. 22 13 [12] (𝔊 omits) Am. 4 1 Ez. 39 18 (𝔊 omits) Dt. 32 14 (𝔊 ταύρων); cp also Mic. 7 14 Jer. 50 19 (𝔊 omits). The lofty conical summits of the volcanoes forming the Ḥaurān range (cp Porter, 183, 186, 190, 227, 250) are no doubt the 'mountains with peaks,' which the poet of Ps. 68 16 *f.* [15 *f.*] pictures as looking enviously at the comparatively unimposing mountain of Zion.

The principal towns of Bashan mentioned in the OT are the two royal cities of 'Og (Dt. 1 4 Josh. 12 4 βασα

3. Towns. [B]), 'ASHTAROTH, now probably either Tell 'Ashterā or Tell 'Ash'ari, in the middle of en-Nuḳrā, and EDRE'I, now Der'āt, on its S. border, GOLAN (Dt. 4 43), somewhere in the W., and SALCHAH (Dt. 3 10), how Ṣalchad, a frontier-fortress in a commanding position overlooking the desert in the SE. corner of Bashan, S. of Jebel Hauriin. Boṣra, between Edre'i and Salchah, though not mentioned till 1 Macc. 5 26 *ff.* (βοσορ [AℵV*]; but see BOSOR), also was, no donht, an important place: the site is still marked by extensive remains belonging to the Roman age. 'Threescore fenced cities, with high walls, gates and bars,' forming the kingdom of 'Og, are likewise mentioned in Dt. 3 4 (cp 1 K. 4 13) as situate in the 'region of Argob,' in Bashan. The position of Argob, and, consequently, the positions of those cities as well, are uncertain (see ARGOB, 1); hut there are remains of many ancient towns and villages in these parts, especially in the Lejā, and on the sloping sides of the Jehel Hanriin; according to Wetzstein, for example (*Hauran*, 42), there are 300 such ancient sites on the E. and S. slopes of the Jebel Hauriin alohe.

The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the mountain-side, and so arranged as

[1] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 87 n., *Hiob*, 552; GASm. *HG* 536 *f.* See the excellent map of this district published in the *ZDPV*, 1890, Heft 4, chiefly on the basis of Stübel's survey.

[2] Schumacher, *The Jaulān*, 18-20.

[3] Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 40 *f.* Cp the map at the end of the volume.

[4] Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*,(2) 186. 190, 200, 202, etc.; GASm. *Geog.* 613 *f.* The mountainous region of Jaulān, W. of the Ruḳḳād, also is well wooded.

to form separate chambers ; these are found chiefly on the E. of the Jebel Ḥaurān. Others are subterranean abodes entered by shafts invisible from above ; these are frequent on the W. of the Zumleh range, and at Edrei the dwellings thus constructed form quite an underground city. Commonly, the dwellings are built in the ordinary manner above ground; but they are constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basalt —the regular and indeed the only building material used in the country—with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material ;[1] of this kind are, for example, the houses at Burāḳ, on the N. edge of the Lejā, at Sauwarah, El-Hazm, Deir Nīleh, Hiyāt, Hit, Bathaniyeh, Shaḳā Shnhba, E. of it, Ḳanawāt and Suweideh, on the W. slopes of Jebel Ḥaurān, Ṣalchad, Kureiyeh, and Bosra on its SE. slope, and Nejrān, Ezra', Khubab, Dāmā, and Mismeiyeh, within the Lejā itself.[2] Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation that it is difficult for the traveller to realise that they are uninhabited, and in the Lejā especially, where the ground itself is of the same dark and sombre hue, unrelieved by a touch of green, or a single sign of life, a feeling of weirdness comes over him as he traverses their desolate and silent streets.

The architecture of the buildings contained in these cities (comprisingtemples, theatres, aqueducts, churches, etc.) stamps them as belonging to the Græco-Roman age, and is such as to show that between the first and the seventh centuries A.D. they were the home of a thriving and wealthy people. May any of these cities date from a remoter antiquity, and be actually the fortified places pointed to with wonder in Dt. 3 4 *f.* and 1 K. 4 13 ? The question was answered in the affirmative by Porter[3] and by Cyril Graham,[4] who believed that they had really rediscovered the cities 'built and occupied some forty centuries ago' by the giant race of the Rephāim ; hut this view cannot be sustained. The best authorities are unanimous in the opinion that, though in some cases very ancient building materials may be preserved in them, the extant remains are not, as a rule, of a date earlier thap the first century, A.D.[5] Dt. 3 4 *f.* and 1 K. 4 13 are sufficient evidence that in the seventh century B.C. there were in Bashan strongly fortified places which were popularly supposed to have belonged to the ancient kingdom of Og; but none of the existing deserted cities Can be as ancient as this. At the same time, it is not improbable that some of the cities built during and after the reign of Herod may have stood upon the sites of cities belonging to a much earlier age, and that in their construction the materials employed in building the more ancient cities may in some cases have been utilised and preserved.

4. History. As regards the history of Bashan, it is stated in Nu. 21 33-35 that the Israelites after their conquest of Sihon, king of Heshbon, turned in the direction of Bashan, defeated Og its king, who came out to meet them as far as his frontier fortress of Edrei, and took possession of his territory. The passage is in the context of JE ; but it agrees so closely, in form as well as in substance, with Dt. 3 1-3, that Dillmann and other critics consider this to have been its original place, supposing it to have been inserted afterwards into the text of Numbers for the purpose of supplying what seemed to be an omission.

All other notices of the same occurrence in the historical books are Deuteronomic (or later) : Israel's ancient victories over 'Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan' being two national successes, to which, especially, the writers of the Deuteronomic school were never weary of referring (Dt. 1 4 3 1 *ff.* 4 47 29 6 [7] 31 4 Josh. 2 10 9 10 12 4 *f.* 13 11 *f.* 1 K. 4 19 ; see also, later, Nu. 32 33 [R], Neh. 9 22 Ps **135** 11 136 19 *f.*)

The territory of Bashan fell to the possession of the half-tribe of Manasseh (Dt. 3 13 4 43 Josh. 13 29-31 [βασανει B *v.* 30]). Golan and 'Ashtaroth are stated in P to have been Levitical cities (Josh. 21 27, cp 1 Ch. 6 56 [71]) ; the former also is named as a city of refuge (Dt. 4 43 Josh. 20 8 21 27).

Bashan played no prominent part in the history ; and it is rarely mentioned in a historical connection. In 1 K. 4 13 it forms one of Solomon's commissariat districts ; and in 2 K. 10 33 it is included in the enumeration of trans-Jordanic regions which were 'smitten' by Hazael. Its inhabitants may be presumed to have suffered, like their neighbonrs in Gilead, on other occasions during the Syrian wars, and finally to have been carried into exile by Tiglath-pileser in 734 (2 K. 15 29) ; but in neither connection are they expressly mentioned. Apart from the prehistoric 'threescore cities' of the Argob, settled civilisation appears to have begun for the region of Bashan about the time of the Christian era, when its Semitic inhabitants first fell under Greek and Roman influence. The most important event in the history of the country, however, was its incorporation by Trajan, in 106 A.D., in his newly-founded province of Arabia. Then it was that Roman culture impressed itself visibly upon both the surface of the country and the character of its inhabitants; and towns, with great public buildings, of which the remains, as described above, survive to this day, sprang up in every part of it and continued to thrive for many centuries.[1]

6. Literature. The most important works on the topography of Bashan are, Wetzstein's *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen* ('60), and Guthe and Fischer's art: in the ZDPV, 1890, Heft 4, pp. 225-302 (containing Dr. Stübel's itineraryand map, and numerous bibliographical references) ; on Southern Bashan, or the Nuḳra, Schumacher, ZDPV, 1897, pp. 65-226 ; on Western Ḥaurān also, Scbumacher, *Across the Jordan,* 20-40, 103-242 ; Porter *Five Years in* Damascus; GASm. *HG* 575 *ff.*, 611 *ff.* Inscriptions (chiefly Greek and Latin) have been published by Wetzstein in the *Abh.* of the Berlin Ac. 1863, p. 255-368 ; Waddington, *op. cit.* Nos. 2071-2548 ; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.* 1 1-23 ; GASm. *Crit. Rev.*, 1892, p. 55 *ff.* ; W. Ewing, *PEFQ*, 1895 (4 papers) ; *CIS* 2 1, fasc. 2, Nos. 162-193. S. R. D.

¹ See more fully Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 44 *ff.* ; on Edrei, also, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121 *ff.*

² See for particulars Porter, *Damascus*, chaps. 10-14 ; Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, pp. 40, 47, etc. (with photographs).

³ *Damascus*,(2) 257 *f.*, 263 *f.*; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 12 *f.* 30, etc. ['82].

⁴ *Cambridge Essays* for 1858, p. 160 *f.*

⁵ Wetzstein, *Ḥauran*, 49, 103 *f.* : Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, etc., iii. 1534; and De Vogüé, the principal authority on the architecture of Ḥaurān, *Syrie Centrale, Archit. Civile et Relig.* 4 (cited in Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 63); GASm. *HG* 624.

BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR (הַבָּשָׁן חַוֹּת יָאִיר) occurs in Dt. 3 14 (Βασσεμαθ αυωθ ιαειρ [B*], βασαν αυωθ ιαειρ [B^ab (vid.)] (ut vid.) AFL]), where AV renders, 'and (Jair) called them after his own. name, Bashan-havoth-jair.' This version does justice to the present text, but certainly does not represent the mind of the original writer. The awkward (indeed, impossible) expression Bashan-havoth-jair can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the first element in it (Bashan) is a misplaced gloss from the margin. RV seeks to evade the difficulty by rendering, 'called them, even Bashan, after his own name, HAVVOTH-JAIR.' On the geographical difficulty which still remains, see HAVVOTH-JAIR.

BASHEMATH, or, as RV, correctly, BASEMATH (בָּשְׂמַת = ἀρωματίνη ? § 54 ; Βασεμμαθ [AD]).

Other readings are : Gen. 26 34 μασεμμαθ [AE] βασενεμαθ *D*vid. μασεθαμ [L ; elsewhere βασεμαθ] ; 36 3 μασεμμαθ [D] ; βα . . . [D] ; 4 μασεμμαθ [D] μασεθμαθ [E] ; 10 βασσεμμαθ [E] ; 13 μασε. [A] μασσεμαθ [DEL ; 17 μασεμμαθ [AE] [βα]σεμαθ [Dvid].

1. Daughter of Ishmael, and wife of Esan, called MAHALATH in Gen. 28 9 and Hittite (ευαιου [A]; χετγα. [E] ; χεττα. [L]) in Gen. 26 34 [P]. The names and tribal origin of Esau's three wives are given twice (cp ANAH) : by P in Gen. 26 34 28 9, and by R (?) in Gen. 36 2 *f.* A wife Basemath, and descent from Ishmael and from Elon the Hittite occur in both accbunts (see CAINITES, § 9), but differently assigned ; while the other names have no connection whatever : thus—

P	Beeri-Hittite	*Elon-Hittite*	*Ishmael*
	1. Judith	2. *Basemath*	3. Mahalath
R (or J)	*Elon-Hittite*	Zibeon-Hivite [Horite?]	*Ishmael*
	1. Adah	Anah	3. *Basemath*
		2. Oholibamah	

¹ See, further, GASm. *HG* 616 *ff.*

2. (AV BASMATH, RV BASEMATH), daughter of Solomon, 1 K. 4 15 (Μασεμαθ [A]).

BASILISK, RV rendering of צֶפַע (Is. 14 29), צִפְעֹנִי (Is. 11 8), for which **AV** has COCKATRICE [*q.v.*].

BASKETS of various kinds were used by the Hebrews, and were doubtless not unlike those which are often found depicted upon Egyptian monuments—large open baskets for fruit etc. (cp illustration, Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* 1 379), which could be borne upon the head (*ib.* 383, cp Gen. 40 16 *f.*), baskets to collect earth in the manufacture of bricks (on a supposed reference to which in Ps. 81 6, see BRICK), or deep wicker ones slung upon a yoke (*ib.* 380). Especially noteworthy is the large carpenter's tool-basket made of rush (a kind common throughout W. Asia), a specimen of which is now in the British Museum (cp *ib.* 401). The references to baskets present many points of interest; suffice it to refer to the difficult saying in Prov. 25 11, which RV renders, 'A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in baskets (AV 'pictures'; RVmg. 'filigree work') of silver,' where the implied notion is that the golden-hued apples look all the more beautiful in silver baskets. But (1) golden, not golden-hued apples (quinces) must be meant, if the text be correct; 'gold' and 'silver' must both be taken literally. (2) 'Baskets' is an impossible rendering, and 'filigree work,' though more plausible, is still hypothetical. (3) 'Fitly' has no sound linguistic basis. This is a case in which no weak emendation, affecting one or two letters, suffices.

Frankenberg has tried such a one; the sense produced is—

Golden gravings (פִּתּוּחֵי) on silver chased work,
(So is) a word spoken to the trustworthy (עַל־אמונים, cp 𝔊),

i.e., a word spoken to the receptive is as ineffaceable as the chased work referred to. Not very natural, and not a good parallel to *v.* 12.

By emending the text more boldly (but avoiding arbitrary guessing, and following parallels found elsewhere) it is possible to reach this excellent sense[1]—

A necklace of pearls in sockets of wreathen gold,
(So is) a word of the wise to him who hears it.

It is really only a slightly different version of the next proverb:

A ring of gold and an ornament of fine gold,
(So is) a word of the wise to a hearing ear.

Of the other Hebrew words rendered 'basket,' *dūd* (דּוּד), *ṭene'* (טֶנֶא), and *sal* (סַל) were used for general purposes, see COOKING, § 2. Nowack (*Arch.* 1 146) suggests that these were similar in character to the clay and straw *ḳawâbi* of the modern fellahin. The former may perhaps denote—loosely any pot or jar since we find it used for cooking in 1 S. 2 14 (cp BDB *s.v.*). The last-named (*sal*), a reed basket (equivalent to the Gr. κανοῦν [by which it is rendered] and Lat. *canistrum*),[2] has been brought into connection with the reduplicated form סַלְסִלּוֹת, Jer. 6 9 (EV 'grape-gatherers' baskets', 𝔊 κάρταλλος).[3] This, however, is doubtful, and indeed the text is uncertain (cp Pesh.). RVmg. renders 'shoots'; but this is זַלְזַלִּים; cp VINE. For כְּלוּב (Am. 8 1; ἄγγος[4] [𝔊]), used also of a bird-cage, see CAGE.

[1] 𝔊 helps a little: σαρδίου = בְּתֹם, which should take the place of תַּפּוּחֵ: but ἐν ὁρμίσκῳ = בַּחֲלִי, which must have come from *v.* 12. במשכיות is a corruption of בְּמִשְׁבְּצוֹת (Ex. 28 11, see OUCHES). הפוחי זהב evidently conceals the name of some precious stone or the like. If so, there is but one possible explanation; חיוהב comes from חרוזים (just as מי זהב, Gen. 36 39, comes from מצרים; see BELA, 2), which means pearls strung together (see NECKLACE). Lastly, חפו probably comes from תור (string or necklace). Thus *v.* 11*a* corresponds closely to *v.* 12*a*; consequently *v.* 11*b* must correspond to *v.* 12*b*, where, with Bi. (Prov.(2)), we should read דבר חכם (see 𝔊); מוכיח is based on מכח. עַל־אפניו might come from לְמַעֲנֵהוּ, 'for its purpose,' but more probably comes from עַל־שֹׁמְעוֹ, which is equivalent to עַל־אזן שמעת (*v.* 12*b*). Render as above, and cp GOLD.

[2] On the sacred canistrum of early Christian times, see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, s.v.

[3] The κάρταλλος (also in 2 K. 10 7 for סַל, and in Dt. 26 2 4 for טֶנֶא) was a basket with a tapering extremity.

[4] ἄγγος (cp Dt. 23 25 1 K. 17 10, MT כְּלִי) used of vessels of various kinds: cp in NT, Mt. 13 48 25 4 (WH prefer ἀγγεῖον). In Am. *l.c.* Sym., more suitably, has κάλαθος (cp 𝔊 in Jer. 24 1 for דּוּד), a vase-shaped basket; especially the basket upon the head of Demeter in ancient statues.

In the NT mention is made of (*a*) σαργάνη, a basket of braid-work (used especially of fish-baskets), in which Paul escaped from Damascus (2 Cor. 11 33). In Acts 9 25, however, the word is (*b*) σπυρίς (WH prefer σφυρίς), the basket in the miracle of the 4000 (Mt. 15 37 etc.). Both were probably larger than (*c*) the κόφινος, in the miracle of the 5000 (Mt. 14 20 etc.). The last-mentioned was an essentially Jewish article (*quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex*, Juv. 3 14), whose size may perhaps be determined from the use of the word to denote a Bœotian measure of about 2 gallons (vide *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 1625, 46). T. K. C.

BASMATH (בָּשְׂמַת), 1 K. 4 15 AV; see BASHEMATH, 2.

BASON (Amer. RV BASIN). That all the words (one Greek and four Hebrew) denote hollow vessels adapted to receive and contain liquids is certain; but what was the general form, and wherein the peculiarity of each consisted we have no means of determining. This uncertainty is sufficiently proved by the frequent variations in the EV renderings. On the whole subject, see BOWL, CUP, GOBLET, and cp ALTAR, § 10; COOKING UTENSILS, FOOD, MEALS, § 12; POTTERY.

1. אַגָּן, *aggān* (see BDB *Lex.* s.v.; κρατήρ [BℵA etc.]), a large bason (EV) or bowl used in the temple ritual (Ex. 24 6). In Is. 22 24 EV. 'cups' (om. BℵAQΓ, αγανωθ [Theod. Qmg.]). On account of its shape, it is employed in Cant. 7 2 [3]† as a simile in the eulogy of the bride (EV 'goblet'); see Che. *ad loc.* *JQR*, April 1899.

2. כְּפוֹר, *kᵉfōr* (cp MH כְּפוֹר goblet), for which AV 'bason, RV 'bowl' consistently, occurs only as a vessel used in the temple. 𝔊 found it unintelligible. 1 Ch. 28 17 (om. B, κεφφουρε [A] κεφφ. and κεφφωρ [L]) Ezra 1 10 (κεφφουρῆς [B], χεφουρη [A], κεπφοῦραι [L]=1 Esd. 2 13 (φιάλαι χρυσαῖ [BAL]), and Ezra 8 27† (καφουδηθ [B], καφουρη [A], L as in 1 10)=1 Esd. 8 57 (χρυσώματα [BAL]).

3. מִזְרָק, *mizrāḳ* (a vessel for throwing or tossing a liquid, φιάλη).[1] With the exception of Am. 6 6 (𝔊BAQ, τὸν διυλισμένον οἶνον, as though מְזֻקָּק; see MEALS, § 12 and 2 Ch. 4 11), this utensil is used only in the temple sacrificial ritual. EV renders varyingly 'bason' (*e.g.*, Ex. 27 3 38 3 2 K. 12 13 [14] etc.) or 'bowl' (Am. *l.c.*, Zech. 9 15 14 20 Nu. 7 13 etc); see ALTAR, § 9.

4. סַף, *saph*, a temple utensil (1 K. 7 50 2 K. 12 13 [14] Jer. 52 19 [where Aq. (Qmg.) ὑδρία, Sym. φιάλη]; AV 'bowls,' but RV 'cups' [so EV in Zech. 12 2]), used also in the ritual of the Passover (Ex. 12 22). The pl. סִפּוֹת, evidently denoting domestic utensils, occurs in 2 S. 17 28 (𝔊BAL λέβητες);[2] but see Klo. *ad loc.*

5. νιπτήρ used in Jn. 13 5 of the 'bason' (EV) in which Jesus washed the feet of the disciples (cp νίπτειν = רָחַץ Gen. 18 4 etc.). The utensil must have been larger than any of the above. The Pal.-Syr. (Evang. Hierosol.) renders by ܣܦܠܐ; cp Heb. סֵפֶל, and see BOWL, 7.

BASSA, RV **Bassai** (Βασσαι [B]), 1 Esd. 5 16 = Ezra 2 17, BEZAI, *q.v.*

BASTAI, RV **Basthai** (Βασθαι [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 31 = Ezra 2 49, BESAI.

BASTARD (מַמְזֵר). The *mamzēr* is mentioned along with the Ammonite and Moabite as excluded from the 'congregation'[3] (Dt. 23 2 [3]). The Heb. word is of uncertain derivation, and the EV rendering is based upon the Vss. (ἐκ πόρνης [Bab mg. et sup ras AaL], B*F om.). More probably the word means one of mixed or alien birth (so Zech. 9 6, ἀλλογενής [BKAQ]), and among the Rabbins it was the term applied to relations between whom marriage was forbidden (cp Mish. *Yebam*, 4 13). It is presupposed by 𝔊 in Nah. 3 17 (ὁ σύμμικτός σου [BℵAQ]), where MT has מנזריך (EV 'thy crowned ones'), and is rather infelicitously accepted by Wellhausen who thinks that the reference is to the mixed population of Nineveh. Ruben is certainly right in conjecturing מְנַדְּדַיִךְ, 'thy measuring

[1] In some cases where several vessels are named 𝔊 appears to have transposed מזרק: see *e.g.* Nu. 4 14.

[2] Apart from the two exceptions mentioned, 𝔊 regularly thinks of סַף 'threshold,' and renders θύρα πρόθυρον (in Jer. *l.c.*, σαφφωθ).

[3] The only kind of *foreign* marriage which D contemplates seems to be found in Dt. 21 10-14. In Dt. 7 1-4 only Canaanitish peoples are excluded; but 1 K. 11 1 2 assumes the exclusion of other nations, and so, in Ezra 9, D's law is extended to cover all foreign neighbours (from MS note of WRS).

clerks' (see SCRIBE). For bastardy, in its religious connection, cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 10.

BAT (עֲטַלֵּף, *lit.* 'night-flier'?[1] νυκτερίς; *vespertilio*:[2] Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18 Is. 2 20; also Bar. 6 21). The bats form a well-defined and very numerous order of mammalia, termed by naturalists the *Cheiroptera*. The position of the name at the end of the list of unclean birds, and immediately before the list of reptiles, accords with the universal opinion of antiquity that the bat, in Aristotle's words, 'belonged both to birds and to beasts, and shared the nature of both and of neither';[3] nor is it in any way surprising to find them included, apparently, amongst birds, for bats alone amongst mammals have developed the faculty of true flight, and have become so modified by their aerial habits that their power of progressing on the ground is markedly inferior to that of most birds and insects. They show, in fact, a strong aversion to being on the ground, and, as a rule, at once try to leave it, by crawling up some wall or tree from which they can take their flight.

The nature of their food (either insects or fruit) makes it necessary for those bats which inhabit temperate climates either to migrate at the approach of winter or to spend the cold months in a long winter sleep, for which purpose they often collect in large colonies in caves, ruins, or disused buildings. As a rule the bats of the Old World choose the latter alternative, and this seems to be the case with many of those found in Palestine. When food again becomes abundant, they as a rule sleep during the day suspended head downwards by their feet, and leave their homes only to search for food at the approach of twilight. The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings of all kinds, where they can avoid the light, a fact referred to in Is. 2 20 *f.*

As many as seventeen distinct species of hats, belonging to four different families and eleven different genera, have been described by Canon Tristram. Two or three of these may be mentioned by name. The only representative of the fruit-eating bats (Megacheiroptera) is *Xantharpyia* (*Cynonycteris*) *ægyptiaca*, a species which is elsewhere arboreal in its habits, but in Palestine is found living in large colonies in caves and tombs. A further peculiarity of this species is that individual specimens from different localities vary markedly in size, those from Kurn in the plain of Acre being much smaller than those from the hills near Tyre, which resemble in size the variety found in Cyprus and Egypt. This species is very commonly found inside the Pyramids of Egypt and is believed to be the one so often figured in Egyptian frescoes.

The horse-shoe bat *Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum* is the commonest hat in Palestine, swarming in immense nunibers in the caverns along the Jordan and the Red Sea. It has a wide distribution, extending from England to Japan and all over Africa. It collects in large colonies (180 have been found together) in caves and ruins for its winter sleep, and these colonies are peculiar as they are exclusively of one sex.

Another British bat very common in the hill country about Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee, is the long-eared bat, *Plecotus auritus*, usually found in caverns. It is always very late in leaving its resting-place, not appearing till twilight has changed to night; but it continues to hunt for the insects on which it feeds the whole night through. N. M.—A. E. S.

[1] According to Schultens, *Clar. Dial.* 322, from the root which appears in Ar. as *ġaṭila* 'to be dark' (of night), and עוף 'to fly.' It must, however, be said that compounds are very rare in Hebrew; and the modification of form involved in this case is improbable. It might be thought, from the absence of the word in the cognate languages (in the language of the Targums it is simply borrowed from Hebrew), that it is a loan-word which came in from a non-Semitic source; but there is much to be said for the view that it is connected with Aram. *'arṭel*, 'naked' (from the character of a bat's wings), as suggested by Löw (see Ges. *HWB*(11)), or with the root עטף, which in Hebrew has the sense of being covered or darkened.

[2] The Peshitta has in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the curious rendering 'peacock,' but in Is. 2 20 Bar. 6 21 employs the proper Syriac word for 'bat'; the Arabic version has 'bat' in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but (like the Targum) goes astray in a mistaken paraphrase of Is. 2 20.

[3] *De Part. Animal.* 4 13. For other references see Bochart, *Hierozoicon*.

BATH (בַּת, deriv. uncertain; cp BDB. *s.v.*), Is. 5 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH-RABBIM (בַּת־רַבִּים, 'daughter of multitudes,' [BDB]; θυγατρὸς πολλῶν [BℵA]; *filiæ multitudinis;* Cant. 7 4 [5] †). The eyes of the bride are likened to the 'pools in Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim.' With true insight, Grätz in 1871 recognised the impossibility of the reading Bath-rabbim; he suggested Rabbath-Ammon. Certainly this is possible; and NW. of Heshbon, in a lateral valley of the Wady Ḥesbān, old reservoirs have been found. We cannot, however, suppose that these reservoirs were so famous as to be celebrated in a popular song beside Carmel and the Tower of Lebanon. 'Heshbon' as well as 'Bath-rabbim' must be wrong. Winckler's suggestion 'Helbon' (*AOF* 1 293 *f.*) fits in with the mention of Lebanon, but has no other recommendation. Considering that there is deep-seated corruption in the next verse (see HAIR, GALLERY, 2), we are justified in making an emendation which might otherwise seem too bold. The most famous pools in Palestine, outside of Jerusalem, were no doubt those known as the Pools of Solomon (see CONDUITS, § 3). In the long green vale of 'Arṭās, unusually green among the rocky knolls of Judæa,' Solomon, according to post-exilic belief, 'planted him vineyards, and made him gardens and paradises . . and made him pools of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared' (Eccles. 2 4-6). Probably it is this scenery that has suggested several descriptive passages in Canticles (Stanley; Del.); it was worthy to be mentioned beside Carmel and Lebanon. Read שְׁלֹמֹה for בחשבון, and (with Wi.) יַעַר for שַׁעַר, and render

Thine eyes are like Solomon's pools
By the wood of Beth-cerem.

Beth-cerem, 'place of a vineyard,' was probably the name of some part of the garden-land referred to in Eccles. 2 4-6. See *JQR*, April 1899. Cp BETH-HACCEREM. T. K. C.

BATHSHEBA (בַּת־שֶׁבַע, 'daughter of the oath' (?), § 48; in 1 Ch. 3 5 בַּת־שׁוּעַ, where the pointing should be corrected to בַּת־שֶׁוַע; in 𝔊BAL, by a strange confuson, Βηρσαβεε = Beersheba), wife of Uriah the Hittite, afterwards wife of David and mother of Solomon 2 S. 11 2-12 24 (Βηθσαβεε [A]) 1 K. 1 *f.* (Βηθσαβεε in 1 11 15). Some think that she was a granddaughter of AHITHOPHEL (*q.v.*).

When David first saw Bathsheba, Joab was engaged in the siege of Rabbath Ammon. The king himself was reposing, after his years of hardship, at Jerusalem. The story (which is omitted in Chronicles) is that, walking one evening on the flat roof of his palace, David saw a beautiful woman bathing in the court of a neighbouring house. He asked who she was, and, learning that her husband Uriah was away with the army, 'sent messengers and took her' (2 S. 11 4). To avert the shock which an open act of adultery would have caused to the ancient Israelitish sense of right, he devised the woful expedient related in 2 S. 11 6-25. First he had Uriah sent to him, ostensibly with a message from the camp. He dismissed him to his house with a portion from the royal table; but Uriah remained with the guard of the palace: he scrupled, if Robertson Smith may be followed (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 455, 484), to violate the taboo on sexual intercourse applied to warriors in ancient Israel. The next night the king plied him with wine; but still Uriah was obstinate. Driven desperate, his master sent the brave soldier back to Joab, bearing a letter ordering his own destruction. Uriah was to be set in the place of danger and then abandoned to the foe. The cruel and treacherous plan was carried out, and, when Bathsheba's mourning for her husband was over, David made her his wife.

The story of the rebuke of Nathan, of the revival of the king's better self, and of the sickness and death of

the child of Bathsheba. is well known. It is a question, however (see Schwally, *ZATW* 12 153 *ff.*; Bu. *SBOT* 89), whether, in the original form of the narrative, 2 S. 12 15*b* did not follow on 11 27, which means treating the most edifying part of the story as a later amplification (see DAVID, § 11). Considering what we know of the gradual idealisation of the life of David (which culminates in Chronicles and the titles of the Psalms), this appears far from impossible. The story gains in clearness by the omission. At any rate, Wellhausen is right in regarding 12 10-12 as an interpolation in the narrative of the colloquy between David and Nathan. It was suggested by an intelligent reading of the subsequent history. David's evil example was imitated in exaggerated form by Amnon; and Amnon's sin was fruitful in troubles, which culminated in Absalom's rebellion, and darkened all David's remaining years.

We meet Bathsheba for the last time, just as David's end was at hand, in the full glory of a queen-mother. Solomon rises to meet her, bows down before her, and sets her on a seat at his right hand. She gained her object, and it is interesting (if Nathan really took the part assigned to him in 2 S. 12 1-15) to notice that Nathan was one of her chief supporters. W. E. A.

BATHSHUA (בַּת־שׁוּעַ, § 48). 1. See BATHSHEBA.
2. The words בת־שוע rendered 'daughter of Shua' in Gen. 38 2 12 (σαυα, omitting בַּת [ADEL]) are treated in RV of 1 Ch. 2 3 (τ. θυγ. σαυας [B^ab A]; τ. θ. αυας [B*]; σους [L]) as a proper name, Bath-shua. See SHUA.

BATHZACHARIAS (Βεθζαχαρια [A]), 1 Macc. 6 32 *f.* See BETHZACHARIAS.

BATTERING RAM (כָּרִים [plur.]), Ez. 4 2 21 22 [27]†. See WAR.

BATTLE AXE. The rendering is not very happy, as will at once be seen.

1. מַפֵּץ, *mappēṣ* Jer. 51 20 (διασκορπίζεις σύ [BℵAQΓ]); or מֵפִיץ, *mēphīṣ* (Prov. 25 18 ῥόπαλον [Bℵc.a A] -πανον [ℵ*]). EV's rendering 'maul' introduces an arbitrary distinction. Better, 'battle hammer,' or 'club' (cp נַפָּצָה). In Ezek. 9 2 כְּלִי מַפָּצוֹ (πέλυξ) should possibly be corrected into כְּלִי מַשְׁחֵתוֹ, 'his destroying weapon'[1] (Che.); 'battle axe' (RVmg.), 'slaughter weapon' (EV), 'a weapon of his breaking in pieces' (AVmg.) are all difficult to justify.

2. סגר Ps. 35 3 RVmg. The usual rendering (Del., Bä., etc., accepting MT's vocalisation [lip] and Verss.) is 'stop the way' (𝔊 σύγκλεισον). This involves a double ellipsis—'shut up [the way], [going] against my pursuers.' It is improbable, however, that סְגֹר means 'battle axe'; σάγαρις may mean the battle axe used in upper Asia; but this does not justify the inference of critics (Drus., Grot., Kenn., Ew., Dri., We., etc). The text needs emendation (see JAVELIN, 7).

BATTLEMENT. For מַעֲקֶה, *ma'akeh*, Dt. 22 8 EV, see HOUSE, § 4. For פִּנּוֹת, *pinnōth*, 2 Ch. 26 15 Zeph. 1 16 36 RV, and שְׁמָשׁוֹת, *šemāšoth* (plur.), Is. 54 12 *SBOT*, RV pinnacles' (cp שֶׁמֶשׁ Ps. 84 12 [Bä.]), see FORTRESS, § 5. כָּנָף, *kānāph*, in Dan. 9 27 RVmg. is rendered 'battlement.' It is better to read כַּנּוֹ, *kanno* (see Bevan, *ad loc.*).

BATUS (Βατος), Lk. 16 6 AVmg.; RVmg. BATH. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BAVAI (בַּוַּי), Neh. 3 18, RV **Bavvai.** See BINNUI (3).

BAY (אָמֹץ), Zech. 6 3 7. See COLOURS, § 17.

BAYITH (הַבַּיִת), Is. 15 2 RV; AV BAJITH.

BAY TREE (אֶזְרָח[2] Ps. 37 35), or, more plausibly, as RV, 'a tree in its native soil.' The word אֶזְרָח, 'native born,' however (from the root זרח, 'to arise,' 'spring forth' [Barth, 152 *c.*]), cannot be applied to a tree, whence Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 194 *ff.*) supposed the phrase to mean ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος.

As Hi., Gr., Che., Ba., We., Dr. agree, the right reading is ארז 'cedar.' On the (probably) corrupt words מתערה (Dr. 'putting forth his strength') and רענ (Dr. 'spreading'), see Che. *Psalms*(2).

BAZLUTH (בַּצְלוּת, 'stripping'?; Βασαλωθ [ℵA]). The b'ne BAZLUTH, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) Ezra 2 52 βασαδωε [B], βαδουωθ [L]) = Neh. 7 54 **Bazlith** βασαωθ [B], βαλουαθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 BASALOTH βασαλεμ [B], βααλωθ [A], βαλουωθ [L]).

BDELLIUM (בְּדֹלַח; Gen. 2 12 ανθραξ [AEL]; Nu. 11 7 κρυσταλλος[1] [BAFL]), appears in Gen. 2 12 along with gold and onyx or beryl (see ONYX) as a characteristic product of the land of Havilah; whilst in Nu. 11 7 its 'appearance' (so RV, lit. 'eye,' not COLOUR [*q.v.*, § 3], as AV) is likened to that of manna—a comparison the appropriateness of which is obvious if, as is in all probability the case, the OT *bĕdhōlah* is the resinous substance known to the Greeks as βδέλλιον, μάδελκον, βολχόν[2] (Dioscor. 1 80) or βδέλλα (*Peripl. Mar. Eryth.*, §§ 37 39 48 *f.*).

1. Bĕdhōlah = βδέλλιον.

Peiser identifies בדלח with Bab. *bidlû*, a spice obtained in Babylonia, and often mentioned in contract-tablets (*ZATW* 17 347 *f.*); this is important in connection with the Eden-story (see PARADISE). As Glaser has shown (*Skizze*, 2 364 *ff.*), bdellium was distinct from storax (against Hommel, *GBA* 613 n. 1). Bochart, identifying Havilah with the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, in the Persian Gulf, naturally explained בדלח as meaning pearl (*Hieroz.* ii. 6 5). This view, however, lacks the support of any ancient version, and, though upheld by several Jewish authorities (cp Lag. *Or.* 2 44), has no solid foundation. The rendering of 𝔊 (ἄνθραξ and κρύσταλλος) point to some kind of precious stone; but, as Di. remarks, אֶבֶן, 'stone,' is prefixed to שֹׁהַם, the word following, and not to בדלח. The Pesh. *bĕrulḥā* (in both places) seems to be due to a mere scribe's error: *r* for *d*. It cannot be supposed to be a genuine Aramaic word.

2. Descriptions of βδέλλιον.

Bdellium is described by Dioscorides (*l.c.*) as δάκρυον δένδρου ἀραβικοῦ[3]; the best sort being 'bitter in taste, transparent, gelatinous (ταυροκολλῶδες, lit. 'like bull's hide glue'), oily throughout and easily softened, unmixed with chips or dirt, fragrant when burnt as incense, resembling onyx';[4] he speaks also of a black sort found in large lumps, which is exported from India, and of a third kind, brought from Petra. Pliny (*NH* 12 9) gives some further details: the best sort grows in Bactriana (N. Afghanistan), on a 'black' tree 'of the size of an olive, with a leaf like the oak and fruit like the wild fig'; it also grows in Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, that of India being softer and more gummy, while that brought through Media is more brittle, crusted, and bitter. The author of the *Peripl. mar. Erythr.* speaks of it as growing largely in Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Barygaza (Gujerat), and as exported westwards from the month of the Indus. In the older classical literature bdellium appears to be mentioned only in Plautus (*Curc.* 101),[5] in a list of perfumes.

3. Various kinds.

Two of the kinds of bdellium described by Dioscorides are generally identified by the authorities with the two substances described as follows, which are still met with in commerce:—

[1] משחית, 'destruction,' we know; but מַפָּץ, 'breaking in pieces,' is unattested elsewhere. Co. recognises that the closing words of Ezek. 9 1 are no part of the true text, but represent a variant to the equivalent words in *v.* 2.

[2] 𝔊 has no rendering of אֶזְרָח in this passage, since for כאזרח רענן it reads כארזי לבנן (ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου [BℵART]). Aq. Symm., and Editio Sexta all render in the sense of 'indigenous tree'; and neither Pesh. nor Targ. supports the rendering of AV or that of RV.

[1] In both places οἱ λοιποί, i.e., Aq., Symm., and Th., have βδέλλιον, so Vg. *bdellium*. Cp Jos. *Ant.* iii. 1 6.

[2] The exact form of these two words is uncertain. Pliny (12 9) has *maldacon*, *brochon*. On the connection of this group of names with *bĕdōlah*, see Del. *Par.* 16 *f.*, 101. Pott in *WZKM* 7 98 *ff.*

[3] The reading of this word is uncertain.

[4] Perhaps a 'nail' or 'hoof.'

[5] 'Tu mihi stacte, tu cinnamon, tu rosa,
Tu crocinum et casia 's, tu bdellium.'

1 Ordinary *Bdellium* (African).—'The drug is exported from the whole Somali coast to Mokha, Jidda, Aden, Makulla the Persian Gulf, India, and even China' (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacogr.*(2) 145). Hanbury says he had it sent him for sale in London from China. But in matters of this kind the immediate port of origin is often substituted for the ultimate source.

Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* 170) says: 'From Berbera also comes *Bdellium.*' Farther on he explains that 'to a certain extent' it 'resembles myrrh,' but that it is darker . . . less oily . . . strongly bitter and has hardly any aroma' (*l.c.* 310). According to Mohammedan writers (*l.c.* 312), 'Good bdellium should be clean, bright, sticky, soft, sweet-smelling, yellowish, and bitter.' Its botanical source is *Balsamodendron africanum* (see *Kew Bull.* 1896, p. 91 *f.*).

2. Indian *Bdellium.*—Dymock (*l.c.* 310) 'describes this as somewhat resembling the African drug; but the colour is lighter, often greenish.' Dioscorides, therefore, must have had a very dirty sample[1]—a not infrequent experience still. Its source is *Balsamodendron Mukul*, a plant the botanical distribution of which—NW. India, Beluchistan, and possibly Arabia—exactly agrees with the statements of the old authors. The only difficulty is the description of Pliny, which it does not fit very well, as it is a small tree; but Pliny's statements cannot be pressed from the botanical point of view: Lemaire (*Flore de Virgile*, 125) calls Dioscorides 'bien préférable à Pline.'

As to the third kind of bdellium spoken of by Dioscorides, Dymock (310) conjectures that it was 'probably a kind of myrrh.' N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BEACON (תֹּרֶן, perhaps for תארן from אֹרֶן, see ASH; ιστος [BℵAQΓ]), or rather, as in EV^mg., MAST (cp Is. 33 23 Ez. 27 5), employed in Is. 30 17 as a simile of nakedness and desolation. The reference is to the poles, etc., erected in prominent places for signalling purposes; cp ENSIGNS (§ 2).

BEALIAH (בְּעַלְיָה, § 35, 'Yahwè is Lord'), a Benjamite, one of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 5 (βααλια [Bℵ], βααλια [A], βααλιας [L]). See DAVID, § 11 *a* iii.

BEALOTH (בְּעָלוֹת), Josh. 15 24. See BAALATH-BEER.

BEAN, or rather Bæan (RV), The children of (υιοι βαιαν [AℵV]; *BEAN* [Vg.]; ܒܥܢ; βαανου, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1), an otherwise unknown tribe or community, who in the pre-Maccabæan period were a 'snare and offence' to the Jews 'in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.' Their robber castles or 'towers' lay, apparently, somewhere between Idumæan and Ammonite territory. This would suit the Beon of Nu. 32 3 (see BAAL-MEON). In one of his warlike expeditions against the unfriendly surrounding peoples after the reconsecration of the temple, Judas the Maccabee utterly destroyed the children of Bean and burnt their towers (1 Macc. 5 4 *f.*; cp 2 Macc. 10 18 *ff.*).

BEANS (פּוֹל, κυαμος [BAL] 2 S. 17 28 Ez. 4 9) are twice mentioned as material for food, along with wheat, barley, and lentils; in the second passage Ezekiel is instructed to make bread of a mixture of wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt. The Hebrew name is found also in post-biblical Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Beans are the seeds of *Vicia Faba* (Linn.), the cultivated plant—not certainly known in the wild state, but in all probability a domesticated form of *Vicia narbonensis*[2]—which is a native of the whole Mediterranean region and extends eastward to N. India. It was the κύαμος of the Greeks, which is mentioned as far back as the Iliad (κύαμοι μελανόχροες, 13 589). Virchow found the seeds in the excavations at Troy, and the plant was cultivated in Switzerland and Italy in the age of bronze. Beans are, without doubt, one of the earliest articles of vegetable food among the European races of mankind. Cp FOOD, § 4, COOKING, § 7. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

1 Flückiger and Hanbury say (*l.c.* 146) that it is regarded both in London and in India 'as a very inferior dark sort of myrrh.'

2 On this point see Sir Joseph Hooker in the *Botanical Magazine*, 7220.

BEAR, 1. (דֹּב). The name, common to Heb., Aram., Ar., and Eth., is from a root signifying to move slowly and softly,[1] and thus befits the bear, which has a stealthy tread.

1. Name.

The Heb. word is generally masc., even when the she-bear is intended; thus 'a bear robbed of her whelps' is always דֹּב שַׁכּוּל. On the other hand, the pl. דֻּבִּים takes a fem. verb in 2 K. 2 24, and the sing. is apparently fem. in Is. 11 7. 𝔊 renders ἄρκος [BAL], but in Prov. 17 12 wrongly μέριμνα [BℵA] (connecting probably with דָּאַג, 'to be anxious'); Theod. has ἄρκτος. In Prov. 28 15 𝔊 has λύκος [BℵA twice], easily explained when we remember that the Aram. form of זְאֵב, wolf, is *dībh.*

2. Allusions.

The animal is frequently mentioned in OT (in the Apocr. in Wisd. 11 17 Ecclus. 25 17 [ℵA; but σάκκον (B)], and 47 3†) and once (Rev. 13 2) in NT. No difficulty arises in connection with any of the OT passages; the attacks of the lion and the bear on David's flock (1 S. 17 34 36), and of the she-bears[2] on the children who mocked Elisha (2 K. 2 24), accord with the ravenous habits of the animal; 'a bear robbed of her whelps' (2 S. 17 8 Prov. 17 12 Hos. 13 8) or 'a ranging bear' (Prov. 28 15) is naturally regarded as the most dangerous possible object to encounter; one of the signs of profound peace in the Messiahs kingdom is that the cow feeds side by side with the bear, its natural enemy (Is. 11 7). The *roaring*, or rather *moaning*, of the bear is well expressed by the verb הָמָה (Is. 59 11, 𝔊^BℵAQ στενάζω), which is applied also to the howling of a dog, the cooing of a turtle-dove, the sighing of a man, and the moaning of the sea. The stealthiness of a bear's attack is mentioned in Lam. 3 10. By the likening of the second (probably the 'Median) kingdom in Dan. 7 5 to a bear—which 'was raised up on one side, and three ribs were in his mouth between his teeth; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh,'—the extreme *destructiveness* of the Median conquests is probably indicated (see further Bevan's *Daniel*, in loc.). In Am. 5 19 'as if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him,' we have, as Bochart remarks, a Hebrew equivalent to the classical

'Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.'[3]

In the combination of the 'feet of a bear' with the body of a leopard and the mouth of a lion in Rev. 13 2, we have an instance of the characteristic re-combination of elements borrowed from OT apocalyptic. The hyperbolical treatment of old history in later Jewish literature is illustrated by the mention in Wisd. 11 17 of wild beasts, such as lions and bears, among the plagues sent upon the Egyptians, and by the statement about David in Ecclus. 47 3 that 'he played (Heb. . . . לכפירים שחק ולדובים, 'he mocked at . . .') among lions as among kids, and among bears as among lambs of the flock.'

Finally, we notice the interesting reading of 𝔊^ℵA in Ecclus. 25 17:

A woman's wickedness altereth her visage
And darkeneth her face as doth a bear (ὡς ἄρκος).

If this reading be correct, the verse will allude to the *tristitia* or moroseness often attributed to the bear, which several ancient writers speak of as expressed in its countenance. On the whole, however, it is more probable that 𝔊^B (supported by the Syr. and Ar. versions) is right in reading

And maketh her face dark like sackcloth (ὡς σάκκον).

3. Natural history.

The Syrian bear, sometimes called *Ursus syriacus*, is not specifically distinct from the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, although somewhat lighter in colour and smaller than the typical varieties. It has a wide distribution,

1 The other meaning of the Ar. verb, 'to have a bristly skin,' is probably, as Ges. thinks, secondary, and derived from the noun *dubb*.

2 It was a common opinion in antiquity that she-bears were fiercer than the males; thus Pliny (11 49), 'Mares in omni genere fortiores præterquam pantheris et ursis.'

3 Cp also Is. 24 18 Jer. 48 44.

being found in several parts of Europe, — formerly all over that continent, — and throughout Asia N. of the Himalayas. It is unsociable in its habits, though sometimes male and female are seen together, and the cubs accompany their mother. Bears are omnivorous, killing and eating other animals ; but they have a vegetable dirt also. They are particularly fond of fruit and honey. In cold climates they hibernate during the winter months, and during the period of hibernation they subsist on the stored-up fats. The young are generally born towards the end of this period. They are now practically extinct in S. Palestine, but are still to be met with in the Lebanon and Hermon districts.

2. RV rendering of עַשׁ (Job 9 9) and עַיִשׁ (Job 38 32), AV ARCTURUS (*q.v.*). N. M.—A. E. S.

BEARD. The importance attached by the Hebrews to the beard is fully borne out by the many references to it found in the OT.

Twoworus are thus rendered : **(a)** זָקָן, *zāḳān*, 𝔊BNAQΓL πώγων, used of the heard proper, cp 2 S. 10 4 *f.* = 1 Ch. 19 4 *f.* **Is.** 7 20 15 2 (= Jer. **48** 37) etc., and **also** of the chin[1] (in Lev. **13** 29 *f.*, 14 9 of both man and woman). (6) שָׂפָם, *sāphām* (from שָׂפָה, 'lip'), rendered '.beard' in **2** S. 19 24 [25], is more properly the moustache or 'upper lip' (so 𝔊BAL μύσταξ ; EV **Lev.** 13 45, and AV mg. Ez. **24** 17 22 Mic. 3 7 where EV 'lip').

The beard was, and still is, in the East, the mark of manly dignity. A well-bearded man is looked upon as honourable, and as one who in his life 'has never hungered' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 250). By touching the beard, or by swearing by it, a man's good faith was assured (*op. cit.* 1 268)—a fact which may possibly throw light upon Joab's treachery towards Amasa (2 S. 20 9). To cut it off wilfully was an insult (2 S. 10 4 *f.*, cp Is. 1 6), and to cut it ceremonially was strictly forbidden ; see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3. To shave it was an outward sign of mourning (Is. 15 2 Jer. 41 5 48 37; cp Ep. Jer. [Bar. 6] 31) : *see* MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1.[2]

Although barbers are mentioned only in a late passage (Ez. 5 1, גַּלָּבִים : גלח, 'to shave,' on the other hand, is frequent, Gen. 41 14 [E], 2 S. 10 4 Judg. 16 17 22, etc.), they were doubtless in great request.[3] In Egypt the barber is described as industriously journeying from place to place seeking employment, carrying in an open-mouthed bag the tools of his craft—a small short hatchet or recurved knife (cp *RP*(1) 3 148). The razor is frequently mentioned in the OT, where it is called תַּעַר, *taʿar* (Nu. **6** 5 8 7 **Is.** 7 20 Ps. 52 3 [4] ; but 'sheath' or 'scabbard' in 1 S. 17 51 **2 S.** 20 8 Ez. 21 4 [9] etc.), or מוֹרָה,[4] *mōrah* (Judg. 13 5 16 17 1 S. 1 11) ; see KNIFE.[5]

In Egypt, apart from priests (and high officials, Gen. **41** 14), the practice of shaving the hair does not seem to have been very general (cp **EGYPT**, § 39). On the other hand, the heard was regularly shorn, and only the shepherds and foreigners let it grow, apparently *to* the disgust of the cleanly Egyptians. Hence the negligent Rameses VII. is caricatured in his tomb at Thebes wearing an unshorn beard of two or three days' growth. Nevertheless, the beard was looked upon as a symbol of dignity and on solemn occasions the want was supplied by an artificial one. Such beards were made of a piece of hair tightly plaited and fastened by two straps behind the ear. The king wore a longer beard, square at the bottom; one even longer and curled at the end was the distinguishing mark of a god.[1] The people of Punt followed the Egyptians in all such customs. Canaanites, Assyrians, and Babylonians,[2] on the other hand, wore long hair and plaited beards, and in strong contrast *to* these are the monumental representations of the desert nomad with pointed moustache (cp WMM, **As.** *u. Eur.* 140, 296).[3]

[1] Unless 'chin' is the primary meaning of √זקן. The word זָקֵן 'old man,' is perhaps a derivative, lit. 'gray-beard.'

[2] In 2 S. 19 24 [25] Meribha'al to show his grief leaves his beard untrimmed.

[3] Herod, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xvi. 11 6), was nearly assassinated by his barber, Trypho. In MH the barber is סַפָּר ; cp *Shabb.* 1 2.

[4] For מערה (We. *TBS* 146 *f.*) :hence both names are from the same root, עָרָה, 'to lay bare.'

[5] A Phœnician inscription, fifth–fourth century B.C., from Larnaka in Cyprus, mentions the גלבם in a list of charges in connection with a temple of Ashtoreth. Unless thev were there to attend to ceremonial tonsures, it is possible that Renan is right in taking them to he physicians whose business it was *to* heal the self-inflicted wounds of the worshippers (cp 1 K. 18 28, and see *CIS* 1 86 *a* ; cp 95).

BEAST. For (1) *beh̄emāh* (בְּהֵמָה) and (2) *ḥayyāh* (חַיָּה), 'living creature' — including עוֹף and בהמה, Gen. 8 17 (P), but more particularly wild beasts, **Gen.** 7 14 (P) 37 20 33 etc. — see CATTLE, § 2 (2). For Ps. 68 30 [31], 'wild beast of the reeds' [RV], see CROCODILE, DRAGON. For (3) *beʿîr* (בְּעִיר), 'beast of burden,' see CATTLE, § 2 (3). For (4) Is. 13 22 (אִיִּים ; 'wild beasts of the islands' [AV]) see JACKAL (4), WOLF. For (5) Is. 13 21 34 14 Jer. **50** 39 (צִיִּים ; 'wild beasts of the desert' [EV]), see CAT (end).

(6) זִיז *zīz*, 'wild beasts' [AV] Ps. 50 11 [12] 80 13 [14] is more scrupulously rendered 'that which moves (or roams)' by Dr., Bæthg., We. [SBOT]. BDB recognises √זוז 'to move. 'Small creatures' would also be possible: cp Talm. זיזא 'a worm,' Ass. *zīzānu*, an animal like a locust. The probability of such a word in bibl. Heb., however, is not great. The two passages have to be considered separately. 𝔊 gives different readings : Ps. 50 ὡραιότης (cp זִיו Is. 66 11), Ps. 80 ὄνος ἄγριος [B], μεσονιος ἀ. [Bc] μονιος 2. [ℵc.aAT], μονος 2. [R*]. The Targ. (in both passages) finds a reference to the HOOPOE. See further, BDB *s.v.*, and (on the text, which is corrupt) Che. *Psalms*(2).

NT. For Rev. 11 7 etc. 13 11 etc. (the two mystical θηρία) see APOCALYPSE, §§ 40 43-47, ANTICHRIST, § 4 *ff.* and cp BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 2 ; DRAGON, § 2. For Rev. **4** 6 (ζῷα : the four 'living creatures') see CHERUB, § 3. For **Rev.** 18 13 **etc.** (κτήνη) cp CATTLE, § 2, (2), (3).

BEATING (with rods), Dt. 25 1-3 etc. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BEAUTIFUL GATE (Η ωραια πυλη [Ti. WH]), Acts 3 10 ; see TEMPLE.

BEBAI (בֵּבָי, § 57 ; Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Bibā on a tablet from Nippur ; BHBAI [BA], BOKXEI [L]).

1. The b'ne Bebai, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), Ezra 2 11 (reckoned at 623) (βαβει [B], -βαι [A]) = Neh. 7 16 (reckoned at 628) (βηβ[ε]ι [BℵA]) = 1 Esd. 5 13 ; of whom twenty-eight are included in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*) Ezra 8 11 (βαβει [BA] βαβιει [L once]) = 1 Esd. 8 37, BABI [once] (βαιηρ, βήμαι [B], βαβι [A once], βαβηι [L once]) and four in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end) Ezra 10 28 (βαβ[ε]ι [BℵA]) = 1 Esd. 9 29. It was represented among the signatories *to* the covenant (*see* EZRA, i. § 7) Neh. 10 15 [16] (βηδαι [Bℵ] βηβαι [L]).

2. An unidentified place mentioned with CHOBAI and COLA [*qq.v.*], Judith 15 4 (βηβαι [A], αβελβαιμ [ℵ*ℵc.a]), perhaps a repetition of the following name CHOBAI (B and Vg. omit ; if the reading of ℵ*, ℵc.a he considered trustworthy, BELMEN [*q.v.*], a locality not otherwise improbable, may he intended.

BECHER (בֶּכֶר, 'first-born' ; § 61, or cp, perhaps, **Ass.** *bakru*, Ar. *bakr*, 'camel' [*so* BDB *Lex.*]). **A** Benjamite clan, Gen. 46 21 (χοβωρ [A], -βορ [L], -βωλ [*D*]) and 1 Ch. 7 6 8 (βοχορ [A], χοβωρ [L] ; αβειρα [B *v.* 6, omitting all mention of Bela] and αβαχει, αμαχειρ [*ib.* v. 8]). The name is wanting in ‖ Nu. 26 38-41, but it is possible that the name BECHER (gentilic בִּכְרִי, BACHRITE, RV Becherite) in the Ephraimite list, *ib. v.* 35 (𝔊BAL om.) was originally a marginal addition to the Benjamite clans, which after being misplaced has crept into the text (cp BERED, ii.). To the clan Becher (gentilic BICHRI [*q.v.*]) belonged the rebellious SHEBA [*q.v.* ii. (1)], and, if we adopt two very probable emendations (see BECHORATH, MATRI), also Saul. A descendant of the latter bears, according to the MT, the cognate name Bocheru (but see BOCHERU). It is possible that the name recurs under the form MICHRI [*q.v.*]. See also BENJAMIN, § 9.

BECHORATH, RV Becorath (בְּכוֹרַת), apparently

[1] See Erman, *Eg.* **226** n. 4 ; Wilkinson, 2 333.

[2] The sculptures represent, however, not only eunuchs, but also what seem to he people of the lowest rank — peasants, labourers, and slaves — withoutheard. In the oldest Babylonian sculptures, on the other hand, the head is completely bare. The ancient custom was perhaps given up through the beard becoming a sign of the military caste (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* 2 137).

[3] Illustration, Benz. *Arch.* 100, 109.

the son of APHIAH [*q.v.*], an ancestor of Saul, 1 S. 9 1 (Βαχει [B], Βεχωραθ [A], Μαχειρ[1] [L]). The name is really to be read as BE'CHER [*q.v.*]; it is the name of Saul's clan. Cp Klo. on 1 S. 9 1 and Marq. *Fund.* 14.

BECTILETH (Βαικτειλαιθ [B], Βεκτελεθ and πακταλαι [A], Βαιτουλια [א*], Βεκτιλεθ [א^{c.a}]; Beth-Ḳᵉṭilath, 'house of slaughter' [Syr.]), THE PLAIN OF, three days' journey from Nineveh, 'near the mountain which is at the left hand of upper Cilicia' (Judith 2 21). Grotius has suggested Ptolemy's *βακταιαλλη* in Syria (*Ptol.* v. 15 16; cp the Bactiali of the *Tab. Peut.* 21 R. m. from Antioch); but this does not agree with the situation as defined in the text. The name of the mountain is given as Ange, Agge by It. Vg. and as [illegible] by the Syr. (so Lag.). For the latter Walton gives [illegible] 'mountain of pots,' which suggests that the name may have arisen from reading חרש, 'potsherd,' for an original חרשא, or תֵּל חַרְשָׁא, which actually occurs as a place-name. See TEL-HARSHA.

BED. Oriental beds in the olden time cannot always have been so simple as we are led to suppose that they generally are to-day. Both the framework and the trappings of the bed were sometimes richly ornamented. Of course, manners changed and luxury grew. Egypt was perhaps in advance of other nations; but even in Egypt the priests were wont to use beds of a very simple kind. If they had any frames at all, they were wicker-work of palm-branches, resembling the *ḳafaṣ* of the modern Egyptian (cp Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 185 *f.*, 419 *f.*).[2] The early Israelites were naturally slow in their material progress. Shepherds, for example, sleeping in the open air (cp Gen. 31 40), would wrap themselves in their *simlah* or rug[3] (Ex. 22 26 [25]), and, if need were, used stones for their head-rests (Gen. 28 11). Tent-dwellers too would be content with that useful article—the *simlah*, and this was probably what Sisera was wrapped in when he lay down to sleep[4] (Judg. 4 18). Those who dwelt in the house were protected from the weather, but knew no luxury. Great persons had special sleeping-chambers. Ishbaal for example, was murdered in such a room (חֲדַר מִשְׁכָּב), 2 S. 4 7; cp Ex. 8 3 [7 28], 2 K. 6 12; also חֶדֶר 2 S. 13 10; 1 K. 1 15 Ps. 105 30 (corr. text), and in the highly civilised period represented by Ecclesiastes it was perhaps the usual arrangement (Eccles. 10 20). Considering, however, how rare special bedrooms are in Eastern houses now, and also the poor construction of the houses in ancient Palestine, we can hardly venture to suppose that a 'chamber of beds,' (חֲדַר מִטּוֹת, 2 K. 11 2 2 Ch. 22 11) was common among the Israelites. Guests, however, enjoyed privacy in the so-called upper-story (ὑπερῷον in 𝔊 and NT), which was on a part of the flat roof, where coolness could be enjoyed (עֲלִיַּת מְקֵרָה, 2 K. 4 10 Klo. עֲלִיָּה, 1 K. 17 19 23). And in such rude houses as may still be seen in parts of Palestine, and were doubtless common in antiquity, the upper chamber would necessarily be the sleeping-room of the family, as long as the weather permitted (see HOUSE, § 2). During the summer, in the absence of a latticed upper chamber, huts of boughs on the flat roof could be used (for a description of such see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 89).

1. General conditions.

The bed itself is called generally (*a*) מִטָּה *miṭṭah* (from נטה, 'to stretch.' cp κλίνη from κλίνω: Gen. 48 2 etc.); (*b*) מִשְׁכָּב, *miškābh* (properly 'place for lying,' Gen. 49 4 etc.); and (*c*) עֶרֶשׂ[1] *'eres* (properly bedstead, Prov. 7 16).

2. Terms.

מִטָּה (once LITTER [*q.v.* 𝔊], Cant. 3 7 RV) is used in 2 S. 3 31 of a bier. מִשְׁכָּב is used collectively of the bedding, etc. in 2 S. 17 28 (where read pl.). There seems to be no distinction between these three words: *b* and *c* occur together in parallelism in Job 7 13, *a* and *c* similarly in Ps. 6 6 [7]. The variant rendering 'couch' is employed arbitrarily, for the sake of differentiation, by EV in Job 7 13 (מִשְׁכָּב), by AV in Am. 3 12 (עֶרֶשׂ), by RV *ib.* (מִטָּה), and by EV in Am. 6 4 (עֶרֶשׂ).

Other words rendered 'bed' are (*d*) יָצוּעַ *yāṣūa'* (properly 'spread out,' Ps. 63 6 [7], Job 17 13), used also of the bed of wedlock in Gen. 49 4 (cp 1 Ch. 5 1); an extension of meaning similar to that borne by κοίτη in Heb. 13 4 (but cp Lk. 11 7 etc.); cp Ar. *'irs, conjux.* From the same root is derived also (*e*) מַצָּע *maṣṣā'*, Is. 28 20 (see below on 2 K. 3 15).

In NT κοίτη (cp above), κλίνη (Mk. 7 30 etc.[2]), κλινίδιον (Lk. 5 19 24, EV 'couch'), and κράβ*β*ατος = Lat. *grabbatus*, Mk. 2 4 etc.). The Book of Judith adds στρωμνή (13 9), which may perhaps = מַרְבָד.

For אַפִּרְיוֹן, Cant. 3 9 AVmg., see PALANQUIN, and for עֲרוּגָה, *ib.* 5 13, cp GARDEN.

To-day the divan, or platform, which goes along the side or end of an Oriental room serves as a rest for the bedding. This arrangement may have been known in N. Israel as early as the time of Amos (see below § 5); but, if so, it was confined to the rich. What we know for certain is that the beds were movable (1 S. 19 15: Saul wishes to have David brought to him in the bed), and this characterises all periods (see Lk. 5 18 and cp στρωννύω in Mk. 14 15 Acts 9 34). Thus (cp below, § 5) they could be used by day as seats or couches (Ezek. 23 41). In some cases the bed was fitted with a head (cp Gen. 47 31),[3] such perhaps as we find represented on Egyptian monuments (cp Wilk. *op. cit.* 1 416 fig. 191). That Og, king of Bashan, had an iron *bedstead*, according to Dt. 3 11, is a statement of EV which most scholars would question. The wide application of Semitic words for 'bed' justifies the rendering 'couch of death'—*i.e.*, sarcophagus.[4]

3. Construction.

Basaltic sarcophagi abound in the E. of Jordan, and a giant could well be enclosed in 'Hiram's tomb,' as the Bedouins still designate one of them,[5] which is said to measure twelve feet by six.

The cloths or rugs spread over a bedstead were called מַרְבַדִּים (Prov. 7 16), and very possibly the singular of this word is to be substituted for the obscure כְּבִיר and מַכְבֵּר found in 1 S. 19 13 16 and 2 K. 8 15 respectively (see above, § 2, on Judith 13 9). Neither of the latter words was understood in antiquity,[6] and the revisers

1 μαχειρ might point to מכיר; but ב is not unfrequently read as מ; cp חבע, θαμασ[ε]ι [BA], θαμεσσει [L], 2 S. 11 21, and ירב, ιαρειμ, Hos. 10 6 [BAQΓ*].

2 Porphyry calls them by the name *baïs*, from the Coptic *bai*, 'palm-branch.' Cp βαΐα, 1 Macc. 13 51 (where the form of the Greek is doubtful) Jn. 12 13 and Symm. Cant. 7 9.

3 So the modern Arab sleeps, *e.g.*, on the roof of the mosque (Doughty); a *šimlatun* (שִׂמְלָה) is still the chief article of his wardrobe—an oblong piece of thick woollen stuff, used for an outer garment by day and for a coverlet by night. See Dozy, *Dict. des Vêtements des Arabes*, 39.

4 For the unintelligible שְׂמִיכָה (Judg. 4 18) read with Che. שִׂמְלָה; a more technical term than מִכְסֶה (Gratz) is required. Moore (*ad loc.*) frankly states that the main exegetical tradition points to a coarse rug or wrap.

1 Cp Ass. *eršu*, 'bed, couch,' Aram. ערסא, [illegible] 'couch, cradle, bier,' new Heb. עֲרִיס, 'a bower in the vineyard'; Ges.-Bu. illustrates by Ar. *'arš*, 'wooden frame.'

2 In 7 4 the word does not appear in the best texts (so RV).

3 For מִטָּה, however, 𝔊 Pesh. Gei. read מַטֶּה, 'staff'; cp Heb. 11 21.

4 We can hardly say with Driver (*Deut.* 53) that 'the supposed meaning of עֶרֶשׂ is little more than conjectural.' The evidence from a comparison of usages is overwhelming. If Ešmunazar can use משכב for his death-couch, the Deuteronomic writer may of course use עֶרֶשׂ for that of Og. ערשא, indeed, occurs in a Palmyrene bilingual from eṭ-Ṭayyibeh in this sense. Cp also מִטָּה in 2 S. 3 31, and the Syr. use of [illegible] (n. 1 above). It must be remembered too that the Deuteronomist assumes an oratorical style. He ought not to be required to use the technical Hebrew term for sarcophagus, אָרוֹן (Gen. 50 26). Cp Schwally, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 127, n. 3 (who would render either 'bed' or [cp Aram. ערסא] 'bier').

5 So Robinson. The huge size of the sarcophagus indicates the importance of the man whose body is placed in it. There is a vast sarcophagus of a saint near Samarcand.

6 It should be mentioned, however, that in 2 K. 8 15 whilst 𝔊B represents the Hebrew word by χαββα, Aq. and Symm. (and through them perhaps L) give τὸ στρῶμα (המרבד).

have shown their perplexity in the former passage by giving three alternative renderings.

4. Pillows. Of pillows we hear nothing in OT. In Mk. 4 38 we have προσκεφάλαιον (cp Ezek. 13 18 𝔊, AV 'pillow'; but it was an extemporised pillow; RV better, 'cushion.'

AV—even sometimes RV—does indeed assume the use of pillows. Thus (a) מְרַאֲשֹׁתָיו (with suffix) is rendered 'holster' by AV in 1 S. 19 13 16 26 7 11 16, and by AVmg. in 1 K. 19 6' and 'pillow' by AV in Gen. 28 11 18. The word, however, denote; properly 'the parts about one's head,' and is thus rendered by RV everywhere (*e.g.*, 1 S. 19 13, 'at the head thereof'), and once even by AV in 1 K. 19 6. The Heb. word finds its exact parallel in the מַרְגְּלֹתָיו (with suffix), 'the parts about (one's) feet' (Ruth 3 8 14). (b) For כְּבִיר in 1 S. 19 13 16, EV has 'pillow,' while RVmg. offers 'quilt' or 'network' (so Ew., cp כְּבָרָה, a sieve); but see § 3. (c) The 'pillows' of the prophetesses (so 𝔊 προσκεφάλαιον; cp Vg. Pesh. Targ.) in Ez. 13 18 20 are purely imaginary. כְּסָתוֹת appears to mean some kind of magical amulet carried by the prophetesses; cp Ass. *kasû*, 'to bind,' *kasîtu* (Del. in Baer, *Ezek.* xii. *f.*).

5. Divans. It is impossible to separate the subject of beds from that of couches or divans. Amos, as a dweller in the country, directs his scorn against the luxury of the rich grandees 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the silken cushions of a bed' (Am. 3 12 *b*, RV). The rendering of RV is indefensible: Damascus and damask have no connection (see DAMASCUS, § 6 n.). The passage has been cleared up with an approach to certainty by critical conjecture: it should run thus, 'that sit in Samaria on the carpet (בִּצְפִית) of a couch, and on the cushion (בְּמִשְׁכַּב) of a divan.'[1] From another passage, which also can be restored very nearly to its original clearness (see DAVID, § 12 n.), we learn that the conches of the great were richly adorned. The selfish grandees are described as those 'that lie upon conches (or beds, מִטּוֹת, of ivory,' Am. 6 4). Such couches were sent as tribute by Hezekiah to Nineveh (*KB* 2 97, l. 36), and the Amarna Tablets (5 20; cp 27 20 28) speak of 'beds' (iršu) of ivory, gold, and wood sent to the king of Egypt. So too in Esther (1 6; cp 1 Esd. 3 6) we read of couches adorned with gold and silver, and covered with rich tapestry and deckings from Egypt (cp Prov. 7 16). Some of these couches would of course be used as beds. Such, at any rate, was the gorgeous bed (κλίνη) in the tent of Holophernes. The description of it contains the first mention of a 'canopy' (κωνώπιον, Judith 10 21 13 9 16 19, originally a fly-net)—one of the results of Greek influence; HELLENISM, § 15.

BEDAD (בְּדַד; Βαραδ [BADEL]), the father of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36 35 1 Ch. 1 46 (Βαδαραμ [L]). The name is seemingly a corruption of Bir-dadda—*i.e.*, probably, Bir is Dadda (two names of the storm-god best known as Rammān): cp with this Bir-zur (ברצר, Panammu inscr. from Zenjirli, 1, 3). Waiti, the 'king of Arabia' conquered by Ašur-bāni-pal, had for his father Bir-dadda (*KB* 2 222 *f.*), a name which answers to the Assyrian name Bir-rammān (the eponym for 848 B.C.). Hommel (*Beitr. z. Ass.*, 1897, p. 270) derives from Be-(Ha)dad—*i.e.*, by Hadad;—cp BAANA, BE-ESHTERAH. T. K. C.

BEDAN (בְּדָן; *BADAN*, or [Cod. Am.] *BENEDAN*).

1. In an address ascribed to Samuel we find Bedan, mentioned between Jerubbaal and Jephthah as one of the chief deliverers of Israel (1 S. 12 11 MT). No such name occurs in the Book of Judges, however, and the form of the name is suspicious.

Ew. supposed that the initial letter had been dropped, and that we should read Abdon (עַבְדּוֹן, Judg. 12 13). Abdon, however, is one of the six 'minor Judges' introduced into the historical scheme of Judges at a later time. The Targ. fancifully understands the name as ben-Dan—*i.e.*, Samson.

The mention of Sisera in *v.* 9 entitles us to expect Barak, which name is actually read by 𝔊 (βαρακ [BAL]), Pesh. So We., Dr., Klo., Bu., Moore, H. P. Smith.

2. A Manassite, 1 Ch. 7 17 (βαδαμ [B], -δαν [AL]); perhaps a corruption of Abdon (עבדן). See MACHIR.

BEDEIAH (בֵּדְיָה, more probably a textual corruption for בראיה, 1 Ch. 8 21† [so Gray, *HPN* 285, n. 11, who cites 𝔊B and Pesh.], than an abbreviation for עבדיה [so Olsh. 277 *b*, 4, followed by BDB], a Levitical name in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5 end) Ezra 10 35 (Βαραια [B], Βαδαια [AL], μα. [ℵ]; = 1 Esd. 9 34 PELIAS, RV PEDIAS (πεδιας [B], παιδειας [A], Βαδαια [L]). By reading BERAIAH (*q.v.*) as above, we gain a second name in which creation (√ברא) is referred to by the distinctive exilic and post-exilic term. See CREATION, § 30.

BEE (דְּבוֹרָה,[1] μελισσα; Dt. 1 44 Judg. 14 8 Ps. 118 12 Pr. 6 8 [𝔊] Is. 7 18 Ecclus. 5 7 [ℵc.a] 11 3 4 Macc. 14 19†) has for its Hebrew name a word derived from a root meaning to lead (or to be led) in order. Thus it means properly a member of a swarm (cp *examen* from *ex-ago*). Besides the familiar incident of Samson finding a swarm of bees in the lion's carcase (recalling Vergil's story of Aristæus and other classical allusions, see below), we have in the OT two references to the angry assaults of bees on those who meddle with their hives (Dt. 1 44 Ps. 118 12 [MT]; [2] cp 4 Macc. 14 19), and a likening of the Assyrian power to a bee summoned by the sound of a hiss to settle on the land of Israel[3] (Is. 7 18). In Prov. 6, at the close of the exhortation to the sluggard to learn from the ant and her ways, 𝔊 has the following addition to the Hebrew text :—

> Or go thou to the bee
> And learn how diligent she is
> And how noble (σεμνήν) is thk work that she doeth ;
> Whose labours kings and private men use for health,
> And she is desired and honourable in the eyes of all :
> Though she be weak in strength,
> By honouring wisdom she is advanced.

We may compare the words of the son of Sirach (11 3).

> The bee is little among such as fly,
> But her fruit is the chief of sweet things.

The common bee of Palestine is *Apis fasciata*, Latr.; some authorities regard it as a distinct species, others as a sub-species of the cosmopolitan honey-bee *Apis mellifica*. In favour of the latter view it is stated that when crossed with races of the same species it breeds freely; but, on the other hand, it differs in size and colour from the English bee, being smaller and lighter, and beautifully striped. The colonies are large and very many, Palestine being a country well adapted for the needs' of insects which flourish in the sun and feed on flowers.

Bees are found wild, making their hives in crevices of the rocks and hollow trees, etc.; and, even at the present day, many of the Arabs make a living by collecting wild honey and bringing it into the towns for sale. Bee-keeping is much practised in the East (where honey is largely used in cooking), the hives, according to Canon Tristram, being tubular structures 3 or 4 ft. long, and some 8 in. in diameter, roughly made of sun-dried mud. The ends of the tube are closed with a tile perforated with a hole for the access of the bees. Many of the hives are piled up together and covered with boughs for the sake of shade. When the combs

1 Cp AMOS, § 5 n.; Che. *Expositor*, vi. *b*, 366, *JQR* 10 572, and on צְפִית, 'mat,' rug,' 'carpet' see *Intr. Is.* 126 n. For במשכב Grätz and Nowack give בִּשְׂמִיכַת, 'on the covering of.' But ש is non-existent; in Judg. 4 18 it is corrupt (see above).

1 This fem. word is a *nomen unitatis*; the collective appears in Arab. as *dibr* or *dabr*, a swarm of bees, also probably in emended text of 1 S. 14 26, דְּבֹרוֹ, its bees (for דְּבַשׁ); so 𝔊, We., Dr., Bu., H. P. Smith.

2 𝔊 has 'as bees about wax,' which Bä., Che.(1) adopt; but דונג comes from רעכו, a rival reading to בערו (Che. *Ps.*(2)). In cod. ℵ Ecclos. 5 7 a corrector has added ως μελισσαι εκτριβηση.

3 The ancients believed that it was possible to summon bees by sounds, such as the beating of metal: see Verg. *Georg.* 4 65, and the other passages cited by Bochart (*Hieroz.* 4 10).

are stored with honey the end is removed and the comb pulled out with a hook. It is possible that this method of apiculture is of considerable antiquity—the art was well known in classical times, and the bee has been, as Darwin points out, 'semi-domesticated from an extremely remote period,'—but there is no reference to it in the OT or the NT.

The temper of this race of bees is very irritable, and they are very revengeful; indeed, it seems that the farther East one travels, the more the bee is to be avoided. This eagerness to attack may explain such passages as Dt. 144 Ps. 118 12, which, if they referred to the English bee, would seem exaggerated. A few years ago some hives of this Eastern race were introduced into the South of England, but proved so aggressive that they had to be destroyed. They are very active on the wing and fly great distances.

The passage in Judg. (14 8), which describes Samson finding 'a swarm of bees and honey in the carcase of the lion,' reads strangely. It is, however, by no means improbable that in the hot dry climate of Palestine the body of a lion might dry up quickly, and it is possible that the flesh of the animal might have been removed by ants. The skeleton might then form an attractive shelter for a hive. On the other hand, Baron Osten Sacken[1] has recently drawn attention to the widely-spread myth called Bugonia, which is that bees are generated in the bodies of dead animals, more especially in the carcases of oxen. This myth frequently occurs in ancient and mediæval literature,[2] and was believed and quoted by distinguished naturalists as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Its explanation, according to our author, lies in the fact that a true fly (*Eristalis tenax*, one of the Diptera), which mimics a bee so closely as to deceive those who are not entomologists, lays its eggs in decaying meat. This provides food for the maggots. After the pupa stages emerges the mature insect. As it flies away, it would be almost certainly taken for a bee. The theory is ingenious; but it does not account for the honey in the lion's carcase, and at present, although the *Eristalis* undoubtedly lays its eggs in filth, the evidence that it does so in dead bodies is somewhat scanty.

A story parallel to Samson's is to the effect that recently, when the tomb of Petrarch at Arqua was opened, it was found that a swarm of bees had made their honeycomb on the remains of the poet.

The Palestine bee, which is found S. of Mount Carmel, differs from the Syrian bee found in Asiatic Turkey N. of that district. The latter is of a deeper gray. Both races are larger than the Cyprian bee, which is slender and wasp-like. The Egyptian bee resembles the Syrian in size, but is yellow and of an unusually fierce temperament. See also HONEY.

N. M.—A. E. S.

BEELIADA (בְּעֶלְיָדָע, § 42, *i.e.*, 'Baal knows,' or 'whom B. deposits' [for safe custody; cp Ar. *wada'a*, 'deposuit'; see Kerber, *Eigenn.* 39]; the Massoretic vocalisation intentionally disguises the word בַּעַל), one of the sons of DAVID [*q.v.*, § 11 *d*] (1 Ch. 14 7, βαλεγδαε [BX], -λλιαδα [A], βααλιαδα [L]; Ti.'s text ελιαδε). This, the original form of the name, was later altered by the scrupulous copyists to ELIADA in 2 S. 5 16 (but βααλιλαθ [L] and -ειμαθ in B's secondary [see DAVID, § 11 (*d*) β] list) and 1 Ch. 3 8, when Baal had become objectionable as a name of God (WRS, *OTJC*(2) 68). Cp BAAL, i. 5 5.

BEELSARUS (Βεελσαρος [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, BILSHAN.

BEELTETHMUS (Βεελτεθμος [B]), 1 Esd. 2 16. See REHUM, 5.

[1] *Bullettino della Societá Entomologica Italiana*, tom. 25 ['93].

[2] See the references in Bochart, *Hieroz.* 4 10.

BEELZEBUL, as in RV$^{mg.}$; EV Beelzebub: a name of the ruler of the demons (αρχων των δαιμονιων), Mt. 10 25 12 24 27 Mk. 3 22 Lk. 11 15 18 *f.* †.

1. Form of name. EV follows Text. Rec., which has βεελζεβουβ (so Pesh.); but final *l* is better, attested (βεελζεβουλ [cΔ, Syr. Hcl.]; so Ti. Treg.). WH, following B and partly א, read everywhere βεεζεβουλ, which, Weiss insists, must be original; but this scepticism as to the λ in βεελ is paradoxical. The word βεεζεβουλ is inexplicable and hardly pronounceable, and the famous passage in Mt. 10 25, where the οἰκοδεσπότης is said to he insultingly called Bee(l)zebul, implies the speaker's consciousness that בְּעֵל is one element in the title.

2. Explanation. The name differs in two respects from the traditional name of the god of Ekron: (1) its first part is Aramaic, and (2) its last letter is not *b* but *l*. Still, we cannot doubt that Bĕelzĕbūl is identical with Baăl-zĕbūb. This heathen god seemed at one moment to be the rival of Yahwè (2 K. 1 3), and his name naturally rose to Jewish lips when demoniacal possession was spoken of, because of the demoniacal origin assumed for heathen oracles. The title occurs nowhere in Jewish literature, and must, therefore, have lost its popularity after the time of Christ. There were, in fact, so many names of demons that we cannot he surprised that some once popular names passed out of use. If we ask how the name Beel-zebub, or rather Beel-zebul, came to be popular, the answer is—first, that the title Baal-zebul was probably not confined to the god of Ekron, but was once known in Palestine pretty widely, so that a traditional knowledge of it, as well as of the synonymous title BAAL-ZEPHON [*q.v.*], can be presumed among the Jews and their neighbours even apart from 2 K. 1; and next, that Lk. 9 54 shows that special interest was felt by the Jews of the time of Christ in the strange narrative in which the name Baal-zebub occurs. That the form Baal-zebül was generally preferred may be presumed from the best accredited Greek text of the Gospels—the knowledge of this form must have come to the Jews by tradition and by intercourse with their neighbours—but it is probable enough that Bĕel-zebūb also was current, and from Mt. 10 25 we are obliged to assume that some teachers pronounced the name Beel-zebud, with the view of interpreting it Beel-dĕbaitha = οἰκοδεσπότης, 'lord of the house'—ד and ת being easily interchanged.[1] (An analogy for this can be found in the Elohist's play upon Zebulun, as if Zebudun, in Gen. 30 20.) The interpretation was correct (see BAAL-ZEBUB, § 3), though the 'house' of which Jesus and his contemporaries thought was, not on the mountain of God (cp BAAL-ZEPHON, 'lord of the [mansion of the] north), but in the 'recesses of the pit'[2] (Is. 14 15). Though the demons might be allowed to pervade the upper world (cp Eph. 2 2), the place from which they proceeded was the 'abyss' (the Abaddon of Rev. 9 11).

As things now stand, therefore, it is best *to* suppose BAAL-ZEBUB [*q.v.*, § 3] to be a modification in the direction of cacophony for religious reasons (cp GOG, MAGOG) which did not hold its ground. Baăl-zĕbūl is probably the original form, and it meant 'lord of the mansion'—*i.e.*, to the Jews of NT times, 'lord of the nether world.' The reading of the received Greek text is assimilated to the reading of the traditional Hebrew text.

3. Other explanations. Over against this view stands that of the old scholar Lightfoot (still defended by Arn. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 49), which connects -zebul with זֶבֶל, 'dung,' זְבוּל, זִיבּוּל, 'dung-making,' in new Hebrew; cp זִבֵּל, 'to offer to idols.' The idea is that 'lord of flies' was changed into 'lord of dung,' to show abhorrence of henthenism. Such transformations are, no doubt, in the later Jewish spirit;

[1] Cp 𝔊.'s Ζαβουθ for ZABUD [*q.v.*, 1].

[2] She'ōl, on this theory, is ironically described as the זְבוּל, the 'palace' or 'mansion' of the demons, as in Ps. 49 15 (according to one possible view, see PSALMS, *SBOT* where We. reads מִזְּבֻל) of the wicked rich.

but this particular one is improbable.[1] 'Lord of flies' (could we assume that this was the original meaning) was itself, as a title, bad enough; nor would the people, who feared the demons so much, have ventured to speak too disrespectfully of the archdemon (cp Ashmedai or Asmodēus, which to a Hebrew ear meant the 'destroyer' —not a disrespectful title); lastly, on Lightfoot's theory the name ought to be Beel-zebel: it is shown elsewhere that a late editor detected the new Hebrew word *zebel*, 'dung,' in the name I-zebel (JEZEBEL). Lightfoot's theory, then, must be abandoned, as Baudissin holds. But Baudissin's own theory (adopted from Hitzig) is not really more satisfactory. He thinks that Baal-zebul is simply a euphonic modification of Baal-zebub, the consonant which closed the first syllable being repeated at the close of the second part of the word.[2]

This, however, leaves Baal-zebub unexplained, for Baudissin's theory of the name is scarcely admissible.

See Selden, ***De Dis Syris***, 26; Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Mt. 12 24 Lk. 11 15; Movers, ***Die Phönizier*** ('41), 1 260 *f.*; Riehm's article in *HWB*(2). The latter revives an old theory of Storr and Doderlein that *bĕ'el dĕbābā* in Aramaic might mean either 'lord of flies' or 'an enemy,' ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος (Mt. 13 28) = διάβολος. This is doubtless plausible. We must at least admit that the common people cannot without instruction have attached a meaning to *-zebul*. But how has Beelzebul (half Hebrew, half Aramaic) fixed itself in the Gospel tradition? Pesh. too retains Beelzebub. Baudissin's article in Herzog, *PRE*(3) (learned and thorough) adopts the ordinary view, as far as Baal-zebub is concerned.

T. K. C.

BEER (בְּאֵר, 'well,' § 101). 1. (τὸ φρέαρ [BAFL]). A station of the Israelites, apparently between Heshbon and the Arnon (Nu. 21 16 [JE]). See NAHALIEL; WANDERING, § 8; and cp, below, BEER-ELIM. The interest of Beer is not geographical but literary. The discovery of the well was commemorated (the narrator gives us to understand) by a song. The song with its context runs thus, according to MT,—

And from there to Beer: that is the well whereof Yahwè said unto Moses: Assemble the people, and I will give them water. Then sang Israel this song:

Spring up, O well; greet ye it with a song.
Well, that the princes have dug,
The nobles of the people have bored,
With the sceptre—with their staves.

And from Midbar [EV the wilderness] to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahaliel; and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.

The historical character of this statement has generally been assumed. Ewald, however, is on the road to a very different theory when he remarks that such a well-song would become a source of joy to the labourers who thenceforward used it (*Hist.* 2 204). He sees, in fact, that it is essentially a popular song. Robertson Smith, too, finely speaks of 'the exquisite song in which the Hebrew women as they stand round the fountain, waiting their turn to draw, coax forth the water which wells up all too slowly for their impatience.'[3] We should not expect the origin of such a song to be remembered; nor is there anything in the words to suggest the occasion ascribed to it in JE. More probably it arose in the dry country of the south of Judah, where springs were the most valued possession (cp Judg. 1 15 Josh. 15 19 Gen. 26 19 *ff.*). The 'princes,' 'nobles,' and 'captains' (for במחקק we read מחקקים; cp Judg. 5 9-14) referred to are the sheikhs of the clan. When a fresh well has been found, the sheikhs go through the symbolic form of digging for it with staves, and the poets of the clan greet the well with a song.

Does MT give us the whole of the song? Can Midbar be used as a proper name?, Surely not. And, when we examine the MSS of 𝔊, we find some justification for the hypothesis of Budde, that the text of the itinerary originally ran, 'And from there to Beer; and from Beer to Nahaliel and from Nahaliel to Bamoth,' and that an editor who knew the song of the well, and desired to do it honour, inserted it between the first and the second items in the list, with the additional line, 'Out of the wilderness a gift' (see MATTANAH). See Budde, ***New World***, March 1895; *Preuss. Jahrbb.*, 1895, p. 491 *ff.*; Franz Del. *ZKW*, 1882, p. 449 *ff.*

2. A place to which JOTHAM [1] fled from his brother Abimelech, Judg. 9 21 (βαιηρ [B], ραρα [A], βηρα [L]). In OS (238 73; 106 20) it is identified with a village called Bera, 8 m. N. of Eleutheropolis. The context, however, gives us no data for determining the site of the 'well' in question.

BEEROTH (*q.v.*) and even Beersheba have been suggested. Kh. el-Bireh, W. of 'Ain Shems, is considerably more than 8 m. N. of Beit Jibrin.

T. K. C.

BEERA (בְּאֵרָא, 'well'; Βαιαιλα [B], Βεηρα [A], om. L.), b. Zophah, in genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch. 7 37).

BEERAH (בְּאֵרָה, 'well'), a Reubenite prince, son of Baal, carried off by Tiglath-pileser, 1 Ch. 5 6 (Βεηλ [B], -ηρα [A], Βαρα [L]). He is identified by the rabbins with Beeri, the father of the prophet Hosea.

BEER-ELIM (בְּאֵר אֵילִים [Bä. Gi.], 'well of terebinths' (?) or 'of sacred trees'; φρεαρ του αιλ[ε]ιμ [BℵAQΓ]), a place apparently on the northern border of Moab, answering to EGLAIM on the south (Is. 15 8). It is generally identified with the BEER of **Nu.** 21 16. Some identify it also with the Alema of 1 Macc. **5 26**; but see ALEMA.

BEERI (בְּאֵרִי, 'belonging to the well' or 'BEER,' § 76; cp above).

1. A Hittite, the father of JUDITH (i. 1) Esau's wife, Gen. **26 34** (βεηρ [AD], βαιηλ [E], βαιωρ [L]). It is impossible to reconcile this description with that of Adah in the genealogy in Gen. **36 2**, for which see BASHEMATH, *1.*

2. The fatlier of HOSEA, Hos. 1 1 (ὁ βεηρ[ε]ι, [BAQ]).

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי), a well in the Negeb, famous in Hebrew tradition as the scene of Hagar's theophany (Gen. 16 14), and no doubt connected with a sanctuary (St. *ZATW* 1 349 ['81]). Beside this sacred well was the abode of Isaac (Gen. 24 62 25 11).

1. Name. The name is mentioned only by J; E, who gives nearly the same account of the theophany (21 8-21), speaks simply of 'a well.' According to RV, Beer-lahai-roi means 'well of the living one who sees me.'

So the Versions (16 **14**: φρέαρ οὗ ἐνώπιον [ε]ἶδον [ADL], 24 26 25 11: φ. τῆς ὁράσεως [ADEL]; Pesh. in all three ܒܐܪܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܚܙܝܢܝ). This rendering, however, is inconsistent with that given of El Roi in 16 13, '**A** God that seeth'; **we** should expect, not חַי רֹאִי, but חַי רֹאִי, and, even apart from this, חַי cannot be equivalent to אֵל, 'God' (the phrase אֵל חַי is late). Probably, therefore, we should render with We. (*Prol.*(4) ***330***; E T 326), 'living is he who sees me,' and explain this by the light of Hagar's words in ***v.*** 13, which, as they stand, are unintelligible, hut may, by the correction of הלם into אלהים,[1] and the insertion of ואחי between ראיתי and אחרי (the resemblance of these three words accounts for the omission of one), be interpreted thus: 'Have I seen God and remained alive after my vision (of God)'?' El Roi (lit. 'God of vision') will then mean 'the God who is seen' (cp Gen. **22 14**).

These explanations of Ēl-Rō'ī and Beer-laḥai-rō'ī are too plainly not original. According to analogy, לחי (wrongly vocalised *laḥai*) ought to be a noun in the construct state. Instead of *laḥai* we should doubtless

[1] גִּלּוּלִים, the present writer thinks, has no connection with גָּלָל, 'dung.' It is pointed in imitation of שִׁקּוּצִים, 'abominations,' and should really he read גְּלָלִים, 'heaps of stones,' *i.e.*, altars of stone. Cp, however, IDOL, § 2 (*b*).

[2] Hitzig (*Kl. Proph.*, by Steiner, 267) compares 𝔊.'s Αμβακουμ (Habakkuk); Baudissin adds Bâb el-mandel for Bâb el-Mandeh.

[3] 'The Poetry of the OT,' *Brit. Quart.* ***Rev.*** Jan. 1877; cp ***RS***(2) 135. The expression 'coax forth' was suggested by Herder. The fountain is credited by primitive races with personality.

[1] Cp להם in MT of 1 S. 3 13: read אלהים with 𝔊BAL.

vocalise *lĕḥī*, 'jaw-bone'; *roi* (?) is some animal's name, not known in the later Hebrew, and perhaps of Arabic origin. The name misread Laḥai-roi should; therefore, be rendered' 'Antelope's (?) jaw-bone.'

Another explanation is proposed by Hommel (*AHT* 209). Adhering to the points as regards the syllable *ḥai*, he compares the S. Ar. name *Luḥai-'atht*. He does not account for *ro'i*. Should ראי be רעו (see REU)? Samson's Lehi, however, supplies a more obvious clue.

Lĕḥī, 'jaw-bone,' was a name given to any prominent crag, from a fancied resemblance to a jaw-bone. See LEHI; and cp Onugnathos (ὄνου γνάθος), a promontory on the coast of Laconia, and 'Camel's jaw-bone' (an Arabic name, Yāḳūt, iv. 353 9 *ff.*; cp We. *Vakidi*, 298, n. 2).[1]

According to E, the well was in the 'wilderness of Beersheba (Gen. 21 14); J, more precisely, states that it

2. Site. was 'on the way to Shur' (16 7), 'between Kadesh and Bered' (*v.* 14). Jerome knew of a 'well of Hagar' (*OS* 101 3); does he mean the traditional well in the *Wādy el-Muweileḥ?* This strangely formed wady is at the foot of mountains of the same name, and Palmer thinks that there was once a large city here ('perhaps one of the "cities of the south"'). One of the wells has special sanctity, and is connected by the Bedouin with Hagar. Two caves appear to be ancient. The smaller, at the upper end of the wādy, on the right hand, was apparently a Christian chapel; the other, on the opposite side, seems to have served as the hermitage (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 2 354). As to the 'jaw-bone' rock no positive statement can be ventured. On the geographical statement in *v.* 14, see BERED, i. To the suggestions there made it may be added that the 'way to SHUR' (*q.v.*) would be one of the regions called by the Assyrians Muṣri. According to the original tradition Hagar seems to have fled, not to Egypt, but to a N. Arabian district called by a name which was confounded with Mizraim (Egypt). This, and not Egypt, was really her native country; this too was the country from which, according to E, she took a wife for her son Ishmael (21 21). So Wi. *AOF* 30 *f.* See HAGAR, § 1; ISAAC, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2; MORIAH. T. K. C.

BEEROTH (בְּאֵרוֹת; ΒΗΡΩΘ [BKAL]), a city of Benjamin.

In Josh. 18 25, βεηρωθα [E], βηθωρωθ [L], 2 S. 4 2 [A omits]; gentilic Beerothite (הַבְּאֵרֹתִי; βηρωθαιος [BAL], 2 Sam. 4 2 *f.* 5 9; βηθωρ. [EA], βιθαρει [L], 2 Sam. 23 37; הַבֵּרֹתִי, EV BEROTHITE, 1 Ch. 11 39; ὁ βερθει [B], ὁ βηρωθ [A], ὁ βηρωθι [L]).

According to Josh. 9 17 (βειρων [B*], βηθωρ [B^ab mg.]), it belonged originally to the Gibeonite confederation; and, according to 2 S. 4 3, there was at one time a migration of its inhabitants to Gittaim (see ISHBAAL, 1). Men of Beeroth are mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*); Ezra 2 25 = Neh. 7 29 (βηρωϲ [B], αβηρωθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 19 (βηρογ [B] βηρωε? [A]). It is named by Eus. (cp Reland, 618-19), and is now represented by the modern *El Bīreh* (which still owes its name to its abundant supply of water), a village of about 800 inhabitants, in a poor district, about 9 m. N. from Jerusalem, on the Shechem road. Tradition assigns it as the place where Joseph and Mary missed Jesus from the company of returning pilgrims (Lk. 2 43 45).

BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN, RV Beeroth Bene-Jaakan (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי־יַעֲקָן, 'wells of the b'ne Ja'ăḳān'), a halting-place in the desert, Dt. 10 6 (ΒΗΡΩΘ ΥΙΩΝ ΙΑΚΕΙΜ [BAL]), where it is mentioned before MOSEROTH.[2] This notice is *pre-Deuteronomic*, and belongs to a fragment of E's list of stations which has been inserted by the editor (Bacon, *Trip. Trad.* 207 *f.*; cp Meyer, *ZATW* 1 118; Dr. *Deut.* 120). In Nu. 33 31 *f.* the same name occurs (shortened into BENE-JAAKAN, בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן; βαναια [B]; -νικαν [A]; -(ι)ακαν [F]; μανικ. [L]) *after* Moseroth; but the list of stations in Nu. 33 is of late editorial origin (cp Kue. *Hex.* 98, 102). The spot probably lay somewhere on the edge of the Arabah. Cp JAKAN, and WANDERINGS, § 8.

BEERSHEBA (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, § 107—*i.e.*, 'well of seven,' rather than 'seven wells'—see below, § 3; ΒΗΡϹΑΒΕΕ [BAL]; in Josh. 15 28 ΒΗΡϹΑΒΕΘ [A]; in Gen. 21 31 ΦΡΕΑΡ ΟΡΚΙϹΜΟΥ [ADL], 26 33 Φ. ΟΡΚΟΥ [ADEL], it is taken as meaning 'well of the oath').[1]

1. References. One of the Simeonite towns in the southern territory of Judah (Josh. 19 2), on the border of the cultivated land, came to be regarded, for the greater part of history, as the remotest point of Canaan in that direction; whence the phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 17 11), which, after the fall of the N. kingdom, became from 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23 8), or 'from Beersheba to Mt. Ephraim' (2 Ch. 19 4 βεηρσαβεε [B]), and in the post-exilic period 'from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom' (Neh. 11 27 βεηρσαβεε [B], βερσ. [A], 30 βεηρσαβεε [B], βερσ. [A]). Yet Beersheba, though the practical, was not the ideal, border of the Holy Land. This ran along the 'river of Egypt,' the present Wādy el-'Arīsh, nearly 60 m. SE. of Beersheba.

An account of the origin of the name and the planting of the sacred tamarisk of Beersheba is given in the story of Abraham (Gen. 21 22 *ff.* E); but another story belonging to another document (J) assigns the origin of the well and its name to Isaac (Gen. 26 26-33). It was the scene of more than one theophany in patriarchal times. It was an important sanctuary frequented even by N. Israel in the time of Amos (5 5 φρέαρ τοῦ ὅρκου [BAQ]), who refers with disapproval to those who swear by the life of the divine patron[2] of Beersheba (8 14). It was in Beersheba that the two sons of Samuel are said to have exercised their judgeship (1 S. 8 2), and a day's journey thence into the wilderness is placed the incident of the 'juniper' tree in the life of Elijah (1 K. 19 3 *ff.* βερσαβεε [A]). Beersheba was the birthplace of the mother of King, Joash (2 K. 12 1 [2] 2 Ch. 24 1). In post-exilic times it was inhabited by men of Judah.

The ruins at Beersheba belong apparently to early Christian days. The *Onomastica* describe it as a large place with a Roman garrison (103 32 234 100). In the time of Jerome the place was of some importance; later, it became an episcopal see: but by the fourteenth century it had become deserted and ruined:

It is represented by the modern *Bīr es-Seba'*, on the W. es-Seba', 28 m. SW. from Hebron (Rob. *BR* 1 300 *ff.*).

2. Identification. Whilst the arable land of Palestine virtually comes to an end with Beersheba, and the country to the south of it is usually barren, there are, for nearly 30 m. S. of Beersheba, ruins of old villages gathered round wells; they evidently date from Roman times.

On Josh. 19 2, 'Beersheba and Sheba,' see SHEMA (i.).

[WRS (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 181) remarks 'The sanctuary of Beersheba properly consisted of the "Seven Wells"

3. Derivation. which gave the place its name.' Among the Arabs a place called 'Seven Wells' is mentioned by Strabo (16 4 24). Robertson Smith has also given abundant evidence of the sanctity attaching to the groups of seven wells among the Semites. Even to-day seven wells or cisterns seem to have the power of undoing witchcraft (*ZDPV* 7 106). This view is due to Stade (*Gesch.* i. 127), who thinks that the postposition of the numeral was Canaanitish; but, as in the case of Kirjath-arba (see HEBRON, i.), the theory is doubtful. 'Well of Seven' is not inexplicable; 'Well of (the) Seven

[1] So first We. *Prol.* l.c.; cp Moore, *Judges*, 347. It seems a natural inference that El-roi originally referred to an antelope-god (so Ball, *Genesis SBOT*).

[2] The Samar. text has for this verse: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth and encamped among the b'ne Ja'ăḳān.

[1] The Hebrew verb 'to swear' means literally 'to come under the influence of seven things.' See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 181 *ff.*

[2] MT gives 'way' (cultus): see AMOS, § 10.

gods' is intrinsically a probable meaning. Few persons, it is to be hoped, go to Beersheba looking for seven wells. Gautier affirms that there are now only three, though there may once have been more *(Souvenirs de Terre Sainte,*[2] 147; but cp his letter in *Erp. Times,* 10 328 (Apr. '99). Trumbull (*Exp. Times,* **889** [Nov. '96]) also states that he saw three wells, but adds that at some distance he saw the remains of a fourth and a fifth. He admits that there may once have been more than five. Cp also Dr. *Exp. Times,* **7567** *f.* (Sep. '96). For descriptions of Beersheba **as** it is to-day, see Rob. *BR* **1204**; Guérin, *Judée,* **2** **278** **283**; Séjourné, *Rev. biblique,* 1895, **p.** 265.1 G. **A. S.**

BE-ESHTERAH (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה) in Josh. 21 27 (Βοσορα [B], -ρρ. [L], Βεεθαρα [Al]), perhaps an abbreviation for בֵּית עַשְׁתְּרָה, 'house of Astarte' (cp Ges., Nestle, *Eig.* 114, etc.). Hommel, however (*Beitr. f. Ass.*, 1897, p. 268), explains 'by Ashtar'; cp the S. Ar. בעתתר, 'by Athtar (*i.e.*, Ashtar).' Gray (*HPN* 127) also is against the supposed abbreviation of *bēth* into *bē-*. See ASHTAROTH.

BEETLE, RV CRICKET (חַרְגֹּל; οφιομαχης[1] [BAFL] : Lev. 11 22†). By the word so rendered is almost certainly intended a species of locust or grasshopper; the name is one of four used in the verse to denote 'winged creeping things that go upon all fours, which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth.' The Hebrew name has passed into Aramaic, post-biblical Hebrew, and Armenian; in Arabic *ḥarjala* means 'a troop of horses' or 'a troop of locusts' (cp Joel 2 4), and the connected verb means 'to proceed in a long train,' as do locusts. 'Beetle' is at all events a wrong rendering; for the *Coleoptera* have, as a rule, legs ill adapted for 'leaping upon the earth,' and are seldom or never eaten; whereas certain kinds of crickets, as of locusts, are fried and eaten by Eastern nations. It is impossible, however, to identify the species (if any) referred to. Cp also LOCUST, § 2.

BEGGAR, BEGGING. See ALMS, § 4.

BEHEADING. See **LAW AND** JUSTICE, § 12.

BEHEMOTH and **LEVIATHAN.** two real or supposed animals grouped together in Job 40 15-41, but nowhere else in the canonical books (see however below).[2] *Bĕhēmōth* (בְּהֵמוֹת) is no doubt an intensive plural form, and means 'a colossal beast.' It occurs (*a*) in Job 40 15-24, probably (*b*) in Is. **306,** but hardly (c) in Ps. **73** 22.[3]

1. Mention of Behemoth.

In *(a)* the animal so called is described at length. This description is followed by **a** sketch of Leviāthān, and most critics have thought, specially on the ground of the 'hyperbolical' expressions, that the two pictures are later insertions in the speeches of Yahwè (see JOB). Whether the expressions are fitly called 'hyperholical,' we shall see presently. Almost all modern critics, whether they separate Job **40** 15-41 from the main body of the speeches of Yahwi: or not, have thought that Bĕhēmōth is **a** Hebraised form of an Egyptian word for the hippopotamus (*p-ehe-mōu*, 'water-ox'), hut there is no philological basis for this opinion.[4] In (6) Is. 306 מַשָּׂא בַּהֲמוֹת נֶגֶב is probably to be rendered 'Oracle of the monster (bĕhēmōth) of the south land.'[1] This is the heading of **a** short fraementary passage of prophecy, and refers to the description of Egypt **at** the end of ***v.*** **7** as 'Rahab the quelled one' (see RAHAB, ii. § 1). 'The south-land' (Negeb) is here, as in Dan. 8 9 11 5 *ff.*, **a** designation of the second of the two empires which endangered Palestine,—*i.e.*, Egypt, —the other being *Ṣāphōn*, 'the northland' (Jer. **16** 15 Zech. **26** [10])—*i.e.*, in **a** large sense, Babylonia. So Del. The heading in *v.* **6** may be very late.

Delitzsch finds Bĕhēmōth also in (c) Ps. **7322,** 'As for me, I was senseless and ignorant, I was **a** Bĕhēmōth toward thee' (Del., Nowack). This rendering is correct, if the text is sound, and if the speaker is an individual. If, however, the speaker is to he understood collectively, we may perhaps render, 'I was (like) the beasts toward thee.' So Bä.; but the absence of the particle of comparison is **a** difficulty. If we compare 49 10 [11] 92 6 [7] it becomes plausible to read, with Gratz, תְּבוּנוֹת חָסַרְתִּי, 'I was devoid of understanding toward thee.'

2. Of Leviathan.

Leviāthān (לִוְיָתָן, *livyāthān*, 'wreathed'—*i.e.*, 'gathering itself in folds'; or perhaps of Bab. origin) is a designation of **a** mythic serpent in all the passages in which it occurs, unless Job 41 1 be an exception.[2] See also **LEVIATHAN.**

It is found (*d*) in Job 41 1 **(4025)** 'Canst thou draw up[3] Leviathan with **a** hook, (and) press down his tongue with **a** cord? , *(e)* Job **3** 8, 'Let those who lay a ban upon the sea[4] curse it, (those) who are appointed to rouse up Leviathan'; (*f*) Is. **27** 1, 'In that day shall Yahwi: punish Leviathan the fugitive serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent, and he shall slay the dragon in the sea'., *(g)* Ps. 74 14, 'Thou didst shatter the heads of Leviathan, and gavest his [carcase] to be food for the jackals';[5] *(h)* Ps. **104** 26,[6] 'There do the dragons move along, (there is) Leviathan whom thou didst form to be its ruler. To these references, two supplied by apocryphal writers may be added: (*i*) En. **607-9,** cp 24 *f.*; (*j*) 4 Esd. 6 49-52; cp Apoc. Bar. 29 4.

3. Both mythical monsters.

In the present article we shall desert the zoological explanation of Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān, leaving the field open to another writer to represent the more generally received opinion (see HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE). Strong reason will have to be shown for not interpreting these strange forms with some regard to mythology. No one would assert that the author of Job had an altogether distinct mythological conception; but modern commentators who disregard the mythic basis of the descriptions make a serious mistake.

It was natural in 1887 to look for illustrations of the Jnb passages, *(d)* and *(e)*, to Egypt,' though reference should have been made, not to the fantastic griffins on certain wall-paintings, but to the idealisation of the ordinary monsters of the Nile in the mythic narratives of Rēʿ and Osiris. 'There are supernatural as well as natural hippopotamuses and "crocodiles, and it is a specimen of these which the poet has given us. The descriptions are hyperbolical and unpleasing, if referred to the real monsters of the Nile; they are not so if explained of the "children of defeat," with the dragon Apopi at their head,[8] which the poet, by a fusion

1 'Ακρίς according to the order in 𝔊BAFL; ἀττακίς is mentioned in hexaplaric MSS as a rendering by 'ἄλλος.'

2 It will be seen that on one strongly supported theory there are parallels to this combination.

3 The versions render Bĕhēmōth as follows:—in (*a*) θηρία [LXX], κτήνη [Aq. Theod.], in (6) τῶν τετραπόδων [LXX], κτήνη [Aq. Sym. Th.], in (*c*) κτηνώδης [LXX, Sym.].

4 So independently WMM (EGYPT, § 9). The objections are **as** follows:—(1) The final *th* in Behemoth is unaccounted for (Lepsius). (2) The Egyptians had several names for the hippopotamus (*e.g.*, *rert*, 'a beast that rolls itself in the mud')' but the texts nowhere mention *p-ehe-mōu*. (3) The form, if it existed, would be *mōu-ehe* (P. C. Cook). It is strange that Jablonski, who died in 1757, and could know only Coptic, and that imperfectly should he consulted in preference to Birch, who, after supposing himself to have found the old Egyptian original of Bĕhēmōth in *bekhama*, discovered afterwards that the name was really *kheb* (Renonf, *Expositor*, July **1897).** Cp REMPHAN. On an analogous attempt to justify the interpretation of Leviathan as **a** crocodile, see col. 520, n. **3.**

1 The alternative explanation 'Oracle of the beasts of the south'—*i.e.*, of the desert which adjoins the south of Judah—is less natural. Why 'the south' instead of 'the desert'? And why are serpents called בְּהֵמוֹת, 'beasts'? חַיּוֹת would have been more in place. Cp *SBOT* on Is. 30 6.

2 𝔊 renders Leviāthān as follows:—in (*d*) δράκοντα (Aq. Sym. λευιαθαν), in *(e)* τὸ μέγα κῆτος (Aq. Sym. λευιαθαν, Th. δράκοντα), in (*f*) τὸν δράκοντα (Aq. Sym. Th. λευιαθαν) [twice], in (*g*) τῶν δρακόντων (Aq. λευιαθαν), in (*h*) δράκων.

3 הֲתִמְשֹׁךְ for MT תִּמְשֹׁךְ. The final letter of ***v.*** 24 (now אַפּוֹ, 'his snout') and the first letter of ***v. 25*** became effaced. Ewald (*Lehrb. d. Hebr. Spr.* 791) makes an elaborate attempt to account for the absence of the interrogative particle (הֲ) in MT. based on the theory that the Arabic word for crocodile (*timsāḥ*) existed in the Hebrew vocabulary of Job. Similarly Budde; Duhm leaves the point undecided. Against this, see Che. *Expositor*, July 1897.

4 Read יָם for יוֹם, with Gunkel, to restore parallelism; cp Ps. **74** 13 *f.* 104 25 *f.* Is. 27 1.

5 Reading תִּתֵּן גְּוִ[יָּ]תוֹ מַאֲכָל לְשֻׁעָלִים. Cp Fox.

6 Reading תַּנִּינִים for the scarcely possible אֳנִיּוֹת, 'ships'; and correcting לְשַׂחֶק בּוֹ into לְנַגֶּשׂ־בּוֹ. See Che. *Ps.*[2]

7 Che. *Job and Sol.* 56, where the first recent critical protest was made against the dominant theory. Cp the fantastic forms described in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations,* 84.

8 See Maspero, *op. cit.* 159.

historically most justifiable,[1] identifies with the monsters of Babylonian origin called elsewhere Rahab and his helpers (Job 9 13). And even in the uncorrected but still more in the corrected text there are expressions and statements which are hardly explicable except on the mythological theory.' How, for example, can the hippopotamus and the crocodile be said to be, not merely dangerous to approach, but beyond the range of hunters? There is evidence that even in early times the Egyptians were skilled in attacking and killing them. How, too, can the ordinary hippopotamus be called 'the firstling of the ways of God' (Job 40 19), and the ordinary crocodile be said to be feared by all that is lofty, and to be king over all the sons of pride[2] (Job 41 34 [26])?

The Babylonian elements in Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān, however, are more important than the Egyptian. They have been pointed out, though with some exaggeration, by Gunkel, who also noticed how much the text of the accounts of Bĕhēmōth and Leviathan has suffered in transmission. It may be hoped that by the light of the mythological interpretation the corruptions may be partly removed. For example, Job 41 9-11 [1-3] may be plausibly emended thus (see *JQR*, April, 1897):—

Surely thy self-confidence proves itself vain;
Even divine beings the fear of him lays low.
An angel shudders when he would arouse him;
Who then (among mortals) would dare to meet him as a foe?
Who ever confronted him and came off safe?
Under the whole heaven, not one!

The un-emended form of this passage, it is true, does not favour a mythological interpretation; but it is very difficult to give it any plausible meaning, whereas the emended text is in perfect harmony with all that we hear of Leviathan elsewhere. One more proof of the helpfulness of tlie new theory may be given. No passage has puzzled interpreters more than 40 19 *b*. The RV renders thus, 'He (only) that made him can make his sword to approach (unto him).' חרבו, however, should be חֲבֵרָיו (Giesebrecht). The real meaning is, 'that was made to be ruler of his fellows' (הֶעָשׂוּי לִנְגֹשׂ ח')—*i.e.*, Bĕhēmōth is the king of all land animals. Take this in connection with Job 41 25 [33][3] and Ps. 104 26, and it would seem that Leviāthān was regarded as lord of the ocean, and Bĕhēmōth of the dry land. The former notion was borrowed from the Babylonians; the latter perhaps from the Egyptians.[4]

Thus the Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān passages in Job represent a fusion, from every point of view most natural, of Babylonian and Egyptian elements. The dragon is primarily Babylonian: it is Tiāmat (=תְּהוֹם; see CREATION, § 2 *f.*). Bĕhēmōth may be ultimately identified with Tiāmat's consort Kingu. Being ignorant of the mythic monsters in question, the poet naturally filled up the gaps in his knowledge from two monsters of the Nile which the Egyptians regarded as representatives of the evil god Sit.[5]

Coming now to (*f*), Is. 27, we note that the writing belongs to a prophetic passage which has a strong apocalyptic tinge, and stands at the head of the period which produced the apocalypse of Daniel.[6] Nowhere perhaps in the OT is the phraseology more distinctly mythical. 'Leviāthān the fleeing serpent' finds its explanation in the carving on a seal representing Marduk with a dagger pursuing the dragon which flees before him in the shape of a serpent, and 'Leviāthān the coiled serpent' is the mythic phrase for the ocean which surrounds the earth.[1]

In (*g*) Ps. 74 14, a psalmist gives a somewhat different view of Leviathan. To him the destruction of Leviāthān is past. This is, of course, the original view represented in the Babylonian Creation-story (see CREATION, § 2). The passage should most probably be read thus:—

Thou didst shatter the head of Leviathan,
And gavest up his [carcase] as food for the jackals.

There is no reference to the unburied corpses of the Egyptians (Ex. 14 30); 'the people inhabiting the wilderness' is an impossible rendering of a corrupt text (see FOX). We have here simply an amplification of a mythic detail in the story of Tiāmat (see the Babylonian Creation-tablet iv. *l.* 104)—the same detail which explains a fine passage in the latter part of Isaiah (Is. 51 9).

Taken by itself (*h*), Ps. 104 26, it must be admitted, gives no confirmation to our mythological interpretations. Leviāthān appears as one of the monsters of the sea, and we are told that Yahwè himself 'formed' him as its ruler. The writer may know nothing of mythology. He has heard this said, and repeats it.

We now turn to (*i*) and (*j*), the apocryphal passages. The former (Enoch 60 7-9) runs in Charles's translation from the Ethiopic version (155):—'And in that day will two monsters be parted, a female monster named Leviāthān, to dwell in the depths of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is called Bĕhēmōth, who occupies with his breast (?) a waste wilderness named Dēndāin, on the east of the garden. . . . And I besought that other angel that he should show me the might of these monsters, how they were parted on one day, and the one was placed in the depths of the sea and the other in the mainland of the wilderness.'

The latter (4 Esd. 6 49-52) is as follows:—'Et tunc conseruasti duo animalia, nomen uni uocasti Behemoth et nomen secundi uocasti Leuiathan. Et separasti ea ab alterutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem qua: siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi snnt montes mille; Leuiathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam: et seruasti ea ut fiant in deuorationem quibus uis et quando uis.' (Behemoth becomes uehemoth in cod. M and Enoch in codd. SA [so AV].)

It is needless to pause long on the purely Jewish elements in these descriptions.[2] That Bĕhēmōth was created on the fifth day was an inference from Gen. 1 21; the reference to the 'thousand mountains' comes from a faulty reading in Ps. 50 10 (where אֶלֶף should be אֵל) combined with an absurd interpretation of בהמות in the same passage. The chief points to notice are these: Bĕhēmōth and Leviāthān are not two great water-monsters, but have their habitation, the one on the dry land, the other in the deep;[3] the Dēndāin of Enoch may possibly be the Babylonian *dannīnu*, which is a synonym of *irṣitim*, 'the earth,' and is literally 'the firm.'[4] According to Gunkel, the female monster Leviāthān is Tiāmat, and the male monster Bĕhēmōth is Kingu, Tiāmat's husband (on whom see Creation-tablet iv. *ll.* 119-122). In the Babylonian story these monsters met their fate at creation; in *Enoch* the assignment of their respective dwellings is an incident of the judgment at Noah's flood; in 4 Ezra again it is a detail of creation. It is not safe, however, to dogmatise too freely on the sources of the apocryphal writers. Their notions were probably a strange compound, in which there were exegetical inferences side by side with corrupted statements of Oriental tradition. One of these statements appears to have related to the habitation of Behamath—at least, if we may accept Zimmern's explanation of Dēndāin, which Dillmann and Charles

1 Hommel (*Der bab. Urspr. der ägypt. Kultur*, 1892, p. 40) connects Apopi or Apep with Bab. *abūbu*, 'storm-flood.' Apopi is the Tiāmat of heaven. His head is split by the conquering Rē' into two parts; Tiāmat's body is so treated by Marduk.

2 Reading אתו כל־נבה יָרֵא, with Budde (improving slightly on Gunkel). The 'sons of pride' (if שחץ is correct) may he a phrase equivalent to 'Rahab's helpers.' If so, mythic monsters are referred to.

3 לבלי־חת is probably a corruption of לְבַעַל חַיּת (Che.). Leviathan was made to be lord of living creatures (*i.e.*, those of the ocean-depth, tĕhōm, just mentioned).

4 Che. *Expositor*, July 1897.

5 Cp Maspero's *Struggle of the Nations*. Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* 56) well knew the connection of the two Nile-monsters with Typhon or Sit.

6 Che. *Intr. Is.* 150 *f.*, 155 *ff.*; Lyon, *JBL*, 1895, p. 131, quoting Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, ed. Sayce, p. 90.

1 Cp the mythological serpent in one form of the Babylonian Deluge-story (see DELUGE, §§ 6-9).

2 For details on the late Jewish fancies, see Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, 352-355; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 160, 202, 402, 404.

3 C. H. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 162.

4 So Zimmern, in *Schöpf.* 63; cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 161, Del. *Ass. HWB* 225.

unconvincingly connect with דִּין דַּיָּן (comparing Dudael, Enoch 104, which is certainly not a mere 'fiction of the author'). The view here taken is, of course, quite consistent with Charles's theory (*Bar.* 53) that the writers of 4 Esd. **6** 30-**7** 25 and Bar. **27**-**30** both used the text of an earlier work which contained the story of the six days of Creation. This lost hexahemeron, just as much as **4** Esd. **638-64**, represents not a homogeneous tradition, but a medley of notions derived from different sources, Jewish and Oriental.

On the subject of this article consult Gunkel, *Schöpf.* **41-69;** Di.'s, Bu.'s, and Du.'s commentaries on Job : Che. 'The Book of Job,' **etc.,** *Expositor* July, **7897**, and 'The Text **of** Job,' *JQR*, April **1897**. See also DRAGON, § **4** *f.*, RAHAB, i. and cp HIPPOPOTAMUS, CROCODILE. On the oscillation of mythic and semi-mythic statements between the dragon and the crocodile as the enemy of the Sun-god, cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges* (extrait de la rev. archéol.), **1877**, pp. 8, **25**. T. K. C.

BEKAH, RV **Beka** (בֶּקַע), Ex. 38 26. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֵּל ; 𝔊^BNAQ Βηλ[ος], ܒܠ), Ass. *bi'lu*, like בעל (Baal), is a simple appellative meaning 'lord' quite as often as it is a proper name (see PHŒNICIA). In the Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon it is borne by two deities (see BABYLONIA, § 26), the younger of whom, identified with Marduk (see MERODACH), finds mention in writings of the Babylonian and Persian periods (Is. **46** 1 Jer. 50 2 [מְרֹדָךְ], **51** 44 (𝔊 omits)).[1]

The extent of the cultus of this god in later times appears from the many proper names compounded with Bēl in Phœnician, and more especially in Palmyrene inscriptions.[2] Jacob of Serūg states that he was the god of Edessa (*ZDMG* **29** 131).

BEL AND THE DRAGON. See DANIEL, ii. § 21, and cp §§ 10, 19.

BELA (בֶּלַע, 'that which is swallowed up'?: cp Jer. **51** 44 ; Βαλακ [ADL], -λλα [E in Gen. 14 2]), one of the five royal cities in the vale of Siddim at the time of the invasion of CHEDORLAOMER (*q.v.*, § 2), Gen. 14 2 8, where the name receives the geographical explanation, 'that is Zoar.' In fact, in Gen. **19** 20-23 we hear of a small city near Sodom, the name of which was called ZOAR (*q.v.*), to commemorate the escape of Lot from the catastrophe of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain.' The writer of the explanation in Gen. **14** 2 8 evidently means us to suppose that the original name of Zoar was Bela. The author of Gen. 19 (J), however, does not appear to have known this. In **13** 10 the same writer speaks of Zoar as bearing that name before the catastrophe of Sodom, and a comparison of the phraseology of **25 30** makes it probable that the etymological myth in **19** 20-22 does not really presuppose a change of name. It is probable that, had the name of Bela been known in the comparatively early period when Gen. 19 was written, an etymological myth would have grown up to account for it—'Therefore that region is called Bela, because the ground opened her mouth and swallowed it up' (cp Nu. 16 30).

Such a myth did, as a fact, spring up, but long afterwards, and not as a fruit of the popular imagination. In the Targum of Jonathan the phrase 'the king of Bela' (Gen. 14 2) is paraphrased as 'the king of the city which consumed its inhabitants.' The same interpretation was given by R. Meir and his contemporary Joshua b. Karcha (Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, **38**), and is repeatedly given & the authority of 'the Hebrews' by Jer. (*Quæst. in Gen.* **14** 2 **19** 30 ; *Comm. in Jes.* **15** 5) ; it has also naturally enough found a place in the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. **42**). Hommel (*AHT* 195-198) boldly identifies Bela with the ancient city **of** Malkā which he surmises to have been in the trans-Jordanic region ; but his authority for giving this situation to Malkā **is** a tablet which refers **not** to Malkā but to Melkart (Johns, *Expos.*, Aug. **1898**, p. 160).

It is remarkable that no name is given to the king of Bela. When we consider the (probable) corruptness of other names in the passage, it is reasonable to suppose that the name, being uncouth, early dropped out of the text. To supply 'Bela,' with Bishop Hervey (Smith's *DB*(2)), is unnatural. T. K. C.

BELA (בֶּלַע). 1. (Βαλακ [ADEL], -λεκ [E in Gen. **36** 33]). The first Edomite king, son of Beor (or perhaps Achbor ; see BAAL-HANAN [1]), of the city of Dinhabah (Gen. **36** 32 *f.* = 1 Ch. 1 43 *f.*). It is singular that a diviner famous in legend was called 'Bil'ām (Balaam) son of Beor.' With Nöldeke (*Untersuch.* 87) and Hommel (*AHT* 153) we may venture to identify Bela' and Bil'ām, and all the more confidently if Bil'ām belonged to a region adjoining Edom (see PETHOR). Obviously the temptation which the name presented to an imaginative narrator must have been irresistible. Targ. Jon. and Targ. 1 Ch. **1** 44 had already suggested the identification. The list which contains the name Bela ben-Beor is regarded by Sayce as a piece of an Edomite chronicle. It comes before us, however, as a thoroughly Hebrew document, and is correlated with the history of the b'ne Israel (Gen. **36** 31-39 ; probably JE). Certainly it is no sport of the idealistic imagination ; a true interest in the fortunes of a kindred people prompted its preservation. It may be incomplete, or it may have had some lacunæ filled up ignorantly, not to speak of the undeniable corruptions of the text. Let us take the list as it stands, and see what we can gather from it.

The list contains eight names (or rather seven, for Baal-hanan has come in through a scribe's error). Four kings have their fathers' names given ;[1] six are distinguished by the name of their city, and one is described as of a certain region (HUSHAM). The names both of the cities and of the persons (or apparent persons) are not all correct. DINHABAH, MATRED, and MEZEHAB are corrupt, and the corruptions efface the important fact that Bela (whose city was not Dinhabah but *Rehoboth* ; cp *v.* 37) and Mehetabel came from the N. Arabian land of Muṣri or Muṣur (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). It will be noted that one of the names occurs twice (in *v.* 39, 'Hadar' is certainly a wrong reading) : it is properly the name of a god—of the Aramæan god Hadad. From this name, and from two other items—'Bela the son of Beor' and 'Saul of Rehoboth by the river'—Bishop A. C. Hervey inferred (Smith's *DB*,(2) *s.v.* 'Bela') that there had been an Aramæan conquest of Edom. The references to Bela and Saul, however, are not really in point (cp BALAAM, § 3), and all that the doubly attested HADAD, 3 [i. 2]—together with BEDAD—can be held to suggest is that Aramæan influence was early felt as far south as Edom.

More important is the historical notice connected with the name of Hadad, son of Bedad (see also HUSHAM). It tells us of the early occupation of what afterwards became the land of Moab by the Midianites, whom the Edomites under Hadad defeated. We can understand this notice in the light of Gideon's defeat of the same plundering hordes, described in Judg. 7. To make the two events contemporary, with Kautzsch in Riehm's *HWB*(2) (art. 'Midian'), seems needless and hazardous.

Our most interesting as well as most certain result, however, is the antiquity of regal government among the Edomites ; and, from the fact that there is no trace of dynasties, and from the continual references to the cities of the respective kings, we may probably infer, with Winckler, that the kings were of the type of Abimelech, or at the most of Saul, and that their rule, except in time of war, was little felt save by their own tribe. It is true that this will not apply to Saul of Rehoboth of the River, for this place seems to have

1 The evidence of some proper names, however, may seem to show that Bel was not unknown in Canaan at an earlier date (see ASHBEL, BILDAD, EBAL, and cp, doubtfully, Balaam and Reuben).

2 Whether the Palm. בול is a bye-form of בֵּל = בִּיל, as Hoffmann supposes (*Auszüge aus d. Syr. Act. Pers. Märt.*, **1880**, p. 21, n. 159), is uncertain.

1 BAAL-HANAN (*q.v.*) was perhaps really the father of Hadad II. ; then Achbor is a variant to ben Beor which has attached itself to the wrong name.

been in Muṣri, not in Edom ; but we should observe the variation in the phraseology of the account of Saul. It is not said that his city was Rehoboth, but that he was 'of Rehoboth.' We may suppose that he entered by marriage into an Edomite family and then obtained a tribal sovereignty. He was a Muṣrite (a native of the N. Arabian Muṣri). The name of the last king (Hadar, or rather Hadad) is unaccompanied by the historical notice which we should have expected ; it is, however, followed exceptionally by the name of his wife, of whom we are told that she was a daughter of MATRED, and a daughter of ME-ZAHAB. The former name is a corruption of Mizran (Miṣrān), the latter of Mizrim (Miṣrim). Miṣrim was really a correction of Miṣrān. Mehetabel, as well as Bela and Saul, was a Miṣrite. This is a fact with important historical bearings (see HADAD, i. 2).

T. K. C.

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN [§ 9 (i.)] (B d e [BAL]) ; Gen. **46** 21 (RV BELAH, βαλα [ADL])=Nu. **26** 38 40 ; cp 1 Ch. **7** 6 βαλαι [L ; BA omit] 7 (βαλαε [L], βαλε [A], βαλεε [B] ; in *v.* 6 αβειρα in B takes the place of Bela and BECHER [*q.v.*]) and 8 1 (βελελεηλ [B]), and the gentilic Belaite or rather Balite (בַּלְעִי), Nu. 26 38 (βαλε[ε]ι [BAFL]).

3. b. Azaz, in genealogy of **REUBEN** (βαλεκ [B], -λε [A], -λαα [L]), 1 Ch. **5** 8.

BELAH (בֶּלַע), Gen. **46 21** AV, RV BELA, ii. 2.

BELEMUS (ΒΗΛΕΜΟϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 2 16=Ezra 4 7 BISHLAM (*q.v.*).

BELIAL. This is an imperfect reproduction of the Heb. בְּלִיַּעַל (18 times in historical books, once in Job, thrice in Proverbs, thrice in Psalms, twice in the psalm-like passage prefixed to Nahum (1 11-15 [2 1] see RV]). On 2 Cor. 6 15, see below (§ 1).

1. Usage and tradition.

It is generally taken to mean 'worthlessness,' whether moral or material, so that the familiar phrase, 'sons (or men) of Belial,' would mean 'good-for-nothing fellows' ; RVmg. gives 'base fellows.'

So BDB, from בְּלִי, 'not,' and יַעַל*, 'profit' (?) ; so, too, RVmg. in 2 S. **23** 6 and elsewhere. This rendering, however, is not supported by the earliest tradition ; for 𝔊 renders 'Belial' by ἀνόμημα, ἀνομία, ἀποστασία (Aq. also gives ἀποστασία), and the qualification 'of Belial' by ἀσεβής, ἄφρων, λοιμός, παράνομος, with or without ἀνήρ as the case may be. We find also υἱοὶ παρανόμων (often), and (Symm.) ἀνυπότακτοι, ἀνυπόστατοι. These renderings may imply the etymology בְּלִי עוֹל, *absque jugo* (Jer.), and this etymology, though impossible, is yet more in harmony with biblical usage. Tg. gives טלומיא, 'oppressors.

Another tradition, however, favours the use of Belial as a proper name. So in 𝔊A Jud. 20 13 (βελιαμ), Theod., Judg. 19 22, and occasionally in Vg. ; so, too, in the English versions including even RV (on RVmg., see above). This came about in the following way. However we account for it, it is a historical fact that in the interval between the OT and the NT Belial (sometimes in the forms Beliar or Berial) was used as a synonym for the arch-demon Satan ; it is so used in 2 Cor. 6 15, where Paul asks, What harmony is there between Christ (parallel to 'light') and Beliar (parallel to 'darkness') ? [βελιαρ (BKC); cp Jer.'s explanation, *cæcum lumen*, as if בלי אור, in *OS*,(2) 76 4]. Beliar stands for Satan also in *Test. xii. Patr.* (often ; *e.g.* *Test. Rub.* 2, 4, 6), the *Asc. Isa.* (Berial), and *Jubilees* (ch. 15, ed. Charles). In the *Sib. Oracles* (iii. **63** *ff.* iv. 137 *ff.*) Nero, under the name of Beliar, is to lead the armies of Antichrist[1] (see ANTICHRIST, § 15) ; and, according to Bousset, the phrase 6 ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (*id.* § 4) in 2 Thess. 2 3 (BK, Tisch., Treg., WH ; ἁμαρτίας for ἀνομίας has also good authority) may be a translation of Belial.

W. H. B.

2. Meanings of word.

Both for the sake of exegesis and on account of the importance of Jewish semi-mythological modes of thought, it is needful to be clear as to the course of development of the meanings of Belial, and to form a probable conjecture as to the origin, or at least the nature; of the word. G. F. Moore (on Judg. 19 22) gives a better rendering of בני בליעל than most commentators, viz., 'vile scoundrels' ; this recognises the fact that ב' suggests not merely worthlessness or ordinary viciousness, but gross wickedness. He also describes the different etymologies of Belial as extremely dubious, and cannot find in the Hebrew language any analogy for the word. In fact the seemingly compound word בלימה (Job 26 7) is imaginary ; it is a corruption of הבלים, 'utter vanity.' But Moore passes over Lagarde's acute suggestion (in *Proph. Chald.*, p. **47**, cp *Uebers.* 139), that דבר בליעל in Ps. 41 8 [9] (cp *l.* 2) suggests an etymology (a popular one?) from בלי יעלה, 'no rising up.' In *Expos.* ('95a 435-439) the present writer sought to show that Belial (בליעל) is found in the OT in three senses : (1) the subterranean watery abyss, (2) hopeless ruin, (3) great or even extreme wickedness. The third meaning is common ; the first and second are rare, and found only in late passages (see Ps. 18 4 [5] = 2 S. 22 5, Ps. 41 8 [9] **101** 3 [**58** 3 בליעל, so read, =deeds of destruction] Nah. 1 11 15 [2 1]), but should, if naturalness of development is to count for anything, be more nearly original than the third. It is only in Ps. 18 4 [5] that Belial is used to denote the abyss,[1] and it may be objected to the view that this is the primary meaning that in *Asc. Jes.* 4 2, Berial, like Sammael in 7 9, appears as an angel of the firmament (cp Eph. **2** 2). However, as Bousset has shown,[2] the eschatological tradition of ANTICHRIST [*q.v.*, § 13 *f.*], one of whose names is Belial, is derived ultimately from the old Babylonian dragon-myth, and we know that the mythic dragon has for his proper sphere the sea, though in some mythic developments he appears as a temporary inhabitant of heaven, from which at last he and his angels are cast out (Rev. 12 7-9). It is, therefore, in perfect harmony with the old myth to suppose that Belial may have been originally an angel of the abyss, not of the firmament.

3. Origin.

We now come to the origin of the word. Beliyya'al seems to be a Hebrew modification of some earlier word, planned so as to suggest a popular etymology, בלי יעלה, '(from which) one comes not up again' (cp *mat lā tārat*, the Ass. equivalent of a Sumerian title of the underworld meaning 'the land without return,' Jensen, *Kosmol.* 218, 222). This earlier word was most probably borrowed from the Babylonian mythology of the underworld. The original word, which was Hebraised just as *abubu*, 'deluge,' was Hebraised (see DELUGE, § 7), may very possibly have been Belili,[3] which is the name of a goddess of vegetation, and hence of the underworld, the sister of Du'uzu or TAMMUZ, from whom she differs in being unable to ascend again to earth (see Descent of Ištar, *l.* 51 in Jeremias, *Bad.-ass. Vorstell.* **23** ; and cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* *225*, 272, 275). There may have been a middle form between Belili (which appears to be Sumerian—*i.e.*, non-Semitic) and Beliyya'al which has been lost; cp NEPHILIM, § 2. The Canaanites and Israelites probably took the name (which three times [1 S. 25 25 2 S. 16 7 1 K. 21 13] has the article) as a synonym for the abyss of Sheōl. Afterwards it seems to have become a symbol of insatiable and malignant destructiveness (cp הַוּוֹת), and hence the phrase 'sons (son, daughter) of Belial'; but the older meaning was not forgotten, as we see from Ps. 18 4 [5]. The objection of Baudissin (Herzog,(3) *s.v.* 'Belial'), that 'streams of the under-world' (Ps. *l.* c.) would be a unique phrase, is of no moment, for the whole context is in some important respects unique. It is not a flood from the sky that overwhelms the speaker; it is a flood from below—*i.e.*, the 'waters of death,' which are

[1] Cp Deane, *Pseudepigr.* 22, 168, 249, and Bousset, *Der Antichrist.*

[1] In *v.* 4 [5] *f.* מות, בליעל, שאול, and מות are parallel. מות is the world of the dead (or its ruler), as **49** 15 [16] ; בליעל and שאול should have the same meaning.

[2] *Op. cit.* 60 *f.*, 86 *f.*, 99-101.

[3] Che. *Exp. Times*, 8 423 *f.* ['97].

a primitive element in Babylonian mythology (see CAINITES, § 6).

Hommel, while accepting this identification, proposes amodification of the theory. He thinks that the Assyrio-Babylonian phrase quoted above was simply translated בְּלִיַּעַל by the Canaanites, from whom the name was borrowed again by the Babylonians as Belili (*Exp. Times*, 8 472). This is plausible; but we should like to know how far this theory would lead us.

In *Exp. Times*, 9 **40** *ff.*, Baudissin returns to the subject. He still maintains the derivation of *Beliyya'al* from בלי and יעל*, and thinks that some of the occurrences of the word may possibly be due to editorial manipulation, and that the word (explained as 'worthlessness' = 'wickedness') does not look very ancient. He also quotes a communication of Jensen, which Cheyne in his answer regards as favourable rather than otherwise to the new theory, though Jensen himself expresses his agreement with Baudissin. See *Exp. Times*, ix., x., and also Che. *Psalms*,(2) on Ps. 18 **4** [5] (popular etymology from בלע, 'to swallow up.' ע, however, is intrusive, **cp** König, *Lehrgeb.* ii. **1402**). § 1, W. H. B.; § 2 *f.*, T. K. C.

BELLOWS (מַפֻּחַ, properly 'instrument for blowing'; φυσητηρ), mentioned only in EV of Jer. 6 29[1] in connection with lead-smelting; see METALS, § 2.

In Egypt bellows were used as early as the time of Thotmes III. A leather bag was fitted into a framefromwhich extended a long pipe to the fire. Two bags were used, upon each of which the operator placed a foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string that he held in his hand (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 312 *f.*). In one illustration Wilkinson notes that when the man left the bellows they were raised as if full of air, thus implying a knowledge of the valve. The earliest forerunner of the bellows seems to have been a mere reed or pipe, which was used by smiths in the age of Usertesen (2 234, illustration 413, fig. 3).

Whether hand-bellows were used by the Hebrews for domestic purposes is quite unknown; for a description of a primitive kind still used in Egypt see Wilkinson (ii. 313).

BELLS, in the modern sense of the word, though used as ornaments at the present day in Syria, do not seem to have been known to the ancient Hebrews. The words so rendered require examination.

1. פעמון, *pa'ămōn* (√ = to strike), used of the golden ornaments which, alternately with **POMEGRANATES** [*q.v.*], were worn upon the lower part of the Ephod (Ex. 28 33 *f.* 39 25 *f.*, κώδωνες; cp also in the Heh. of Ecclus. 45 7*a* and 9*a*, and see Cowley and Neubauer *ad loc.*). Their purpose is related in Ex. **28** 35.

2. מצלות, *mĕṣillōth* (cp מצלתים, 'cymbals'), upon which were inscribed the wordc 'Holy unto Yahwb,' were worn by the horses in Zechariah'; prophecy (Zech. **14** 20, AVmg. 'bridles'; so 𝔊 χαλινός and Vg. *frenum*).

In both cases small discs or plates are meant, the מצלות being possibly similar to the שַׂהֲרֹנִים or crescents (see NECKLACE) of Judg. 8 16.

BELMEN (RV **Belmaim)** is mentioned, in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes, in Judith 4 4†. The readings are βελμαιν [A], βαιλ. [B], αβελ. [א]; Syr. ܐܒܠ ܡܚܘܠܐ (Pel-meholah); Vet. Lat. *Abelmam.* Belmen would thus appear to be the same as the Belmain [EV] (βελβαιμ [BA], αβελ. [א], Syr. ܐܒܠ ܡܚܘܠܐ, Vg. *Belma*, Vet. Lat. *Abelme*) of Judith 7 3, which, obviously, is regarded as lying near Dothan, and therefore cannot be the Abel-maim of 2 Ch. 16 4, nor perhaps the BAAL-HAMON of Ct. 8 11. The place meant is probably Ibleam (modern *Bīr Bel'ameh*), a town of strategical importance. In Judith 8 3 this place is probably intended by BALAMO, RV BALAMON (βαλαμων [BאA], Syr. ܒܝܬ ܒܠܡܘܢ), and if we might assume that the translator had a correct text and understood it rightly, we should be justified in restoring βαλαμων for βελμαιν in **44.** Certainly none of the readings in 4 4 can be accepted as reproducing the original name. T. K. C.

BELSHAZZAR, or **as,** following the Greek form, he is called in Baruch 1 11 *f.*, **Balthasar**, RV **Baltasar** בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר, or, less correctly, בֵּלְאשַׁצַּר; βαλτασαρ [𝔊87 Theod.], which is also used as the equivalent of בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר, Belteshazzar,[1] see DANIEL ii. §§ 2 13), was, according to the Book of Daniel, a son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The length of the reign of Belshazzar is not given; but we read in Dan. 8 1 of 'the third year' of his reign. In Dan. 5 30 *f.* [31 *f.*] it is stated that he was slain, and that on his death the empire passed into the hands of Darius the Mede. Allreferences to Belshazzar in other authors, includingthat in the apocryphal Book of Baruch (1 11 *f.*), appear to have been suggested by the passages in Daniel; and, since it is now recognised that the Book of Daniel was composed in the second century B.C., the narrative is open to question.

Till quite lately it was the fashion to follow Jos. (*Ant.* x. 11 2) in identifying the Belshazzar of Daniel with the last Babylonian king, Ναβοάνδηλος, whom Jos. elsewhere calls Ναβόννηδος (in a citation from Bērōssus; see c. *Ap.* 1 20); in Herod. 1 77 188 this king appears as Λαβύνητος, and in Abȳdēnus (quoted by Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 9 41) as Ναβαννίδοχος. Against the identification of Belshazzar with Nabonnēdus it was urged that the latter, according to Bērōssus, was not even a relation of Nebuchadrezzar, but 'a certain Babylonian' who usurped the throne in consequence of a revolution; nor was Nabonnēdus slain, like the Belshazzar of Daniel, on the overthrow of the Babylonian empire, but is stated to have been sent to the province of Carmania (the modern Kirmān). These objections were so serious that a few writers, in their anxiety to defend the narrative of Daniel, identified Belshazzar with Evil-merodach (2 K. 25 27).

The discovery of the Babylonian inscriptions has refuted both of the above-mentioned theories, and has at the same time confirmed the opinion that the narrative in Daniel is unhistorical. An unhistorical narrative, however, is not necessarily a pure fiction, and in this case it appears probable that the author of Daniel made use of a traditional story. It is now known that Nabonnēdus, the Nabū-nā'id of the inscriptions, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C., had a son called Bēl-šar-uṣur (*i.e.*, 'Bel, preserve thou the king'), a name of which Belshazzar is evidently a corruption. In a celebrated inscription Nabū-nā'id offers up a prayer in behalf of 'Bēl-šar-uṣur, the exalted (or, my first-born) son, the sprout of my body (*lit.* heart)': see Schr. *COT* 2 131, and also *KB* 3 b 96 *f.* Moreover, in certain contract-tablets, dating from the first, third, fifth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Nabū-nā'id, Bēl-šar-uṣur, the son of the king, is expressly named. Several other tablets of the same reign speak of a 'son of the king'; but whether in all these cases Bēl-šar-uṣur is meant cannot be determined, since Nabū-nā'id appears to have had at least one other son.[2] It is, however, generally believed that Bēl-šar-uṣur must be identical with the prince mentioned in an inscription of Cyrus, which informs us that in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabū-nā'id, 'the son of the king' was at the head of the army in Akkad—*i.e.*, Northern Babylonia. Unfortunately, this very important inscription is mutilated, so that we learn nothing of the years twelve to fifteen of Nabū-nā'id, and in the account of the sixteenth year only a few words are legible. Of the seventeenth and last year of Nabū-nā'id there is a long account; but it would seem very doubtful whether 'the son of the king' is mentioned

[1] 𝔊, however, not inaptly, finds a reference to the 'bellows of the smith' in Job. **32** 19, where אבות חֲדָשִׁים, 'new bottles,' is rendered φ. χαλκέως (reading חָרָשִׁים).

[1] [βαρτασαρ 𝔊Th. (Aa? mg.) in Dan. 1 7 and in 𝔊A Dan. 2 **26** **4** 5 6 **16** thrice 5 1 8 1.]

[2] Darius Hystaspis tells **us** in one of his inscriptions (Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinschr.*(2) 10 *f.* ['81]) that early in his reign a rebellion was raised at Babylon by an impostor who professed to be 'Nabukudraçara, son of Nabunita'—*i.e.*, Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabū-nā'id. This proves, at least, that at the time in question Nabū-nā'id was believed to have had a son named Nebuchadrezzar. See Che., *Jew. Ref. Life*, Lect. i.

again.' In any case, it is implied that Nabū-nā'id, not Bēl-šar-uṣur, was at this time commander of the army in Akkad (see *TSBA* 7 139-176, *KB* 3 *b* 128-137, and O. E. Hagen, 'Keilschrifturkunden zur Gesch. des Konigs Cyrus' in the *Beiträge zur Assyr.* [ed. Delitzsch and Haupt] 2 214-225 ['94]). We possess, moreover, another inscription of Cyrns, describing the conquest of Babylonia at considerable length and expressly mentioning King Nabūnā'id, but without any reference to a 'son of the king' (see *JRAS*, new series, 12 70-97, *KB* 3 *b* 120-127, and *Beiträge zur Assyr.* 2 208-215). Hence there is nothing *to* prove that Bēl-šar-uṣur played any important part at the close of his father's reign, and it is even possible that be may have died some years earlier.

Thus it will be seen that, apart from the similarity of name, the historical prince Bēl-šar-uṣur bears hut a very slight resemblance to the Belshazzar of Daniel. The one is the son of the usurper Nabūnā'id ; the other is the son of Nebuchadrezzar. The one is, at the most, heir to the throne ; the other"is actually king, for documents are dated from the year of his accession (Dan. 7 1 8 1). Moreover, if the ordinary rendering of Dan. 5 7 16 29 be correct, Belshazzar is represented as sole king, for a man who can of his own authority make any one he pleases 'third ruler in the kingdom' must clearly be supreme in the state. Since, however, the word trans lated 'third ruler' occurs nowhere else, and is of very doubtful meaning, it would be unsafe to press this argument.

In order to prove that Bēl-šar-uṣur reigned conjointly with his father, it has sometimes been asserted that king Marduk-šar-uṣur, who is mentioned on certain Babylonian tablets, must he identical with Bēl-šar-uṣur ; but Assyriologists now admit that king Marduk-šar-uṣur reigned *before* Nabūnā'id, and identify him with Nergal-šar-uṣur (559-555 B.C. : see *TSBA* 6 108, and Tiele's *BAG* 476 n. [1886-88]). It has likewise been urged that, though Bēl-šar-uṣur was not a son of Nebuchadrezzar, he may have been a grandson of Nebuchadrezzar through his' mother; but the theory that Nabūnā'id married a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar rests upon no evidence whatever.

It remains, therefore, altogether uncertain how the story in Daniel really originated; but, besides the similarity of the names Belshazzar and Bēl-šar-uṣur, there is at least one reason for thinking that King Belshazzar was not invented by the author. Herodotus, as has been mentioned, calls the last Babylonian king Labynētus, representing him as the son of an earlier Labynētus, the famous Nebuchadrezzar. Further, in a Chaldæan legend related by Abȳdēnus, the last king of Babylon seems to have figured as a son of Nebuchadrezzar (see Schr. 'Die Sage vom Wahnsinn Nebuchadnezar's,' in the *JPT*, 1881, pp. 618-629). The date of the historian Abȳdēnus is indeed doubtful; but he can hardly have borrowed either directly or indirectly from the Book of Daniel. so that the agreement of these three accounts in wrongly describing the last Babylonian king as a son of Nebuchadrezzar must he due to their having followed some popular tradition. 'See also ASHPENAL, SHAREZER. A. A. B.

BELT (מְזִיחַ) Job 12 21† RV, AV 'strength.' See GIRDLE, 3.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר). See DANIEL, ii. § 13.

BELTIS (Is. 10 4 corr. text). See GEBAL.

BEN (בֵּן, § 64), a Levite, enumerated between Zechariah and Jaaziel (1 Ch. 15 18†). 𝔊^L renders 'Ζαχ. υἱὸς Ιεηλ'; but 𝔊^BNA, no doubt rightly, omits. The name is wanting in the parallel list in 1 Ch. 15 20. Cp JAAZIEL.

[1] The passage which Schrader in 1890 translated 'the wife of the king had died' is supposed by Pinches to mean 'the son of the king died' (see Smith's *DB*(2), 1893, article 'Belshazzar'), while Hagen renders 'he [*i.e.*, Gubaru] slew the son of the king' (he is careful, however, to indicate that the word 'son' is doubtful). It is therefore obvious that no argument can be built upon the clause in question.

BEN-ABINADAB (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב, 'son of Abinadab, so AV), the name of one of Solomon's prefects, 1 K. 4 11 RV AV^mg. (υιου αβιναδαβ [A], χιναναδ. [L]; 𝔊^B is corrupt, but perhaps χειν αναδαν represents the name [Swete reads—χειν ανα δαν]) ; see SOLOMON. Klostermann, however, suggests אֲבִינֵר, 'Abiner'; ד and ר are easily confounded, and the final ב in אבינדב may be really the preposition ('in') prefixed to 'all Naphath-dor,' or 'all the height of Dor' (EV), words which define the extent of the prefecture.

BENAIAH (בְּנָיָהוּ in Nos. 1 *f.* 4 *f.* 11, and בְּנָיָה in Nos. 1-3, 6-11; 'Yah hath built up,' § 31 [see BANI] ; Βαναια[c] [BAL], Βανεαc, Βενιαc [א* in 1 Ch. 16 5]).

1. (בְּנָיָהוּ ; but in 2 S. 20 23 1 Ch. 11 22 בְּנָיָה) b. Jehoiada, a 'valiant man' (see ISH-HAI, THE SON OF), only second, on David's roll of honour, to 'the three.' He was a Judahite of KABZEEL, and commanded the so-called CHERETHITES and PELETHITES (2 S. 8 18 βαναι [B], βαναγαιας [A], 20 23 1 Ch. 18 17), and David set him over his bodyguard (משמעת 2 S. 23 23). He gave valuable support to Solomon against ADONIJAH (1), and after executing the sentence of death on Joab, was appointed to the vacant post of general (1 K. 1 32-38 2 34 [om. 𝔊^B] 35 βαναιου [BA] 44 [om. 𝔊^B]).[1] Three (or at any rate two) special exploits were assigned to him in popular tradition (2 S. 23 20 *f.* = 1 Ch. 11 22 *f.* [καναια B^b]). On the first two see ARIEL, 1 ; a correction of the text is indispensable. The other feat consisted in his slaying a 'Miṣrite' (2 S. 23 21)—*i.e.*, a man of Muṣr or Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2). This hero is twice mentioned in a list of no value in 1 Ch. 27 (5 *f.* 34). Each time there is an inaccuracy. In *v.* 5 (RV) Benaiahs father is described (by an obvious confusion of names) as 'the priest'; in *v.* 34 'Jehoiada son of Benaiah' takes the place of 'Benaiah son of Jehoiada.' Cp JEHOIADA, 2, and see DAVID, § 11 (c) i.

2. One of David's thirty, a Pirathonite ; 2 S. 23 30 (בניהו ; 𝔊 corruptly του Εφραθαιου [B], om. AL) ; 1 Ch. 11 31 27 14 (בניה). See PIRATHON.

3. A Simeonite chief (1 Ch. 4 36 [om. 𝔊^B]).

4. A Levite singer of the second grade, one of those who played with psalteries set to ALAMOTH (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 15 18 20 24 (βαναι [BאAL]) 16 5.

5. An overseer in the temple in the time of Nezekiah (2 Ch. 31 13).

6. An ancestor of JAHAZIEL [4] ; 2 Ch. 20 14 (om. 𝔊^B).

7-10. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), viz.—7. One of the b'ne PAROSH (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 25 (μαναια [א])= 1 Esd. 9 26, BAANIAS, RV BANNEAS (βανναιας [BA]). 8. One of the b're PAHATH-MOAB (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 30 ; in ‖ 1 Esd. 9 31 perhaps NAIDUS (ναιδος [B], ναει. [A], βαναιας, and μαδειας [L]). 9. One of the b'ne BANI, Ezra 10 35, in ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34 MABDAI RV MAMDAI (μαμδαι [B], μανδαι [A], βαναια [L]). 10. One of the b'ne NEBO (*q.v.*, iv.) (βαναι [L]), Ezra 10 43 = 1 Esd. 9 35 BANAIAS (βαναι [L]).

11. Father of PELATIAH (*q.v.*, 4), Ez. 11 1 (בניהו), *v.* 13 (בניה, ὁ τοῦ βαναιου).

BENAMMI (בֶּן־עַמִּי), Gen. 19 38. See AMMON, § 1.

BENCH (קֶרֶשׁ), Ez. 27 6† AV. See SHIP.

BEN-DEKAR, RV **Ben-deker** (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר) ; one of Solomon's prefects, in charge of NW. Judah (1 K. 4 9, υιοc ρηχαc [B], . . . -χαβ [L], υ. δακαρ [A]). The name is improbable ; nor is 𝔊^L's Ben-Rechab any more probable. It is reasonable to hold that, as in other cases, the father of this prefect was an influential officer of the crown. The prefect's real name has certainly dropped out. Klostermann suggests that we may restore thus : 'Elihoreph, son of Shisha the secretary' (*v.* 3). Ben-dekar is not impossibly a corruption of Beneberak [*q.v.*]. The locality suits.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי־בְרַק), a Danite city, the modern *Ibn Ibrāk*, about an hour SE. from Joppa (Josh. 15 45 : Βαναιβακατ [B], Βανηβαρακ [AL] ;

[1] In the list given at the end of chap. ii. by 𝔊^BL he is described as ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλαρχίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου, *i.e.*, הַמַּלְבֵּן of 2 S. 12 31, for which, however, 𝔊^L has μαδεββα.

bane et barach [Vg.]; ܒܢܝ ܒܪܩ[1]). It appears in Ass. (upon an inscription of Sennacherib) as *banaibarka* (cp *KAT*(2) 172). Jerome mentions a village *Bareca*, which was situated near Azotus. The name (properly a clan name) may be paraphrased, 'Sons of the storm-god[2] Rammān or Rimmon' (who was sometimes called Rammān-birku; see BARAK), and is thus of interest as a survival of the old Canaanitish religion.

BENE JAAKAN (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן), Nu. 33 31 *f*.† See BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN.

BEN-GEBER (בֶּן־גֶּבֶר), 1 K. 4 13 AVmg. RV, AV GEBER, 1.

BEN-HADAD (בֶּן הֲדַד, §§ 43, 48; υιος αδερ [BAL] υ. αδερ [A] in 2 K. 13 24; αδαδ [A] in 2 K. 13 25; ܒܪܗܕܕ), or rather Bir-'idri; 𝔊 is at least a witness

1. Name. to the letter R at the end of the name. The divine name Bir was confounded by a Hebrew scribe with the Aramaic *bar*, 'son,' and translated into Hebrew as Ben (=𝔊 υἱός), and DR was miswritten DD; hence arose the wrong form Ben-hadad. The name in Assyrian is (*ilu*) IM-'idri, where the ideograph IM is most naturally read Rammān (the Assyrian thunder-god; cp EN-RIMMON), but may of course be read (and probably was read also) Bir or Bur (cp the name Bir-dadda, and see BEDAD). The meaning is 'Bir is my glory.' See Wi. *AT Unters.* 68 *ff.*, who controverts Schr. and Del.; but cp Schr. *KAT*(2) 200, Del. *Calwer Bib. Lex.*(2) 97, and Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 76-78.

The name Ben-hadad is used as a general name for the kings of Damascus in Jer. 49 27; but as this passage

2. Benhadad I. occurs in a very late oracle, made up of borrowed phrases, the use is of no historical significance. In fact, Amos, from whom the author of Jer. *l.c.* borrows the phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad,' means most probably by Benhadad (Am. 1 4) the first king of Damascus who bore that name: he speaks, in the parallel line, of 'the house of Hazael.' Hazael was certainly a historical person: he was the successor of Benhadad I. (others say Benhadad II.). Consequently, Benhadad—in Amos's phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad'—cannot be a merely typical name, as in the imitative passage, Jer. 49 27. There are two (some, however, say three) Benhadads in the Books of Kings, just as there are (really) two Hazaels (see HAZAEL).

1. BEN-HADAD I., son of Tab-rimmon, was the ally of ASA [*q.v.*, 1], king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K. 15 18 *ff.*). He was an energetic king, and constantly involved in warfare, not only with Ahab of Israel, whom he appears to have besieged in Samaria (2 K. 6 *f.*), but also with Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. In 854, at the head of a Syro-Palestinian league which included Israel, he opposed Shalmaneser, not without success. For, though Shalmaneser claims to have been victorious at Karkar (near Hamath), he certainly had to return to Assyria to prepare for a more decisive campaign. Again in 849 and in 848 Shalmaneser, though nominally victorious, had to return. Convinced that he had no ordinary opponent, the Assyrian king entered on his next campaign with a much larger force than before. Bir-'idri, however, had taken his precautions, and again it was only an indecisive victory that was gained by Shalmaneser. On the relations between Benhadad and Ahab, in which there was apparently a change for the advantage of Israel, see AHAB, § 4 *ff.* Benhadad is sometimes referred to, not by name, but as 'the king of Syria'; see 1 K. 22 2 K. 5 6 8 *ff.* Some unnecessary trouble has been produced (1) by the supposition that the period between 'Benhadads' assistance to Asa and 'Benhadad's' death (which occurred between 846 and 842) was too long to be assigned to a single king of Damascus, and (2) by the reading of the name of the opponent of Shalmaneser II. as Dad-'idri, which, again, is supposed to be equivalent to Hadad-ezer. On the first point it is enough to remark (after Wi.) that Tab-rimmon may (Rezon and Hezion not being identical) have been for a long time a contemporary of Baasha and Asa, so that only about forty years may have elapsed between Benhadad's war with Baasha and his death. On the second point, it may be doubted whether the reading Dad-'idri is tenable;[1] the equation IM = Rammān (or Bir) appears to have been made out (see above); and even were it otherwise, it could hardly be held that *'idri* is 'the Aramaic form of *ezer*' in הדרעזר (Sayce, *Crit. and Mon.* 316), for an y would have made the alteration of *'idri* into הדר impossible. *'Idru* (*'idiru*), whence *'idri* ('my . . .'), seems in fact to be derived from *'adaru*, 'to be wide, grand' (אדר; cp Heb. הדר). On the narrative of the death of Benhadad (2 K. 8 7-15), see HAZAEL.

2. BENHADAD II. By this king is here meant, not the contemporary of AHAB (often wrongly so designated), but the son of Hazael (possibly the

3. Benhadad II. (probably = Mari'). grandson of Benhadad I.). The oppression of Israel, begun by Hazael, has continued by his Ben-hadad (2 K. 13 3). But was his name really Ben-hadad? Rammān-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) mentions a king of Damascus named Mari', whom he besieged in his capital, and compelled to pay tribute. This event must have occurred between 806 or 805 and 803. Now Benhadad II. is represented as a contemporary of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, who probably reigned (see CHRONOLOGY, § 34) from 814-798. It is difficult to suppose that another king named Mari' came between Hazael and Benhadad. More probably Mari', and not Benhadad, is the right name of the son of Hazael. This king may have sought to compensate himself for the blow inflicted by Assyria, by exercising tyranny over Israel. (For a different view of the Benhadads see DAMASCUS, § 7.) T. K. C.

BEN-HAIL (בֶּן־חַיִל, 'son [man] of might'), one of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17 7). The name, however, is suspicious. Bertheau quotes Ben-hesed ('son of lovingkindness'), 1 K. 4 10 (MT); but the reading there is doubtful (see BEN-HESED, § 3). 𝔊BAL and Pesh. read -?? for בֶּן (τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν δυνατῶν; but 𝔊L adds τὸν υἱὸν αιλ); cp Gray, *HPN* 65 n. 2. If the story of Jehoshaphat's commission is only 'ideal,' we may surmise that the name Benhail is equally unhistorical.

BEN-HANAN (בֶּן־חָנָן—*i.e.* 'son of a gracious one'—a patronymic; υιος φανα [B], υ. ανάν [A], -νν. [L]), a son of SHIMON (*q.v.*), a Judahite (1 Ch. 4 20).

BEN-HESED (בֶּן־חֶסֶד, 'son of kindness'; an impossible name, see below), the third in the list of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 4 10, AV 'son of Hesed'; υιος εσωθ [B], . . . εσδ [A], μαχει υιος εχω[BHP] [L]).

His prefecture included, at any rate, Socoh; but which of the different Socohs? If we look at the sphere

1. Prefect of Hebron? of the prefect whose name precedes his in the list, we shall think of one of the two southern Socohs mentioned in Joshua, either that in the mountains near Hebron, or that in the Shĕphēlah, SW. of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, we consider the sphere of the two prefects whose names follow his, a northern Socoh, which is possibly referred to in early Egyptian name-lists (see

[1] Pesh. seems to point to the reading בעל־ברק, 'the lightning Baal.'

[2] Cp the obscure name Boanerges.

[1] Del. (*Calwer Bib. Lex.*(2) 97) conjectures, as the original form of the name of Benhadad II., Bin-Addu-'idri, which be interprets 'the son of Addu (= Rammān) . . .' Pinches has, in fact, found the names Bin (?) -Addu-natan and Bin (?) -Addu-amar, which occur on tablets of King Nabūnā'id. See, however, Wi. *AT Unters.* 69, n. 1

SOCOH, 2), will be more suitable. The decision must be in favour of one of the two southern places of the name, because otherwise the land of Judah will have had no prefect. Which of the two southern Socohs, then, is the right one? Probably that in the rich corn-growing country of the Shĕphēlah, because the prefects had to supply provisions for the court. 'The whole land of Hepher' also fell to his lot. There are traces of this name in the N. (HEPHER, i. 2; cp Gathhepher, Hapharaim). But if this prefect is the only southern one, we must expect the land of Hepher to be some large district (this, indeed, is implied by "the whole land'). In 1 Ch. 4 18 we hear of a Heber (חֶבֶר) who was the father of Socoh. Plainly this Heber is closely connected with Hebron (as the *heros eponymus*). ב and פ are easily confounded 'from a phonetic cause: we should, therefore, probably read כָּל־אֶרֶץ חֶבֶר, 'the whole land of Heber,' or, better, 'of Hebron' (חֶבְרוֹן).

2. Residence at Mareshah? 2. His place of residence is in MT called Arubboth. Arāb in Josh. 1552 (see Klo.) does not help us. 𝔊[A] $\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omega\theta$ cut the knot by reading ערבות for ארבות. Analogous phenomena elsewhere suggest that בות should be בית, and that it has been misplaced. ביתאר (cp $\beta\alpha\iota\omega\rho$ in *v.* 8 [BL], perhaps for 'Beth-horon') could, of course, be only a mutilated form of a name. To read 'Bethlehem' would be much too bold, and Baetogabra (mod. *Bēt Jibrīn*) would not suit, since the name occurs late, and (as Buhl points out, *Pal.* 192) the description of the battle of Mareshah in 2 Ch. 14 9 is opposed to the assumption that there was a town on the site of Bætogabra in early times. It is quite possible, however, that the neighbouring town of Mareshah had a second name—scarcely Beth-gibbōrīm, but perhaps Beth-horim, 'place of caves'[1]—that has been corrupted into Arubboth. בית־חרים may have been partly mutilated and partly corrupted in the record into ביתאר, whence ארבות, especially if חרים was written with the mark of abbreviation (חרי׳ or חר׳). The conjecture is geographically plausible. At the present day Bēt-Jibrīn is rightly described as 'the capital of the Shephēlah';[2] this is set forth more fully elsewhere (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS). Suffice it to remark here that if Bēt-Jibrīn became the 'centre of the district' after the fall of Mareshah, the earlier city cannot have been less important in the time of Solomon. If Taanach and Megiddo are mentioned in the record of the prefectures, surely Mareshah, under this or some other name, must have been mentioned too. Now, Bet-Jibrin is only 20 min. N. of Mer'ash (Mareshah).

We have spoken of Beth-horim as possibly an early name of Mareshah. This designation would harmonise excellently with the natural features of the neighbourhood of Mareshah and Bætogabra. The excavation of the caverns which now fill the district must have begun in ancient times. The Christian and Islamic marks and inscriptions which are sometimes found do not oppose this obvious supposition. See ELEUTHEROPOLIS, § 2.

3. Real name Ahijah? We now turn to consider Ben-hesed's real name. Klostermann has made it probable that the first two prefects were described as sons of Zadok, the priest, and Shisha (Shavsha), the secretary, respectively (cp *v.* 2 *f.*). It is very possible that בן־חסד should be read בֶּן־הַסֹּפֵר, 'son of the secretary,' and that the prefect was in fact the Ahijah mentioned in *v.* 3. This is slightly favoured by 𝔊[L]'s $(\mu)\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$, but really rests on internal probability (cp BIDKAR). The misreading בֶּן־חֶסֶד is touching, as a monument of the sufferings of the later Jews under a גּוֹי לֹא־חָסִיד, 'an unkindly (cruel) people' Ps. 43 1.

T. K. C.

[1] Beth-horim, 'place of caves,' would naturally come to he explained 'place of the Horites' (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS, 5 2); the Horites were no doubt regarded as giants (gibbōr=$\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ 𝔊), like the Anakim. Hebron is called in Targ. Jon. Gen. 23 2 'the city of the giants.'

[2] GASm. *HG* 231.

BEN-HINNOM (בֶּן־הִנֹּם), Josh. 15 8 18 16; EV 'son of HINNOM' (*q.v.*).

BEN-HUR, AV 'son of HUR' [*q.v.*] (בֶּן־חוּר, 'son of Horus'?; Βαιωρ [BL], BEN YIOC WP [A], ΟΥΡΗΣ [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2 3]), one of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 48); see SOLOMON. The prefect's own name is omitted; probably his father's name also; for the evidence tends to show that most of the prefects were the sons of famous men. The name of his city also is wanting. Yet the hill-country of Ephraim was not deficient in places of importance. Consequently either Hur or Ben-hur must be incorrect. Either 'Hur' stands in the place of one of David's and Solomon's heroes, or Ben-hur is a corruption of the name of the prefect's city. 𝔊[A]'s rendering may seem to protect Ben. But nowhere else in 𝔊's version of this section is $\beta\epsilon\nu$ given instead of $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma$ ($\upsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma$ is of course an interpolation); if the בן represented by 𝔊[A] is correct, we must suppose that it is a mutilated form of כֹּהֵן, 'priest' (as סר in הסד in *v.* 10 may be of סֹפֵר). In this case, Azariah, son of Zadok the priest (*v.* 2), will be the prefect's name, and his city will be חור = Beth-horon. Azariah, therefore, stands first in both lists, which is intrinsically probable. If, however, we follow the $\beta\alpha\iota\omega\rho$ of 𝔊[BL], the prefect's city alone has come down to us; $\beta\alpha\iota\omega\rho$ may represent Bethhoron. חור may easily have come from חוֹרֹן Horon (abbrev. from Bethhoron). So, in the main, Klostermann. T. K. C.

BENINU (בְּנִינוּ, § 79 (3), 'our son'?; ΒΕΝΙΑΜΕΙΝ [BℵA], ΒΑΝΟΥΑΙΑΙ [A], -ΟΥΙΑ [L]), Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 13 [14].

BENJAMIN (בִּנְיָמִין often; but בִּן יָמִין [*sic;* see Ba. note] 1 S. 9 1 Kt.; NAMES, §§ 48, 73; ΒΕΝΙΑΜ[Ε]ΙΝ or ΒΑΙΝ. [BAL]).

The gentilic is Benjamite, בֶּן־יְמִינִי [1 S. 9 21], בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי **[Judg. 3 15], also** יְמִינִי **in** 2 S. 20 1 [1 S. 9 1] and 1 S. 9 4; **perhaps also in 1 S. 4 12** [cp 𝔊; **MT** בנימן]; **pl.** בְּנֵי יְמִינִי [Judg. 19 16 1 S. 22 7]; $\iota\epsilon\mu[\mu][\epsilon]\iota\nu[\gamma]\alpha\iota o\varsigma$, $[\epsilon]\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu[\epsilon]\iota$ [BAL], **see 1 Ch. 27 12; in** 1 S. 22 7 $\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\nu\iota$ **[A]; in** 1 S. 9 4 𝔊[B] **has** $\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu$ **and** 𝔊[L] $\iota\alpha\beta\iota\nu$; **in** 2 S. 20 1 𝔊[L] **has** $\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$; **in** 2 S. 23 29 𝔊[A] $\beta\alpha\alpha\nu\alpha\alpha\iota$; **in Ne. 12 34** 𝔊[L] $\mu\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$; **in Zech. 14 10** 𝔊[ℵ*] $\beta\nu\iota\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$.

1. Name. Though popularly explained as meaning the propitious or sturdy tribe[1]—'the son of my right hand[2]—Benjamin was probably at first a geographical name for the people of the southern portion of the highland district called Ephraim (cp the expression ארץ ימיני in the old narrative 1 S. 9-10 16), just as a district of Gilead (Gad) seems to have been called Ṣāfōn, 'North' (see ZEPHON; cp also Teman, Temeni, *Yemen,* and on the other hand *esh-Sham).*

It is not impossible indeed that this district was already known to the Canaanites as 'the South'; but there is nothing to suggest that it was. Indeed, it is a good deal more probable that the name means 'south of Joseph,' the Hebrews who settled in the highlands of Ephraim being known as 'the house' or 'sons' 'of Joseph,' a designation which retained this general sense till quite a late date. The question is rather whether Benjamin, at first a distinct tribe, afterwards became the southern part of Joseph (*e.g.*, by the energy and success of Saul; as Winckler supposes), or whether it was not rather the southern part of Joseph that, under the influence of forces immediately to be described,'

[1] **Another interpretation was probably 'son of days—*i.e.*, of old age' (so in Test. xii. Patr. Benj. 1;—cp Gen. 44 20 'child of his old age,'** יֶלֶד זְקֻנִים**).**

[2] **In the uncertainty how the present text of Judg. 20 16 arose (cp Moore, *ad loc.*), there is perhaps hardly sufficient ground for connecting with this etymology the story of the 700 *left*-handed warriors. Cp however also EHUD, and the story of the Benjamite deserter; to David, who could use the bow and the sling with either hand (1 Ch. 12 2).**

came gradually to he distinguished from the rest of the highlanders of Ephraim by the special name of Benjamites, 'men of the south,' the S. part, as being the smaller (cp 1 S. 9 21), receiving the distinguishing epithet.

It is not difficult to conjecture how this would naturally come about. The plateau of Benjamin, if it is, as we have seen, historically connected with Joseph, is hardly divided physically from Judah. Indeed, although no mean country (στενώτατος δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν: Jos. *Ant.* i. 5 22), it differs materially in its physical features from the northern part of Ephraim, being sterner and less fruitful—in fact, more Judæan. Moreover, valleys, running down to the Jordan (Suwēnīṭ, Kelt) and to the sea (Merj ibn 'Omēr), exposed it to attack from the E. (Moab) and from the W. (Philistines), while a line of strong Canaanite fortress-cities (Gibeon, etc.) constituted an additional source of danger to its highland peasants. That these southerners had a certain traditional fierceness[1] (Blessing of Jacob)[2] was, accordingly, only a natural result of their position and history. We cannot be surprised, then, that they won the right to a special name and place.

2. Land.

It is thus hardly necessary to assume, with Stade (*ZATW* 1348 ['81]), some specific attempt or series of attempts to overcome by force the Canaanites of the cities (Jericho, Ai), perhaps under the leadership of the clan of Joshua, in order to account for the origin of a separate tribe: the general situation might be sufficient.

3. Population.

Mixture of race may, however, have helped to differentiate the tribe, although at least the Canaanite elements took a very long time to become thoroughly amalgamated, as we see from the story of Gibeon (Josh. 9; St. *GVI* 161), and still more from the hints about BEEROTH (*q.v.*, i.),[3] which appears to have retained its distinctively Canaanite population at least till the time of Saul: indeed, even the radical policy of the latter seems to have been only partly successful (see ISHBAAL, 1). If the name CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI (*q.v.*) indicates the presence of immigrants from across the Jordan we must look for the explanation to much later times (Josh. 18 24 P). The position of Benjamin on the marches of Joseph, however, doubtless provided opportunities for mixture also with other tribes.

Benjamin is, *e.g.*, explicitly brought by E (Gen. 35 18) into connection with a tribe called BENONI (*q.v.*), while the first appearance of one or both of them is connected in some way (at least etymologically) with the disappearance of RACHEL (*q.v.*). If Simeon really temporarily settled in this neighbourhood before making his way south (cp ISRAEL, § 7), it is at least worthy of note that in a Simeonite list we find a clan name, JAMIN 2 (1 Ch. 4 24), and a place name Bilhah (*v.* 29; see BAALAH, 2). Nor is it impossible to find suggestions of some connection with REUBEN: a famous landmark on the borders of Benjamin is connected with his name (though the genuineness of the text is perhaps not beyond question),[4] as is also BILHAH (*q.v.*), the handmaid of Rachel. In Bilhan, on the other hand to which the Chronicler in his first genealogy assigns a prominent place (1 Ch. 7 10), we cannot safely see the remains of a Bilhah clan (see, BILHAH), for the name may have been taken from the Horite genealogy, as Jeush was taken from the Edomite (below, § 9 ii. *a*). Historical probability is certainly in favour of the idea that, after Dan failed to establish himself, Benjamin eventually spread westwards—although some of the apparent actual traces of this are not to be trusted (see HUSHIM, Gen. 46 23 [Danite; see, however, DAN, § 8] compared with 1 Ch. 8 8 11 [Benjamite]; AIJALON [1], Josh. 19 42 [Danite] compared with Judg. 1 35 [house of Joseph] 1 Ch. 8 13 [Benjamite; see BERIAH, 3]). The confused connection with Manasseh, however, that seems to result from the present text of 1 Ch. 7 15 compared with *v.* 12 is perhaps due merely to corruption of the text. (Shnpham and Hupham may have had no place in the original system of the Benjamite list, 1 Ch. 7 6-11, and being perhaps supplied on the margin [see below, § 9 ii. *a*] may, by some confusion, have made their way into the text also in Manasseh, *v.* 15 [cp Be. *ad loc.*].) What connection with Moab is intended in 1 Ch. 8 8 the present condition of the text makes it impossible to divine (the clause may be a gloss; see below, § 9 ii. *β*). Cp PAHATH-MOAB. Nor perhaps can we venture to interpret historically the suggestion of the Chronicler with regard to a later transference of clans from Benjamin back to Ephraim (see BERIAH, 2, 3). Clan names common to Benjamin and other tribes are not rare.

4. Age.

The memory of the derivative or at least secondary character of Benjamin still lived in the earlier days of the monarchy, as we see from 2 S. 19 20 [21] (cp also 20 1 with 20 21) and (apparently) from Judg. 1 22,[1] and seems to be reflected in the patriarchal story (JE) which tells how, last of all, Benjamin was born in Canaan.[2] That the differentiation of Benjamin was relatively ancient, however, we should be prepared to believe from the fact of the other branches of Joseph being called not brothers but sons.[3] The reference in the Song of Deborah is too obscure (not to speak of its perplexing connection in some way with Hos. 5 8) to be of much use as positive evidence; while the story of Ehud, if it is perhaps hardly necessary, with Winckler (*Gesch.* 1 138), to regard the single explicit reference to Benjamin as an interpolation (see below, § 5), may perhaps reflect the conditions of an age when no very clear line was drawn between Benjamin and the rest of Joseph (Judg. 3 27)—the men of the south and the men of the more northern highlands. At all events, by the time of David Benjamin was, owing to the energy of Saul, a distinct political element to be reckoned with, although we must not forget that, *e.g.*, in the story of the first appearance of Jeroboam, the 'house of Joseph' is an administrative unit (1 K. 11 28).[4]

5. Legends.

The peculiar condition of the legends relating to this tribe provokes an attempt to explain it. This must take account of two inconsistent tendencies—a tendency in favour of the tribe (Judg. 3 15 1 S. 4 12 1 K. 3 4 9 2), and a tendency against it (Judg. 19-21). When we bear in mind the central position of the tribe, and the abundance and importance of sanctuaries within and near its bounds (see below, § 6), it cannot surprise us that there were many traditions of incidents in which the tribe played a part. It is, however, remarkable that some of them have no special reference to sanctuaries.

We can hardly suppose this due to contending political interests (those of Ephraim and Judah) leading to a sort of diplomatic flattery of the boundary tribe with a view to securing its adhesion—just as there evidently was rivalry of a less peaceable kind (*e.g.*, 1 K. 15 7 7 22). A. Bernstein, who worked out this view in great detail in his able, if unequal, essay *Ursprung der Sagen von Abraham, Isaak u. Jacob*, 1871 (see especially 61), does not take account of the stories unfavourable to Benjamin outside of Genesis; and it seems clear that Benjamin was naturally a part of the northern kingdom (1 K. 12 21 belongs to a much later date than *v.* 20). The later history of the tribe, especially after the fall of Samaria (see below § 7), would go a long way towards accounting not only for the preservation but also for the mixed character of much Benjamin tradition. If we wish any further explanation, it seems reasonable to seek it in a natural interest, friendly or otherwise, in the great tribal hero, the mysterious Saul and his house.

The interest in the tribe is undeniable.

Israel will run any risk rather than that of losing Benjamin (Gen. 42 38 J); the narrative delights in detailing the various signs of special affection on the part of 'Joseph,' and even Judah offers himself as surety for him (Gen. 43 9 J) or, according to E, Reuben the first-born offers his two sons (Gen. 42 37). On the other hand all the tribes led by Joseph reprove and chastise Benjamin, but relent and find a substitute in Jahesh Gilead

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[1] The historical figures belonging to the tribe, too, have a certain passionate vehemence (Saul, etc.).

[2] For a suggestion of a possible original connection between the metaphor employed in the Blessing and the constellation Lupus right opposite Taurus (=Joseph), see Zimmern's art. 'Der Jakobssegen u. der Tierkreis,' *ZA* 3 168 ['92].

[3] A late editor may be following trustworthy tradition when he adds CHEPHIRAH in his list (with which cp Ezra 2 20 25 = Neh. 7 25 29 = 1 Esd. 5 17 19).

[4] 'Son (בן) of Reuben' may be a corruption of 'stone (אבן) of Reuben,' which may he not an alternative name of the stone, but an alternative reading for BOHAN (*q.v.*).

[1] St., however, supposes that the account of Benjamin has been lost (*Gesch.* 1 138).

[2] P, however, ignores this (Gen. 35 26).

[3] Noldeke (in a private communication) thinks that at an early time Benjamin was a powerful tribe, and that the rise of the story of its late origin (as also Judg. 19-21) is to be accounted for simply as the result of the crippling of its power by David.

[4] It has been argued by St. from 1 K. 4 18 [19] that it did not include Benjamin (*ZATW* 1 115 n.); but could we argue from 48 that it did not include Ephraim?

(Jndg. 19-21),—a story that is strangely parallel to Joseph's accusing Benjamin (falsely), the others interceding, and Judah offering to become substitute (Gen. 44 33). What historical substratum may underlie this Gibeah story we have not the means of determining. Its late date and its untrustworthiness in its present form appear in its practically wiping out the tribe that was not so very long after able to give its first ruler to a united 'Israel' (see also below, § 7, end, on post-exilic interest in Benjamin).

Benjamin was in a sense at the centre of the religious life of the land. What the religious history of ANATHOTH (*q.v.*, 1) may have been we can only guess; but there were sacred maṣṣēbas and trees that bore the names of DEBORAH (Gen. 35 8 Judg. 4 5) and RACHEL (Gen. 35 16 20 Jer. 31 15);[1] and Ramah, Geba, Gibeah, Mizpeh, Gibeon, Gilgal,[2] not only were Canaanitish sanctuaries but also continued to be of importance as such in Israel; indeed, Geba, which (or perhaps it was the neighbouring Gibeah) one writer calls 'Gibeah of God' (1 S. 10 5). was perhaps selected by the Philistines as the site of their nᵉṣīb because of its sanctity (1 S. 13 3 and especially 10 5; cp SAUL, § 2 *n.*) as well as because of its strategic position.[3]

6. Religious position.

More important still, perhaps, Bethel itself, the famous royal sanctuary (Am. 7 13), where, according to the story, Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (see BOCHIM), is said by P to have belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18 22). No doubt the Chronicler afterwards (1 Ch. 7 28) assigns it to Ephraim; but (though it may well have been a border town with connections on both sides) that is perhaps only because he could not conceive of Benjamin, a tribe that he regarded as belonging to the southern kingdom, extending so far north. At all events, there was reason enough for the words used of Benjamin in Dt. 33 12 (cp Di. *ad loc.* and see below, § 8),

> 'The beloved of Yahwè, he dwelleth secure'
> He (*i.e.*, Yahwè) encompasseth him all the day,
> And between his shoulders[4] doth he dwell.'

It seems, therefore, not unfitting that this tribe, martial though it was, should for all time, whatever view we take of the character of Saul, be associated with two of the greatest names in the history of Hebrew thought and religion, representatives of two of the greatest of religious movements: Jeremiah, who was a native of a Benjamite town, and Paul, who at least believed that he was sprung from the same tribe (Rom. 11 1 Phil. 3 5; cp Test. xii. Patr., Benj. ch. 11).

Saul's career ended in gloom; yet his work was not entirely undone. It was, therefore, a matter of course that the men of Benjamin (especially the Bichrites. see below, § 9 ii. β), even more than the rest of the house of Joseph, should dislike being subordinated to the newly-risen house of Judah (SHIMEI, 1), and should embrace any good opportunity to assert their claim (SHEBA, ii. 1), and that, along with the rest of the house of Joseph, they should throw in their lot with JEROBOAM (1). We have, accordingly, no reason to question the accuracy of the statement in 1 K. 12 20: 'there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only,'[5] (cp Ps. 80 2 [3] and Hos. 5 8 with We.'s note, and see ISRAEL, § 28; Jericho is regarded as north Israelite in 1 K. 15 27 16 15 *ff.*). However, as Jeroboam was not a Benjamite, and the capitals of the northern kingdom were always in the northern parts of Joseph (cp ZARETHAN II.), Benjamin does not appear to have

7. Later history.

[1] On the stone of Bohan or Reuben, see above (§ 3).

[2] Baal-tamar also was probably a sacred place. On the special importance of Gilgal in early times, see CIRCUMCISION, § 2.

[3] Wi. has even tried to show that Gibeah was believed by some to have been the seat of Israel's famous shrine, the 'ark'; but he takes no account of the discussion of Kosters (*ThT* '27 361-378 ['93]; cp ARK, § 5).

[4] Note the Arabic metaphor, WRS, *Kin.* 46 (*foot*).

[5] We cannot argue from 2 Sam. 24 1 9, for 'Judah' here means, not, as the Chronicler (1 Ch. 21 6) oddly supposed, a tribe, but the southern kingdom (the Chronicler thinks it necessary to try to explain—see the attempts of 𝔊BAL to understand him—why Benjamin and Levi were not numbered).

really gained by this step. In fact, it seems to have eventually gravitated more and more southwards. Indeed, lying on the border between the two kingdoms, it was important strategically rather than politically; and, although we cannot very well follow the details of the process,[1] some of its towns seem to have been, at one time or another, and more or less permanently, incorporated in the southern kingdom. The blow that the northern kingdom received in 722 was favourable to this process, and in another sense the sack of Jerusalem in 586. Thus in Jer. 33 13 'the land of Benjamin' is included in an enumeration of the various districts of the territory of Judah—viz., the Shephēlah, Megeb, etc.—just as in 2 K. 23 8 'from Geba to Beersheba,' like 'from Geba to Rimmon' in Zech. 14 10, stands for the whole land of Judah, and in Jer. 6 1 Jeremiah's clansmen are living in Jerusalem; and so, in the century following the rebuilding of the temple, Benjamin is regularly mentioned alongside of Judah, the combination of names appearing often to mean the families that were not taken to Babylon (cp Kosters, *Herstel*, *passim*), and the Jews came to believe that Rehoboain's kingdom had from the first consisted formally of these two tribes (cp Ps. 68 27 [28][2] Chron. *passim*, and a late writer in 1 K. 12 21 23). Hence we need not be surprised at the fulness with which Benjamin, as compared with the other Joseph tribes, is treated in the book of Joshua (Di. 505), or at the frequent and copious Benjamin lists in the Chronicler (see § 8 *f.*). Only we must remember that these tribal distinctions were in later times theoretical; Simon (2 Macc. 3 4). Menelaus, and Lysimachus were Benjamites; for the explanation of Mordecai's mythic genealogy (Shimei—Kish—Benjamin) see ESTHER, § 2 *f.*

(*a*) Although the priestly writer's conception of the frontier of Benjamin is not even self-consistent, Beth-Arabah, a point in Judah's N. boundary (Josh. 15 6), being assigned first (*v.* 61) to Judah and then (18 22, if the text is correct; see BETH-ARABAH, 1) to Benjamin, it can be identified roughly.

8. Late Writers' statistics: geographical.

From the Jordan near Jericho he makes it pass up to Beth-aven and Bethel (*Beitīn*), where it turns S. to Ataroth-addar (possibly '*Aṭārā*) and thence W. to Beth-horon the nether (*Beit 'Ur*), returning by Kirjath-jearim and Nephtoah (*Liftā*), circling round the south of Jerusalem through the vale of Hinnom and the plateau of Rephaim, and by the spring of Rogel, and finally returning by En-shemesh (*Ḥōd-el-'Azarīyeh*) and the valley of Acbor to the Jordan at Beth-hoglah ('*Ain-*, or *Ḳaṣr-Ḥajla*).

What led P to fix on this line, the southern stretch of which he repeats with greater fulness in the delineation of Judah (Josh. 15 5-10), we cannot say; nor can we say why he makes the boundary run south of Jerusalem.[3] The 'Blessing of Moses' has indeed been taken to imply (Dt. 33 12; see above, § 6) that in the latter part of the eighth century Jerusalem was held to lie inside the boundary of Benjamin; but 'by him' in the first line is probably due to a clerical error, and line 3 is quite indistinct: nothing points specially to Jerusalem.[4] Stade (*GVI* 1 162) proposes Gibeon; perhaps Winckler would suggest Gibeah; Oort, however (*ThT*, 1896, pp. 297-300), pleads vigorously for Bethel, and nothing could be more appropriate in a poem so markedly north-Israelitish. It is plain enough, on the other hand, that Jerusalem is assigned to Benjamin by P (though he avoids giving the name of the town, speak-

[1] See the account in GASm. *HG*, ch. 12.

[2] On the other tribes mentioned in this verse see ZEBULUN, NAPHTALI.

[3] According to the Talmud the Holy of Holies and some other parts of the temple stood on Henjamite soil (*Sanhedr.* 54); but the site of the altar, though within Benjamin, was a piece of land that ran into Benjamite territory from Judah (*Yoma*, 12).

[4] Unless Jerusalem may be thought to be implied in the mention of Benjamin before Joseph (Dr. *Dt.* 389). But on the order of the tribes cp Di.

ing simply of 'the Jebusite'); and, if we do not know precisely why he does so, we can at least see that he has a purpose of some kind, for in Judg. 1 21 it is quite clear that the editor has for the same reason twice substituted 'Benjamin' for the original 'Judah,' which we find in the otherwise identical Josh.1563. We must conclude that, whatever conceptions prevailed in later times, in the days when tribal names were really in harmony with geographical facts of one kind or another, Jerusalem was counted to Judah.

(6) Many late lists of Benjamite towns have been preserved. 1. The only early one is the rhetorical enumeration of twelve places on the path of the Assyrian invader (Is. 10 28-32).

Of the six names in it which are not mentioned in any of the other lists, two are those of towns the sites of which are known with certainty: MICHMASH (*Muḫmās*) and GEBIM (*El-Jīb*).

2. P's list (Josh. 18 21-28) comprises an eastern and a western group—viz., a group of twelve (to which he adds in 21 18 two others) and a group of fourteen towns.

Of these twenty-eight the following sixteen may be regarded as identified, some with certainty, others with a high degree of probability: JERICHO, BETH-HOGLAH, ZEMARAIM, BETHEL, PARAH, GEBA, GIBEON, RAMAH, BEEROTH, MIZPEH, CHEPHIRAH, 'the JEBUSITE,' GIBEATH, KIRIATH, ANATHOTH, ALMON (see ALEMETH).

3. Neh. 11 31-35 contains a list of some sixteen towns alleged to be settled by Benjamites. The list, which may be incompletely preserved, is more and more assigned, by scholars of various schools, to the time of the Chronicler (see Torrey, *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.* 42 *f.*; Mey. *Entsteh.* 107, 189); at all events, it cannot be early.

Of the eleven new names (unless the Aija of *v.* 31 be the Avvim of Josh. 18 23) not in the Joshua lists, four may be regarded as identified beyond dispute: HADID, NEBALLAT, LOD (see LYDDA), ONO.

4. In the list Neh. 7 = Ez. 2 = 1 Esd. 5 (see EZRA, ii. § 9), *vv.* 25-37 20-34, and 17*b*-22 respectively, seem to enumerate places (apparently places where members of Ezra's 'congregation' were resident), mostly within old Benjamite rather than old Judahite territory.

In this list, excluding NEBO (iv.) as being probably merely a transposition of NOB, we have still five other new names, of which, however, some seem to be spurious, and only NETOPHAH and BETH-AZMAVETH (see AZMAVETH [i.]) can be regarded as identified with any certainty.

Other places perhaps in Benjamite territory are BAAL-HAZOR (2 S. 13 23) and NOHAH (see Moore, *Judges*, 443). 1 Esd. also adds a CHADIAS and AMMIDOI (CHADIASAI).

9. Genealogical. Lists of Benjamite clan or personal names (sometimes, of course, including place names) are many. They have mostly, however, suffered much at one stage or another in transmission.

(i.) P's two (Gen. 46 = Nu. 26) are, as usual, different versions of the same list.

They probably contain two triplets (*a*) BELA—BECHER—Ashhel, and (*b*) GERA—Naaman—Ahiram; and a third triplet, not quite so certain, (*c*) Shuphan—Hupham—Ard.

(ii.) The Chronicler's two (1 Ch. 7 and 1 Ch. 8) are more difficult to understand, but are constructed more or less on the same scheme.

(*a*) In 1 Ch. 7 6 *ff.* (sons of the first triplet[1]—of which, however, Ashhel, 'Man of Baal,' becomes Jediael, 'Intimate of El')[2] we have what is of all the lists perhaps the most symmetrical. Certain peculiarities (such as apparent doublets) make it plausible to suppose that the symmetry was once even greater. Abijah, a name that occurs elsewhere in the Chronicler's genealogies only in priestly families,[3] should perhaps be read 'the father of' (cp 'father of Bethlehem,' 1 Ch. 4 4). In that way the two places Anathoth and Alemeth would be assigned to the last-mentioned son of Becher, just as in *v.* 12 Shuppim and Huppim are ascribed to Ir = Iri the last-mentioned son of Bela. Marquart,[1] to whom the detection of this analogy is due, suggests that ואביה should be read הוא בנה. If some form of this theory be adopted it will he only natural to look for a name (or names) assigned to the last-mentioned son of Jediael (the remaining branch of Benjamin) and to find it in Hushim the son of Aher (*v.* 12). This will be still more plausible if we may adopt the rest of Marquart's theory, that Aher אחר is a miswritten אחחר—*i.e.*, Aḥiḥōr—and that Ahishahar, אחישחר, is a corruption of the same name (אחיחר). If Uzzi and Uzziel in *v.* 7 are a doublet 'five' in the same verse is not original. Perhaps Ehud etc., in *v.* 10 are brothers of Bilhan, the intervening words being a parenthesis.[2] Whilst *v.* 12 is thus required to give symmetry to the genealogy, it may nevertheless be in a sense an appendix.

(*β*) Chap. 8 has in parts the appearance of being constructed in a very schematic form (though efforts to detect a general scheme have not been markedly successful), and this seems to warrant the conviction that the present obscurity is due to textual corruption. For remedying that some help can be had from the versions; but it is not sufficient. Certain suggested emendations (see an article by the present writer in *JQR* 11 102-114 ['98]) so greatly reduce the disorder that now prevails that there seems to be reason to believe that the genealogy was at one time markedly regular in structure, and that considerable boldness in attempts to restore it is warranted. It has always seemed difficult to explain how the historically important Benjamite clans—the clan of Saul and Sheba (viz., Becher), and that of Shimei (viz., Gera)—are so subordinated in this extraordinarily copious list (they appear to be omitted altogether in Nu. 26; see, however, BECHER). It is probable that the subordination is due to corruption of the text. When emended in the way already referred to, 1 Ch. 8 1-7 is reduced to P's three triplets with the additional statement that Gera was the father of [E]HUD (*q.v.*) and Shua[l], or rather, as Marquart acutely suggests, SHIMEI (*q.v.*; cp 𝔊B [αβει]-σαμας). What follows is obscure—the reconstruction proposed in *JQR*, *l.c.*, is in parts not much more than a guess—but it seems extremely probable that the names in *vv.* 1-27, beyond P's three triplets, were originally attributed to Gera through Ahishahar (once corrupted into Shaharaim; see above, [*a*]) and Hushim (*v.* 12 being an intrusive repetition of a later part of the list). Then *vv.* 30-38 gave the genealogy of the Bichrites (for ובנו הבכור, 'and his firstborn,' read ובני הבכרי 'and the sons of the Bichrite'), *v.* 326 being perhaps a marginal gloss due to some bewildered reader of *vv.* 30-32 (in their new position after the intrusion of *v.* 28 *f.* from chap. 9). Marquart suggests that these nine verses originally followed the mention of the sons of Bela. For fuller details and other suggestions the reader is referred to the article already cited.[3] It is difficult to avoid the conviction that some reconstruction is necessary.

(iii.) In Neh. 11 7 *f.* and 1Ch.97-9 we have two versions of a list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem, the original of which it is quite impossible to restore.

The names are grouped in the form of genealogies of a few persons. for which, among other reasons, Meyer pronounces the list an invention of the Chronicler (*Entsteh.*, 189). Kosters, however, suggests that the genealogical form is not original (*Herstel*), and that the authority was a list of Jerusalem Benjamites living in Jerusalem before the arrival of Ezra.

(iv.) On the list of Benjamite warriors in 1 Ch. 12 3-7, see DAVID, § 11 (*a*) iii. On relations of Benjamin to other tribes, see, further, RACHEL, BILHAH, JOSEPH.

2. A Benjamite b. Bilhan, 1 Ch. 7 10† (see No. 1, § 9, ii. *a*).

3. A Levite, of the b'ne Harim, in the list of those with foreign wives, Ezra 10 32 (see EZRA, i. § 5, end).

4. A Levite, in the list of wall-builders, Neh.323 (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), perhaps the same as No. 3.

5. In the procession at the dedication of the wall (EZRA, i. § 13 *g*), Neh. 12 34 (μιαμειν [L]); on which see Kosters, *Het Herstel*, 59.

H. W. H.

BENJAMIN, GATE OF (שַׁעַר בִּנְיָמִן), Jer. 20 2 37 13 38 7 Zech. 14 10. See JERUSALEM.

BENO (בְּנוֹ) is taken as a proper name in 1 Ch. 24 26 *f.* by EV, in *v.* 26 by 𝔊 (υιοι BONNI [A], BONNEIA υιος αυτου [L], B om.; in *v.* 27 𝔊BA has υιοι αυτου, 𝔊L υιος αυ.) and by Jer. and Targ. That the list of the sons of Levi is in a most unsatisfactory state is evident from a comparison with Ex. 6 17 *ff.* 1 Ch. 6 17 [2] *ff.* 29 *f.* [14] and 23 21 *ff.* The MT is most obscure, and, according to Kittel, *vv.* 20-31 are one of the latest additions; one rendering is to take *v.* 26 *f.* as follows:—'Of Jaaziah, his (Merari's) son, (even) the sons of Merari through Jaaziah his son,' etc.

BEN-ONI (בֶּן־אוֹנִי; υιος οδυνης μου [ADEL],

1 Verse 12*a* in a sense represents the third triplet, and 12*b* has names connected in chap. 8 with the second.

2 Cp יחיאל, 1 Ch. 27 32 = ישרעל 2 S. 23 8 (Marquart in a private communication). We can hardly argue from the Ashbāl or Ashbōl of the Peshitta that the change of Ashbel to Jediael is due to an accident; for in the Peshitta 1 Ch. 7 6 simply substitutes the corrupt Genesis list (46 21) of nine names (with its 'Ehi and Kosh Muppim' for 'Ahiram Shuppim') for the Chronicler's list of three sons.

3 On the supposed Abijah, wife of Hezron, see CALEB, ii.

1 In a private communication to the present writer.

2 So Marquart. On foreign names in this list see above, § 3.

3 See now also Marquart's important article on the same subject (*JQR* xii.).

rightly interpreting the mind of the writer), the first name of BENJAMIN (§ 3), given to her new-born child by the dying Rachel (Gen. 35 18). Ben-oni must, however, have been an early tribal name. We find the clan-names ONAM and ONAN (both in Judah, the former also Horite); also a Benjamite city ONO; nor can the existence of an ancient city called BETH-AVEN (Beth-on?) be denied. To assume, however, with Prof. Sayce (*Patriarch. Pal.* 191 *f.*), first that Beth-el was also called Beth-on, and next that the names Beth-on and Ben-oni imply that the name of the god worshipped at Luz was On, and next that this divine name was derived from On = Heliopolis in Egypt, is purely arbitrary. Cp BETH-AVEN, AVEN (3). T. K. C.

BEN-ZOHETH (בֶּן־זוֹחֵת, etym. doubtful, probably corrupt). ZOHETH and Ben-Zoheth are mentioned in 1 Ch. 4 20 (υἱοὶ ζωαβ [B], υἱ. ζωχαθ [A], υἱ. ζαωθ [L]), among the sons of Ishi of JUDAH.

BEON (בְּעֹן), Num. 32 3. See BAAL-MEON.

BEOR (בְּעוֹר, possibly miswritten for ACHBOR; see BAAL-HANAN [1]; Βεωρ [BAL; WH in 2 Pet. 2 15]). 1. Father of the Edomite king BELA [ii. 1], Gen. 36 32 (Βαιωρ [L]) = 1 Ch. 1 43 (Βαιωρ [A], σεπφωρ, *i.e.*, Zippor [L]).

2. Father of BALAAM (Nu. 22 5, etc., βαιωρ [A], except in Dt. 23 4 [5] Josh. 13 22 Mi. 6 5; in Josh. 24 9 [𝔊^{BA} omits]), called BOSOR in 2 Pet. 2 15 AV (βοσορ [Ti. following A𝔑^{c}C]; Vg. *Bosor*; cp the conflate reading βεωορσορ [𝔑*]), RV BEOR ([βεωρ WH]). In Nu. 24 22 𝔊^{BAFL} reads τῷ βεωρ (βαιωρ [A]) for Heb. לְבָעֵר.

BERA (בֶּרַע, scarcely, 'with evil,' cp BIRSHA; these, like other names in Gen. 14, may be mutilated and corrupted forms; Βαλλα [ADL], Βαρα [E], Βαλας [Jos. *Ant.* i. 9]), king of Sodom, who joined the league against Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14 2). See CHEDORLAOMER, § 2, end.

BERACHAH, RV Beracah (בְּרָכָה, 'blessing'; Βερχεια [B𝔑], Βαραχια [AL]), a Benjamite, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 3). See DAVID, § 11 [*a*] iii.

BERACHAH (RV Beracah), VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה, κοιλας ευλογιας [BAL]), the scene of the great thanksgiving of Jehoshaphat and his people (2 Ch. 20 26; in 26*a* ὁ αὐλὼν τῆς εὐλογίας [BA], ἡ κοιλὰς τῆς εὐλ. [L]). The geographical knowledge of the narrator was evidently good; but that, of course, does not make his narrative any more historical (see JEHOSHAPHAT). At no great distance from *Teḳū'a* there is a broad open wādy, on the west side of which are extensive ruins named *Bereikūt.* Just opposite the ruins the wādy itself is called the *Wādy Bereikūt* (Rob. *LBR*, 275). From the form Bereikūt we gather that the true ancient pronunciation was probably Berēchōth, 'reservoirs.' T. K. C.

BERACHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ), 1 Ch. 6 24 [39], RV BERECHIAH, 5.

BERAIAH (בְּרָאיָה, § 31, 'Yahwè creates'; Βαραια [L], Βεριγα[1] και Β. [BA]). 1. A Benjamite, assigned to the b'ne SHIMEI (8); 1 Ch. 8 21. The name is probably post-exilic, 'creation' being one of the great exilic and post-exilic religious doctrines.

2. See BEDEIAH.

BEREA, 1. An unknown locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Bacchides encamped before the battle in which the Jews were defeated and Judas the Maccabee was slain (Apr. 161 B.C.). The camp of Judas was at Elasa, Eleasa, or Alasa, also unknown, but probably *Kh. Il'asā* between the two Beth-horons on the main road from Sharon to Jerusalem (1 Macc. 9 4 *f.*). The best reading seems to be βερεα [A𝔑V]; *but* there is MS authority also for Βεηρ-ζαθ and Βεηρθαζ; Vet. Lat. has *Berethiim.* Josephus (Ant. xii. 102) has Βηθζηθω, or, in some MSS, Βηρζηθ. Ewald thinks of the modern Bir ez-Zeit, 1½ m. NW. from Jufna, or of Beeroth (mod. el Bireh).

[1] That is בריעה; cp 1 Ch. 7 30.

2. RV Bercea, Βέροια [A], -ρεvο. [V]), the scene of the death of MENELAUS, the modern Aleppo (2 Macc. 13 4).

3. Βέροια [Ti. WH] (some MSS βέρρ.), now *Verria*, or *Kara Verria*, in Lower Macedonia, at the foot of Mt. Bermios, 5 m. above the left bank of the Haliacmon (*Vistritza*). It has a splendid view over the plains of the Haliacmon and the Axius; plane-trees and abundant streams make it one of the most desirable towns of the district. Yet it did not lie on the main road; which perhaps accounts for its being chosen as a place of refuge for Paul and Silas in their midnight escape from Thessalonica (Acts 17 10).

A curious parallel is found in Cicero's speech against Piso. Unable to face the chorus of complaint at Thessalonica, Piso 'fled to the out-of-the-way town of Berœa' (*in oppidum devium Berœam. In Pis. 36).*

In the apostolic age Bercea contained a colony of Jews, and a synagogue (Acts 17 10). They were of a 'nobler' spirit (εὐγενέστεροι) than those of Thessalonica —possibly because they did not belong to the purely mercantile class. Not only were many of the Jews themselves converted, but also not a few of the Greeks, both men and women (τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, Acts 17 12: the language seems to indicate that the apostle was here dealing with an audience at a higher social level than elsewhere). Paul's stay here seems to have been of some duration (several months, Rams. *Paul*, 234), partly in order to allow him to watch over the converts of Thessalonica, only 50 m. distant; he may have been still at Bercea when he made those two vain attempts to revisit them to which 1 Thess. 2 18 alludes, and Timothy may have been sent to them from Bercea, and not from Athens, on the occasion mentioned in 1 Thess. 3 2. The apostle was at length obliged to quit the town, as the 'Jews of Thessalonica' heard of his work and resorted to their usual tactics of inciting to riot (σαλεύοντες τοὺς ὄχλους, Acts 17 13). Silas and Timothy were left in Macedonia; but Paul was escorted by certain of the converts to the sea and as far as Athens (Acts 17 14 *f.*). This hurried departure (εὐθέως, *v.* 14) may have been by the road to Dium.

The omission of the harbour is noticeable. In other cases the name of the harbour is given: so in Acts 14 25 16 11 18 18. The omission, however, affords no proof that the journey to Athens was performed by land—a view which derives some colour from the AV 'to go as it were to the sea' (RV 'as far as to the sea').

Possibly one of his escort was that Sopater, son of Pyrrhus, a Bercean, who is mentioned in Acts 20 4 as accompanying Paul from Corinth to Macedonia. The Sosipater of Rom. 16 21 is probably another person. We read in Acts 20 5 that the escort from Corinth preceded Paul to Troas: this may have been partly due to his making a detour in order to revisit Berœa. W. J. W.

BERECHIAH (בֶּרֶכְיָה, in Nos. 4 f: בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ, § 28, 'Yahwè blesses' = Jeberechiah, Βαραχ[ε]ια [BHA], -χιας [L]).

1. Son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3 20 (βαραχια [L], -ιαι [B]).
2. One of the Levites that dwelt in the villages of the Netophathites, 1 Ch. 9 16 (-χει [B] -χιας [A], αβ. [L]) not included in ∥ Neh. 11. Probably the same as the doorkeeper for the Ark, 1 Ch. 15 23.
3. Father of Meshullam in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 4 (-χιας [𝔑A], om. B), 30 (βαρχεια [B𝔑] βαρια [A]); cp 6 18.
4. Father of the prophet Zechariah, Zech. 1 1 7 (βαραχίας [B𝔑AQ]). Omitted in the ∥ Ezra 5 1. On the question of his identity with the BARACHIAS (AV), or BARACHIAH (RV) of Mt. 23 35, see ZACHARIAS, 9.
5. Father of Asaph, a singer, 1 Ch. 6 24 [39] (AV BERACHIAH), 15 17 (-χια [L]).
6. b. Meshillemoth; one of the chief men of the b'ne Ephraim, temp. Ahaz, 2 Ch. 25 12 (Ζαχαριας [B], Βαραχιας [A]).

BERED (בֶּרֶד; Βαραδ [AD]; -ρακ [L]; *BARAD* [Vg.]). A place in S. Palestine, or perhaps rather

N. Arabia, between which and Kadesh lay BEER-LAHAI-ROI [*q.v.*] (Gen. 16 14). Three identifications deserve mention. (1) The Targums represent it by the same word as that given for Shur in *v.* 7—Onk. by חגרא Hagra, and Jer. Targ. by חֲלוּצָא Ḥălūṣa. The former word, however (cp Ar. *ḥijr*, 'a wall, enclosure'), seems to be meant for a translation of the name Shur, not for an identification of the place. The second name is clearly the Elusa of Ptol., which is now probably *Kh. Khalaṣa* in the Wādy 'Asliij, about 12 m. from Beersheba on the way to Kuhaibeh or Rehoboth (see Palmer, *PEFQ*, **1871**, p. 35; Guérin, *Judée*, 2 269-273). (2) Eus. and Jer. (OS 299 76 145 2) identify a certain 'well of judgment' with the village Berdan in the Gerarite country (in which Beersheba also is placed). This 'well of judgment' seems like a confused reminiscence of Enmishpat—*i.e.*, Kadesh (Gen. 14 7). Is this Berdan the same spot which Jerome (OS 101 3) calls Barad, where, he says, a well of Agar was shown in his day? (3) If, with Rowlands, we find BEER-LAHAI-ROI (*q.v.*) at 'Ain Muweileh, Bered may be some place in the Wādy esh-Sheraif, on the E. side of the Jebel Dalfa'a (see Palmer's map).

T. K. C.

BERED (בֶּרֶד), an Ephraimite clan, 1 Ch. 7 20 (Βαραδ [A], ραδαμ [L], om. [B]), apparently called in Nu. 26 35, BECHER—a well-known Benjamite clan name. When we consider the close relation between the two tribes, the occurrence of Becher in Ephraim seems not unnatural (cp BERIAH, 2 *f.*). See, however, BECHER.

BERI (בֵּרִי, prob. = בְּאֵרִי, § 76, 'belonging to the well' [or to a place called Be'er]; the name occurs twice in Phœnician; σαβρει [B], βαρι [A], βηρει [L]), an Asherite family-name (1 Ch. 7 36).

BERIAH (בְּרִיעָה, perhaps 'prominent,' § 7; cp the play on the name in 1 Ch. 7 23 with the play on the name BERA [*q.v.*] in Targ. ps.-Jon.; Βαρ[ε]ια [BAL]).

1. An Asherite clan individualised; Gen. 46 17 Nu. 26 44 *f.* (𝔊, *v.* 28 *f.*; in *v.* 28 Βερι [L], in *v.* 29 it is omitted); 1 Ch. 7 30 (βεριγα [1] [B], *v.* 31 -χα [E]; gentilic, Beriite, Nu. 26 44 (ὁ βαρια[ε]ι [Ba vid F], βαρια [B* vid], -par [A], βερει [L]).

2. An Ephraimite clan-name, in a story of a cattle-lifting raid in 1 Ch. 7 21-23 (beginning at 'and Ezer and Elead'; *v.* 23 βαργαα [B], -ριε [L]); cp 8 13. According to the Chronicler, Beriah was a son of Ephraim, born after his brother had been slain, and he was called Beriah because 'it went evil with his [father's] house' (note the assonance בְּרָעָה—בְּרִיעָה). This notice of the conflict with the men of Gath is enigmatical; were there family reminiscences of the border strifes of the early Israelites which were recorded in documents distinct from our canonical books and accessible to the Chronicler?

We. preserves a sceptical attitude (*Prol.*(4), 214); Bertheau and Kittel, however, think that there is here a genuine tradition, and that, on the destruction of the clans Ezer and Elead, the Ephraimites of the border districts applied for help to the Benjamite clans, Shema and Beriah (1 Ch. 8 13). According to S. A. Fries, the basis of this story is an early tradition dealing with a raid made by Ephraimites into Palestine from the land of Goshen [2] in the wider sense which Hommel and he himself give to this term (see GOSHEN).

It would be unsafe to use these unsupported statements of the Chronicler as historical material. See below.

3. A clan of Benjamin (§ 9 (ii.) (β)), 1 Ch. 8 13 (βεριγα [B], βαρ. [A], βαραα [L]), 16 (βαρ[ε]ιγα [BA]), probably to be identified with No. 2. It appears to be stated that the Benjamite clan Beriah was adopted into Ephraim in recognition of the service it had rendered to the imperilled territory. So Bertheau; cp Bennett, *Chron.* 89. Cp also EPHRAIM.

4. A Gershonite (Levite) family, 1 Ch. 23 10 *f.* (Βερια [BL]; om. A in *v.* 10).

S. A. C.

[1] Note that in βεριγα (1 Ch. 7 30 [B], and 8 13 [B]), βαργαα (1 Ch. 7 23 [B]) and βαρ[ε]ιγα (8 13 [A] 16 [BA]), γ = soft y (*i.e.*, Ar. *'ain*), which is usually represented by a breathing. For γ = rough y (*i.e.*, Ar. *ġ*) see GAZA, ZOAR, ZIBEON, etc.

[2] Pesh. reverses the statement of the MT; cp Barnes, *Pesh. Text Chron.* xi.

BERITES, THE (הַבֵּרִים), appear, through a corruption of the text, in 2 S. 20 14 (MT), where Klostermann, Kittel, Budde, and (with some hesitation) Driver, read הַבִּכְרִים, 'the Bichrites (see BICHRI). The consonants בכרי are, in fact, presupposed by the strange rendering of 𝔊BA (καὶ πάντες) ἐν χαρρει; 𝔊L καὶ πᾶσα πόλις). The description of the progress of SHEBA (*q.v.* ii.) now first becomes intelligible.

BERITH (בְּרִית), Judg. 9 46 AV, RV El-berith. See BAAL-BERITH.

BERNICE (Βερνικη [Ti. WH] for Βερενικη, the Macedonian form of Φερενικη), eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and sister of the younger Agrippa (Acts 25 13 23 26 30). She was married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis; and after his death she lived, not without suspicion of incest, with her brother Agrippa. She next became the wife of Polemon, king of Cilicia. This connection being soon dissolved, she returned to her brother, and afterwards became the mistress of Vespasian and Titus (Jos. Ant. xix. 5 1; xx. 7 2 *f.*; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 81; Suet. *Tit.* 7); cp Sch. *GVI* i., and see HERODIAN FAMILY, 9.

BERODACH BALADAN (בְּרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאֲדָן), 2 K. 20 12 EV; EVmg. MERODACH-BALADAN.

BEROEA (Βεροια), 2 Macc. 13 4 RV, AV BEREA, 2.

BEROTH (Βηρωθ? [A]), 1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 2 25, BEEROTH.

BEROTHAH (בֵּרוֹתָה), a place mentioned by Ezekiel (47 16; αβθηρα [BQ], ωσθηρα [A], βηρωθ'α- [Qmg.]) in defining the ideal northern frontier of the Holy Land. It is apparently the same as BEROTHAI (*q.v.*), and may be regarded as a lengthened form of Bērōth = Bĕērōth, 'wells.' As yet it has not been certainly identified. Ewald (*Hist.* 3 153) connected it with the well-known Berytus (the *Bi'rutu* and *Bi'runa* of the Amarna letters, the *Bi'arutu* of the List of Thotmes III. [so W. M. Muller], and the mod. *Beirūt*); but it seems clear that a maritime city would not suit Ezekiel's description. Tomkins would, therefore, place Berothah in the neighbourhood of the rock-hewn inscriptions in the *Wādy Brissa*, NW. of Baalbec, down which wādy a stream is marked in the *Carte de Liban* as flowing to the Orontes (*PEFQ* Ap. 1885, p. 108); but his philological argument seems unsound. Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 34), Socin (*Pal.*(3), 369), and v. Riess (*Bib. Atl.*) have thought of *Bereitān*, a village not far to the S. of Baalbec; but this is only a plausible conjecture, and must be judged in connection with Furrer's general theory of the frontier (see HOR, MOUNT; RIBLAH; ZIDAD). Cp ARAM, § 6.

BEROTHAI (בֵּרֹתַי; Klo. would read בְּרֹתִי), a town belonging to Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S. 8 8 (𝔊BAL ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν πόλεων, perhaps reading מִבְּרֹת from בָּרַר 'to separate, select' [so Klo.]), possibly another form of BEROTHAH (see, however, Klo. and the article TEBAH). In 1 Ch. 18 8 (where 𝔊A has the same translation), which is parallel to 2 S. 8 8, for Berothai we find the name CHUN, which must be a corruption, either of the first three letters of Berothai (*i.e.*, ברת) in one of the earlier alphabetic stages, or of some other name which the Chronicler found in his copy of the old narrative.[1] For a suggested emendation see MEROM, *end*.

[1] The reading ברתי, is probably supported by 𝔊 in *both* places, and by the καλλίσταις (= ἐκλεκτῶν of 𝔊BAL) of Jos. *Ant.* vii. 5 3. The latter's text, however, must have represented a conflate reading, for he reads Μάχων(ι), which points to מִכּוּן 'from Cun.'

BEROTHITE (הַבֵּ תִי), 1 Ch. 11 39. See BEEROTH.

BERYL. The Beryl as a mineral species[1] includes,

1. Description. besides the common beryl, the aquamarine or precious beryl, and the emerald.

The similarity between the beryl and the emerald was pointed out by Pliny (37 20); the only points of distinction are the green colonr of the emerald and the somewhat superior hardness of the beryl (7.5 to 8 in the mineralogical scale; specific gravity from 2.67 to 2.732).

If we leave out of account the emerald, the colours of the beryl range from blue through soft sea-green to a pale honey-yellow, and in some cases the stones are entirely colourless. The aquamarine is so named on account of its bluish-green colour, '*qui viriditatem puri maris imitantur*' (Pliny, *l.* c.). The beryl crystallises in six-sided prisms with the crystals often deeply striated in a longitudinal direction. The great abundance of aquamarine and other forms of beryl in modern times has very much depreciated its value; but it is still set in bracelets, necklaces, etc., and used for seals.

That the beryl was known to the ancients there can be no doubt. Some of the finest examples of ancient

2. Greek names, etc. Greek and Roman gem-engraving are found executed in beryl (see King's description of a huge aquamarine intaglio over two inches square, *Prec. Stones, Gems, and Prec. Metals*, p. 132): the Romans cut it into six-sided prisms (*cylindri*) and mounted them as ear-drops. It is also clear from the evidence of Pliny (l.c., *berylli*) that, in later times, at least, beryl was called by the same name as now, though apart from 𝔊 (see below) the name does not appear in any Greek writer till considerably after Pliny's time.[2] It appears, however, to have been called also *σμάραγδος*; Theophrastus seems to know three Binds of smaragdos, which may well be our true emerald, our aquamarine, and our common beryl (*Lap.* 23). In Herodotns, too, smaragdos is the material not only of the gem engraved for the ring of Polycrates (3 41), but also of the pillar in the temple of Heracles at Tyre (2 44), which cannot have been of true emerald, as the noble Binds of beryl are never found of large size.

The Hebrews must be presumed to have known the beryl. We may perhaps identify it with the *shōham*

3. Hebrew name. (שֹׁהַם); for P tells us that the ornaments on the high priest's shoulder (Ex. 28 9 20 = 35 9 27) were of *shōham*, and 𝔊 renders this *σμάραγδος*. We cannot always trust 𝔊's rendering of stone names (see PRECIOUS STONES); but in this case the identification seems suitable. We are told that on each *shōham*-stone were inscribed the names of six of the tribes of Israel, for which purpose a natural hexagonal cylinder of beryl would be admirably fitted if, as has been suggested, the six names were inscribed longitudinally on the six faces. The *shōham*-stones mounted in ouches of gold were probably therefore beryls pierced or simply mounted at the end with bosses (*umbilici*) of gold, like the beryl cylinders described by Pliny.

The importance given to the beryl among the Babylonians and the Phcenicians (see above) makes it all the more probable that the Hebrews would specially value it. From Gen. 2 12 (later stratum of J ?) it would appear that the *shōham* was known in Judah before the exile, and believed to abound, with good gold and bdellium, in HAVILAH. The Chronicler brings *shōham*-stones into connection with the construction of the pre-exilic temple (1 Cb. 29 2; but the reading may be incorrect, see EBONY, *c*), while the writer of Job 2816 classes it with gold of Ophir and other precious substances.

The etymology of the word *shōham* (which occurs in Chronicles as a proper name; see SHOHAM) is at present uncertain.

4. Etymology and versions. Ges.-Röd. (*Thes.* s.v.) traces it to a root meaning 'paleness,' as if 'the pale stone' while Haupt, connecting it with the Assyrian *sâmtu*, renders 'pearl.' Delitzsch, however. argues that *sâmtu* means a 'dark-coloured [stone]' (*Ass. HWB* 488 6; cp *Par.* 60 *f.* 130 *f.*) and Halévy connects Assyr. *sâmtu* with Syr. *šḥm* rather than) Heb. *šhm* (*Rev. Crit.*, 1881, p. 479).

Shōham is rendered in the various versions as follows:—

𝔊BAL *βηρυλλιον* (as in Targ. [בירולין], Saad. etc.) in Ex. 28 20 = 39 13, reproduced in Ezek. 28 13 (see PRECIOUS STONES); *λίθος* [*τῆς*] *σμαράγδου* in Ex. 28 9 35 27 39 6; A. *ὁ πράσινος* (leek-green) in Gen. 2 12; *λ. σάρδιον* in Ex. 35 9; A. *σοομ* [BA], *ὄνυχος* [L] in 1 Ch. 29 2; *ἐν ὄνυχι* (as in Aq. at Ex., Theod. and Symm. at Ex. and Gen., and Vg. [*onychinus*, but *onyx* in Ezek.] except in Job) in Job 28 16; Pesh. everywhere ܒܪܘܠܐ (BRWLA) or *pl.* ܒܪܘܠܐ except in 1 Ch. 29 2 where its text differs; Aq. in Gen. 2 12 and Vg. in Job 28 16 *sardonyx.*

RVmg. adds as an alternative the rendering BERYL,[1] thus supporting the identification argued for above.

EV follows throughout the usual Vg. rendering, giving everywhere 'onyx' (see ONYX), reserving 'beryl' for the Hebrew *Tarshish* (see TARSHISH, STONE OF). In the NT however, 'beryl' is naturally the EV rendering of *βηρυλλον* (Rev. 21 20†).

W. R.

BERZELUS (ΖΟΡΖΕΛΛΕΟC [A]), 1 Esd. 5 38 AV = Ezra 2 61, BARZILLAI, 2.

BESAI (בֵּסַי, § 52; ΒΑCΕΡ [L]). The bne Besai, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2 49 (*βασ*[*ε*]*ι* [BA]) = Neh. 7 52 (*βησει* [BA], *βαισ.* [א]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 BASTAI, RV BASTHAI (*βασθαι* [BA], *βεσσερ* [L]).

BESODEIAH (בְּסוֹדְיָה, 'in the secret of Yah,' § 22; the form, however, is very improbable [see BEZALEEL]; read, rather, חֲסַדְיָה, Hasadiah), an Israelite, father of Meshullam in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d.*), Neh. 3 6 (ΒΑΔΙΑ [B], ΑΒΔΕΙΑ [א], ΒΑCΩΔΙΑ [Avid], ΒΑCΙΔΙΑ [L]).

T. K. C.

BESOM (מַטְאֲטֵא, Is. 14 23†; Pesh. ܡܟܢܫܬܐ; Vg. *scopa*; ΠΗΛΟΥ ΒΑΡΑΘΡΟΝ [BאQΓ], Π. ΒΑΘΡΟΝ [A]), a word occurring nowhere else in Hebrew or, in this sense, in any Semitic dialect.? According to Talm. B. *Rōsh ha-shānā*, 26 b., the word, though unknown to the Rabbis (who called the article אלבינה), was still in use among the women (cp Jer. *Megilla*, ii. 2). There is not, therefore, any reason to doubt that Vg. and Pesh. are right in understanding something to sweep (away) with (cp the metaphor in Is. 30 28 [sieve]; on which see AGRICULTURE, § 10). The besoni of death is not unknown to mythology (Otto Henne Am Rhyn, ***Die** Deutsche Volksage*,(2) 411 *f.*); but the figure hardly needs any mythological warrant (Che. *ad loc.*).

BESOR (בְּשׂוֹר, ΒΟCΟΡ [BAL], Jos. Ant. vi. 14 6, ΒΑCΕΛΟC), a wādy (נחל), mentioned in the account of David's pursuit of the Amalekites, 1 S. 30 9 *f.* 21 (*v.* 21 *βεανα* [B], *βεχωρ* [A]). It was probably this wādy that Saul 'crossed' when he chastised the Amalekites (1 S. 15 5; read וַיַּעֲבֹר בַּנַּחַל, Klo.); and in the two definitions of the Amalekite territory in 1 S. 15 7 ('and Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah,' etc.), and 27 8 ('for those were the inhabitants of the land, which were from old time,' etc.), we should probably read 'from the torrent Besor even to the torrent [land] of Muṣri.' See TELEM (i.). According to Guérin (*Judée*, 2 213), it is the modern WBdy Ghazza which issues from the WBdy es-Seba' and empties itself into the sea SW. of Gaza.

T. K. C.

BETAH (בֶּטַח), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S. 8 8 (MT) = 1 Ch. 18 8 (MT), TIBHATH. Pesh., how-

1 On the stone called Beryl in EV see § 4.
2 The chrysoberylus, chrysoprasus, and chrysolithus of ancient jewellery appear, to some extent at least, to have been names applied to different shades of beryl.

1 Omitted (through oversight?) at Ex. 35 9 29 6 13 Ezek. 28 13.
2 In Arab. the root means 'incline (the head),' in Eth. 'set in order.

ever, reads Tebah, and this is also favoured in 2 S. *l.c.* by 𝔊 (*μασβακ* [B], *-βαχ* [A], *ματεβακ* [L], where *pa* arises from a corrupt repetition of the preceding letter in this translator's Heb. text). Cp Ew. *Hist.* 3153, and see TEBAH.

BETANE (Βαιτανη [B], Βατ. [ℵ], Βλιτ. [A]), one of the places to which, according to Judith 1 9, Nebuchadrezzar sent his summons. The BETH-ANOTH (*q.v.*) of Josh. 1559 appears to be meant.

BETEN (בֶּטֶן—*i.e.*, 'vale' or 'hollow';—Βατνε [A], Βαιθοκ [B], Βετελ [L]), an unidentified site in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19 25) called Βεθβετεν by Eusebius (OS 236 41), who places it 8 R. m. to the E. of Acco.

BETH (בֵּית, st. constr. ,of בַּיִת, see BDB); the most general term for a dwelling; used of a tent in Gen. 27 15 33 17, but generally of houses of clay or stone; also of temples (cp BAJITH, *Beth-Bamoth* [MI, *l.* 27]). Combinations of Beth with other words are frequent in Hebrew place-names (see NAMES, § 96). In Assyrian, compounds with Bit are used as names of countries: *e.g.*, Bit-Ḫumri = the kingdom of Israel; Bit-Yakin (*i.e.*, Babylonia, the country of Merodach-Baladan).

Among other interesting compounds with Beth are BEESH-TERAH (?), Beth-eked Beth-haggan, Beth-lehem, Beth-meon (see BAAL-MEON), Beth-Ṣor.

BETHABARA (Βηθαβαρα [C² KT^b UΛΠ]), Jn. 128 AV, is the place where John baptized, according to the reading which became widely current through the advocacy of Origen, who could find no Bethany across the Jordan, but found a Bethabara with a tradition connecting it with the Baptist. Origen, however, admitted that the majority of MSS were against him. See BETHANY, 2.

Origen was followed by Chrysostom, Epiphanius, like Arm. (Lagarde), has Βηθαβρά. In the present text of Origen the form varies between Βηθαρά, Βαθαρά, Βηθαβαρα, and Βηθαραβα (the latter also in ℵ^{c.b.} syr. hcl. (mg.), æth.; see W H 2 74); in OS 240 12 108 6 we find *βηθααβαρα*, *Bethabara*.

The traditional site of the baptism of Jesus is at the Makhāḍet Hajla (see BETHARABAH, 2, where, too, it is suggested that we should read Bethabarah in Josh. 18 22). The two monasteries of St. John attest the antiquity of the belief in this site.

Conder suggests the Makhāḍet 'Abāra, NE. of Beisān, partly because of the nearness of this ford to Galilee and Nazareth, and partly because the river-bed is here more open, and the banks of the upper valley more retired (*PEFQ.*, 1875, p. 73). Another suggestion of the same explorer (*ib.*, 1877, p. 185) is philologically weak.

As stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), the true reading in Jn. 1 28 was probably *βηθαναβρα*—*i.e.*, BETH-NIMRAH, now *Tell-Nimrīn*, NE. of Jericho.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית עֲנָת—*i.e.*, 'temple of Anath'; in Josh. Βαιθθαμε [B], Βαιναθαθ [A], Βηθαναθ [L]; in Judg. Βαιθαναχ [B], -θενεθ [BAL], Βεθενεκ [A]), an ancient Canaanite fortress, with a sanctuary of ANATH (cp BETH-ANOTH), Josh. 19 38. It is mentioned unmistakably by Thotmes III., Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. in the lists of places conquered by these kings (see *RP*(2) 5 52 638; Sayce, *Pat. Pal.* 160, 236, 239; WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 193, 195, 220). According to Judg. 1 33, it adjoined Naphtalite territory, but (like Beth-shemesh) remained Canaanitish down to the regal period, subject only to the obligation of furnishing labour for public works. Eus. and Jer. (OS 236 45 105 20) inappropriately refer to a village called Batanæa, 15 R. m. E. from Cæsarea, possessing medicinal springs. But the site now most in favour—*'Ainītha*, in a valley 6 m. WNW. from Kedesh—is hardly strong enough to have been that of such a fortress as Beth-anath (Buhl, *Pal.* 232; but cp Conder, *PEF Mem.* 1 200).

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּית־עֲנוֹת; Βαιθαναμ [B], -θανων [A], Βηθαρωθ [L]). A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 59), towards the eastern border of that region, identified by W. M. Muller with the Bi-t-'n-t of the list of places conquered by Shishak (*As. u. Eur.* 168). If the form Beth-anoth be correct, it may be explained as = Beth-anath, 'house of ANATH' (*q.v.*); cp עָנוֹק (Josh. 21 11) and עֲנָק, שִׁרְיָן and שִׁרְיוֹן. To suppose a popular etymology 'place of answering' (*i.e.*, of an echo?), with Kampffmeyer (*ZDPV* 163; cp Is. 10 30, *SBOT*), is needless.

But is the form correct? Conder and Kitchener (*PEF Mem.* 3 311 351) identify Beth-anoth with *Beit 'Ainūn*, 5 m. N. of Hebron, near the sites of HALHUL and BETH-ZUR (cp BETANE). This appears reasonable, and suggests a doubt whether the ancient name may not have been בית־עינון, Beth'enun. It is true that 𝔊^B favours עֲנָב, and 𝔊^A עֲנוֹן (י in the first syllable being unexpressed); but the case of Anem (see EN-GANNIM, 2) shows that the absence of י both in MT and in the text implied by 𝔊 is not decisive. A spring is mentioned to the west of the ruins of Beit 'Ainūn.

T. K. C.

BETHANY (Βηθανια [Ti. WH]). 1. A small village first referred to in the Gospels, 15 furlongs to the E. of Jerusalem on the road to Jericho (Jn. 11 18 Lk. 19 29, cp *v.* 1), and commonly identified with the Beth-Hini [1] of the Talmud. It is no doubt the mod. *el-'Azarīyeh* (from Lazarus or Lazarium—the *l* wrongly taken as the article). El-'Azarīyeh lies on a spur SE. of the Mt. of Olives (cp Mk. 11 1 Lk. 19 29). Its fig, olive, and almond trees give one at first a pleasant impression; but a nearer inspection of the few houses is disappointing.

There are various romantically interesting spots connected by old tradition with Lazarus (cp the Itin. Hieros. ed. Wessel, 596, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and *OS*(2) 108 3 239 10). The Castle of Lazarus (based on *castellum*, the Vg. translation of the Gr. *κώμη*) is a ruined tower, presumably anterior to the time of the Crusaders, and hard by is the tomb of Lazarus; the house of Simon the Leper also is shown.

2. The Bethany where John baptized (Jn. 1 28, Ti. W H after ℵ*BAC*, edd., RV) is distinguished from the Bethany mentioned above by the designation 'across Jordan' (*πέραν τοῦ* 'Ιορ.); its exact situation is unknown. The reading of TR and of AV is BETHABARA (*q.v.*). Another suggestion is that Bethabara ('house of the ford') and Bethany (= בית אֳנִיָּה, 'house of the ship') are one and the same place (see GASm. *HG* 542, n. 12).

The analogy of some corrupt OT forms (cp KISHION) suggests, however, that the true reading in the traditional source of Jn. 1 28 would be one combining in the second part of the name the letters N, B, and R—such a name as *βηθαναβρα*. We actually find *βαιvθαναβρα* in 𝔊^B Josh. 13 27 for the Bethnimrah of the Hebrew text. Now, the site of BETH-NIMRAH [*q.v.*] is well known. It is accessible alike from Jerusalem and from the region of Jericho (cp Mt. 3 5), and the perennial stream of Nahr Nimrin, which flows into the Jordan, would supply abundance of water. This theory belongs to Sir George Grove; it has been adopted by Sir C. W. Wilson (Smith's *DB*,(2) *s.v.* 'Bethnimrah'), and has strong claims to favourable consideration. Of course, the insertion of the words *πέραν τοῦ 'Ιορδ.* would be a consequence of the faulty reading *βηθανια*. T. K. C.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה or בֵּית עֲרָבָה; once, Josh. 18 18, by a scribe's error [see 𝔊] simply הָעֲרָבָה; Josh. 18 18, Βαιθαραβα [BAL]; 15 61 θαραβααμ [B], Βηθαραβα [AL], 18 22 Βαιθαβαρα [B], -αραβα [AL]).

1. One of the six cities in the 'wilderness' of Judah (Josh. 15 61), mentioned also as on the boundary lines of Judah and Benjamin (15 6 [*βαιθαραβα* BA; *βηθαραβα*

1 We may therefore dismiss the interpretation 'place of the wretched one' (cp the play upon Anathoth, Is. 10 30 MT). Beth-Hini is generally explained 'place of unripe fruit' (cp אהינא, 'unripe fruit,' esp. of figs). The Talmud, however, says that figs ripened better at Beth-Hini than anywhere else (Neub., *Géog. Talm.* 150). If so, these figs may have led to the name BETHPHAGE—*i.e.*, possibly, 'house of young figs'—but the name Beth-Hini remains unexplained. Another form of the name is Beth-oni (בית־אוני).

L] 18 18); see also BETH-BASI. The reference in 18 22 must be considered separately (no. 2). The wilderness of Judah in 15 61 is the deep depression adjoining the Dead Sea, together with the overhanging mountains and the barren country beyond, including probably a district in the neighbourhood of Arad (see SALT, CITY OF). Beth-arabah may have been the first or principal settlement in that desolate corner of the Arābah or Jordan valley which forms the N. end of the Dead Sea. Though mentioned twice, if not thrice, with Beth-hoglah, it must have been considerably to the S. of that place, for unless, with Knobel, we put it at Ḳaṣr Hajla (which seems rather to have been Beth-hoglah), there is no other suitable site for it till we come to the copious fountain of *'Ain el-Feshkha*, near the NW. corner of the Dead Sea (31°43′ N., 35° 26′ E.). The name Beth-arabah ('the house, or homestead, in the Arābah') has, therefore, a special significance (cp that of BETH-JESHIMOTH, *q.v.*). This indication of the site was made in writing by Robertson Smith. Perhaps, however, it is best to suppose that there were two settlement: · one near the fountain (viz., Beth-arabah), the other (see MIDDIN) at the fountain.

2. It will be still easier to adopt this identification if we may follow 𝔊^B in reading not 'Beth-arabah' but 'Beth-abarah' in Josh. 18 22. The ford (*'ăbārah*) referred to in the name ('house or place of the ford') might then be the famous Makhāḍet Hajla near the mouth of the *Wâdy el-Kelt*, the bathing-place of the pilgrims, where tradition places the baptism of Jesus Christ. Such a Beth-abarah would be more naturally mentioned between Beth-hoglah and Zemaraim than a place situated at *'Ain el-Feshkha.* The confusion of the two names was very easy (note the variant Βηθ-αραβα in Jn. 128). Cp BETH-ABARA. T. K. C.

BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָרָם), Josh. 13 27 AV, RV BETH-HARAM (*q.v.*).

BETH-ARBEL (בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל; ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΟΑΜ [B], . . . ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΟΑΜ [Q*], . . . ΙΕΡΟΒΑΑΛ [A], ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΒΑΑΛ [Q^a], Symm. τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ αρβεηλ), a place cruelly destroyed by 'Shalman' (Hos. 10 14†; שַׁלְמַן, Baer שַׁלְמַן; CΑΛΑΜΑΝ [BAQ]). Robertson Smith in 1881 (*EB*^(9) 12296) favoured an identification of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (see *OS*^(2) 214 72 886); now *Irbid*, in which case there might be a reference either to Shalmaneser III. or to a Moabite king Shalamanu mentioned in an inscription (*KB* 220) as a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III. Schrader (*KAT*^(2) 440-442) argues ably for identifying Shalman with the latter king, who very probably made an incursion into Israelite territory. The combination of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (*Irbid*), however, is improbable : Shalman should be a more important king, and Beth-arbel (if this compound phrase may be accepted) a more important fortress, than Schrader's theory supposes. Wellhausen and Nowack think that Shalman may be Shalmaneser IV.—the first Shalmaneser known to the Israelites. If so, the latter part of Hos. 10 14 will be a later insertion. The reference to Beth-arbel, however, remains a difficulty. Surely the reading must be corrupt.

𝔊^B suggests a correction. Read בית ירבעם, and, as a consequence, for שלמן read שָׁלוּם. The murder of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam II., by SHALLUM [*q.v.*, 1] is probably referred to (שַׁר, or שָׁדֹד ?, points to a fate like that of Sisera; cp שָׁדוּד, Judg. 5 27). A reader of Hosea justly assumed that Zechariah was not the only person who was murdered, and took the massacre of the royal family to be a fulfilment of the stern prophecy in *v.* 15, which ends : 'in a storm (בשׁער, We.) the king of Israel shall be cut off.' The words 'mother and children were dashed to pieces' may, however, refer to the cruelty of Menahem to the women of TAPPUAH [*q.v.*, 2], as related in 2 K. 1516. If so, the interpolator combines two striking events which equally formed part of the divinely threatened judgment upon Israel. See Che. *Expos.* Nov. 1897, p. 364.

For a new but difficult theory of Hos. 10 14 see Herz, *Amer. J. Sem. Lang.* 14 207 *f.* ['98]. The versions give little help except as to 'Arbeel' (𝔊^B). 𝔊^A preserves a trace of a theory that the reference is to the slaying of Zalmunna by Gideon, in which case Ps. 83 11 [12] would be parallel. Σαλαμαν [BAQ], it is true, does not accord with this theory; but Syro-Hex. points to צלמנע; σαλμανα is 𝔊^(ℵAR^a)'s rendering of Zalmunna, and has some authority in Hosea. Vg. gives *Sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo eius qui iudicavit Baal.* The conclusive exegetical objections to this view need not here be stated. See also Field's *Hexapla.* T. K. C.

BETHASMOTH (ΒΑΙΘΑCΜΩΘ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 18 RV. See AZMAVETH (i.).

BETH-AVEN (בֵּית־אָוֶן, cp. Benj. 'ben-Oni'), a place to the E. of Bethel near Ai (Josh. 7 2, βηθαιν [A], βηθαυ [L], from which, indeed, it has been proposed, following 𝔊^BF, to eliminate the name, but on insufficient grounds'), and to the W. of Michmash (1 S. 13 5; where ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ [B*L], ΒΑΙΘCΩ. [B^ab] are obviously wrong; 1 S. 14 23 ΒΑΜΩΘ [B], ΤΗΘΑΥΝ [or τῇ θαυν, A^vid], ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ [L]). The site has not been identified;[2] but it must have been the last village on the edge of the desert country, for to this it gave the name Wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18 12 βαιθαυν [A]; -θων [B]; -θαουν [L]). All the data point to the neighbourhood of *Deir Dīwān*—either that village itself, or *Kh. Ḥaiyān*, immediately to the S. For the rest see BETHEL, § 4. G. A. S.

BETH-AZMAVETH (בֵּית־עַזְמָוֶת), Neh. 7 28; see AZMAVETH (i.).

BETH-BAAL-MEON (בֵּית בַּעַל מְעוֹן), Jos. 13 17. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-BARAH (בֵּית בָּרָה, ΒΑΙΘΗΡΑ [BA], -ΒΗΡΑ [L]; the form of the second part of the name is obscure) is not to be identified with the Bethabara of Jn. 1 28 (Reland); it occurs only in the story of Gideon (Judg. 7 24), who sends to his fellow-tribesmen in the hill country of Ephraim, bidding them cut off the Midianites' retreat by holding against them 'the waters as far as Beth-barah, and (also) the Jordan.' The latter words (ואת־הירדן) seem to be a gloss on 'the waters' (המים). By "the waters,: however, are really meant, not the Jordan, but the streams emptying themselves into the Jordan which the Midianites would have to pass. Beth-barah must have been situated somewhere in the wādy formed by one of these streams, and there are points in the narrative which suggest locating it near the mouth of the *Wâdy Fāri'ah*, between which and the Jordan the Midianites would find themselves in a *cul-de-sac* (Moore).

BETH-BASI (ΒΕΘΒΑCΙ [A], ΒΑΙΘΒΑΙCCΕΙ [ℵ], -ΒΑCC. [ℵV], -ΒΑCΙ [V], ܒܝܬ ܒܣܝ [Pesh.], *Beth-bessæen* [Vet. Lat.]), a fortified city in the desert (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ), the ruinous parts (τὰ καθῃρημένα) of which Jonathan and Simon repaired, when menaced by Bacchides (1 Macc. 962 64). The Syriac (see above; cp Vet. Lat.) reads Beth-yashan (cp JESHANAH). This is probably correct; the corruptions can be easily accounted for. Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 1 5) calls the place Beth-alaga (*i.e.*, Beth-hoglah), which is too far from the MS readings, but may be a correct identification, though BETH-ARABAH also suggests itself. G. A. Smith, however, thinks that the second 6 in Beth-basi may be correct. 'In the wilderness of Judea, E. of Tekoa, there is a *Wādy el-Bassah*, which name as it stands means "marsh," an impossible

1 We. supposes מקדם לביתאל to be a gloss, and און a contemptuous distortion of אל in the manner of Hos. 4 15, &c. (*CH* 125). So Albers, but not Di. or Bennett, *SBOT*.

2 Possibly it was early destroyed. This, as Mühlau remarks, would account for the disparaging transformation of the name Bethel into Beth-aven (Riehm, *HWB*^(2) 1 213).

term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name.' T. K. C.

BETH-BIREI, RV Beth-biri (בֵּית בִּרְאִי), 1 Ch. 4 31. See BETH-LEBAOTH.

BETH-CAR (בֵּית־כָּר; Βαιθχορ [BL], Βεχχ. [A], [μεχρι] κορραιων, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 22; שׁדין [Targ.]), a place, presumably in the district of Mizpah, to which the Israelites pursued the defeated Philistines (1 S. 7 11 [Dt.]). The phrase 'under Beth-car' is remarkable. Does it mean 'under the gates of Beth-car' (so We. *TBS* 68)? or does it mean 'to the foot of the hill on some part of which Beth-car stood'? No such name as Beth-car is mentioned elsewhere; hence it is at first sight too bold to identify it (as PEF, not disapproved by GASm. *HG* 224) with 'Ain Kārim, the name of a flourishing village a good way to the S. of Nebi Samwil, and W. of Jerusalem. The name Beth-car, however, is self-evidently corrupt, and if we may emend it into 'Beth-haccerem' the identification with *'Ain Kārim* becomes probable (see BETH-HACCEREM). Only 1½ m. to the N. of 'Ain KHrim is Dēr Yāsīn, not improbably to be identified with the Jashan or Jeshanah of ii. 12 (see SHEN), which need not be the same as the Jeshanah of 2 Ch. 13 19.

The alternative is to read 'Beth-horon' (Klo.); כ and ח were, from phonetic causes, easily confounded. 'Under Beth-horon' would be a very intelligible expression: hut Beth-horon is certainly too far north. The reading 'Beth-jashan,' quoted from Pesh. (*not* 𝔊) by G. A. Smith (*HG* 224), is no reading at all, but a corruption of the text of 1 S. 7 11, as We. has pointed out. T. K. C.

BETH-DAGON (בֵּית דָּגוֹן, § 95, 'house of Dagon,' Βηθδαγων [AL]). 1. A city of Judah, enumerated in the third group of 'lowland' towns (Josh. 15 41, *βαγαδιηλ* [B]). The list is so scattered and irregular that nothing can with certainty be inferred from it as to the site of Beth-dagon; but MAKKEDAH (*q.v.*), which is mentioned in the same verse, must have lain off the mouth of Aijalon (Josh. 10 28). Here we find, 6 m. SE. from Joppa, a Beit-Dejan, and, 1½ m. farther S., Dājūn. Each of these has been identified with Beth-dagon (see Rob. *BR* 3 298, Clermont Ganneau, PEFQ, 1874), and one of them (the former, according to Friedr. Del.) is probably the Bit-daganna mentioned in Sennacherib's prism-inscription (col. 2 *l.* 65; *KB* 2 92). It must be remembered, however, that the name occurred in several places through Palestine—Beit Dejan nearly 7 m. E. of *Nāblus* (see *PEF* map), and, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 8 1 *BJ* i. 2 3), Dagon near Jericho, each on an important trade route from Philistia to the Jordan Valley. There may, then, have been more than one Beth-dagon on the borders of Philistia, and it ought not to be overlooked that neither Dājūn nor Beit Dejan lies in the Shephēlah proper. On the doubtful phrase 'land of Dagon' in Eshmunazar's inscription, and on the god Dagon, see DAGON, § 1. On Dājūn see especially Cl. Ganneau, *Arch. Res. in Pal.* 126 *ff.*

2. A locality not yet identified (but cp Conder, *Hdbk. to the Bible*, 268), on the border of Asher (Josh. 19 27, *βαιθεγενεθ* [B]).
3. The temple of Dagon in Ashdod (1 Macc. 10 83, *βηθδαγων* [A$\aleph^{c.a\ c.b}$V], *βοδαγων* [$\aleph^*$]). G. A. S.

BETH-DIBLATHAIM (בֵּית־דִּבְלָתַיִם; cp Ass. *dublu*, 'foundation'; but see NAMES, § 107), a town in Moab mentioned along with Dibon [i] and Nebo [iii.] (Jer. 48 22 = 𝔊 31 22, επ οικον Δαιβλαθαιμ [BQ], ε. ο. Δεβλαθαιμ [KA]), evidently the same as ALMON-DIBLATHAIM, which also occurs in connection with Dibon (Nu. 33 46 *f.*). This place (called בת דבלתן), Mehedeba, and Ba'al Me'on are stated by Mesha on his stele to have been fortified by himself (*l.* 30).

BETH-EDEN, AV$^{mg.}$, EV 'house of Eden' (בֵּית עֶדֶן; εξ ανδρων χαρραν [BAQΓ]), an Aramæan city or land, with a ruler of its own, but presumably allied to Damascus (Am. 1 5). No satisfactory identification of this place has been made. The vocalisation (עֶדֶן not עֵדֶן) forbids us to see in it the Παράδεισος of Strabo and Ptolemy, and equally forbids us to regard it with Wetzstein (Del. *Jes.*(3) 702; cp Vg. *de domo voluptatis*) as a poetical name of Damascus. The view, however, adopted by Schrader (*KAT*(2) 327) and favoured by 𝔊^{BAQΓ} (see above), that Beth-eden is the Bīt-adini of the inscriptions (see EDEN), is not less inadmissible, for this is too far to the N. of Damascus, and had, in the time of *Amos*, long been subject to Assyria (Wi. *AT Unters.* 183; cp Nold. *ZDMG* 33 326 ['79]). No doubt there were other places called EDEN (*q.v.*, ii.). There is equal uncertainty as to the name Bikath-aven (see AVEN, 3), which corresponds to Beth-eden in the parallel line. T. K. C.

BETH-EKED (בֵּית עֵקֶד, EV 'shearing house'; RV$^{mg.}$ 'house of gathering'),[1] where Jehu met Ahaziah's brethren, is either a place-name or (more probably) the designation of an isolated house used on certain occasions by the shepherds of the district (2 K. 10 12 14; Βαιθακαθ [B]; but in v. 14 *ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ* [B$^{a.b\ mg.}$], -καδ [AL]; Pesh. has 'and he was overthrowing the altars that were on the way' [*v.* 12], and in 40.14 בית עכר, cp Cod. Vind. of Vet. Lat. *Bethacar*).

BETHEL (בֵּית־אֵל, §§ 1, 10, always one word [Bä. on Gen. 12 8 Josh. 7 2], RV wrongly with a hyphen; 'house of God'—*i.e.*, βαιτυλιον—(cp Βαιτουλια, BETHULIA); see IDOLATRY, § 2, MASSEBA; Βαιθηλ [BADEL]; hut Gen. 35 7, Βεθ. [D]; gentilic Bethelite, see HIEL).

1. Site. 1. A town on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim, W. of the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18 12; on 12 16, where 𝔊^A omits the clause, and 𝔊^{BF} has Ηλαδ for Bethel or Makkedah, see TAPPUAH, 2), without doubt the present *Beitīn* (from Beitil, by the common interchange of *l* and *n*), a small village (said to have 400 inhabitants), with ruins of early Christian and Crusaders' buildings, about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. It lies on the backbone of the central range, a little E. of the watershed, and 2890 ft. above the sea. From the village itself the view is confined to the plateau, which, like most of the territory of Benjamin, presents a bleak prospect of gray rocks and very stony fields, relieved by few trees and a struggling cultivation. A few minutes SE., however, lies one of the great view-points of Palestine, the Burj-Beitin or Tower of Bethel (probably the ruin of an early Christian monastery), supposed to mark a traditional site of the tent and altar of Abraham 'to the E. of Bethel' (Gen. 12 8), and of Lot's view of the 'Circle of Jordan' (13 3-10).

2. Traditions. Four good springs and a great reservoir amply certify the present village as the site of the city, which 'was called Luz at the first' (Gen. 28 19; *οἶκος θεοῦ* [ADEL]). The sanctuary, 'God's house,' the 'place' (as it is called in Gen. 28 11, where it is distinct from the city) which grew famous enough to absorb the city's name in its own, may have lain either on the site of the Burj-Beitīn, or on one of the neighbouring slopes, where there is a natural stone circle (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 255); and the curious formation of the rocks in terraces and ramparts has been taken as the material suggestion of the 'flight of steps' (see LADDER) which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. 28 10 *ff.*).[2] There he raised a pillar, or maṣṣēbah, to Yahwè, and afterwards is said (Gen. 35 1-8) by the same narrator, E (it is J who gives the previous story of Abraham's altar), to have built an altar and called the 'place' (not yet 'city') 'God of Bethel' (for which 𝔊^{ADEL}, Pesh., and Vg. read 'Bethel'). Here Deborah, Rebecca's

[1] Cp the Targ. בית כנישת רעיא, 'place of the gathering together of the shepherds.' For *'ēked*, however, we should perhaps read *nōkĕdīm* (נֹקְדִים), and omit the next word (in *v.* 12, not in *v.* 14) *hā-rō'īm* (הָרֹעִים) as a gloss; *nōkĕdīm* was a less common word for 'shepherds' than *rō'īm*.

[2] Schlatter (*Zur Topog.* 236) infers from Gen. 12 8 Jos. 7 2 (om. 𝔊A) that the sanctuary lay E. of the town, in Deir Dīwān.

foster-mother, died. She was buried *below* the town, beneath an oak called 'the oak of weeping' (see ALLON-BACUTH, MULBERRY) : trees, it is probable, would not be found on the stony plateau above. The next notice of Bethel is in the JE narrative of Joshua's conquests (Jos. 7 2 8 9 12 [om. BAF ; βηθαν L]), in which Bethel is not yet the name of a city (so also the Deuteronomist in Jos. 12 9 [Γεθ [A] ; in *v.* 16 'Bethel' is with 𝔊[BAF] to be omitted), but is still distinct from Luz (16 2 [𝔊[BA] does not distinguish them, reading λουζα (B in *v.* 1, A in *v.* 2) after βαιθηλ]). The later priestly writer, however, makes them the same (18 13, cp 22 [βησανα [B], βηθηλ (A)] ; in Judg. 1 23 the parenthesis is probably a gloss).[1] In Judg. 4 5 the prophetess Deborah is said to have sat under the palm-tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel—a statement which the critics who understand the song of Deborah to imply that she belonged to the tribe of Issachar suppose tn have arisen from confusion with the other Deborah (see DEBORAH). There is no cogent reason, however, for their inference from the song, and while a palm is an unusual, it is not an impossible, tree at the altitude of Bethel : there is one at Jerusalem. In the story of the crime of the Benjamites the priestly writing tells of a national gathering before God at Bethel (Judg. 21 2).

3. History. In the records of the period after the Judges the name Luz does not occur ; we may suppose it by this time to have been absorbed in that of Bethel, which was still a sanctuary (1 S. 7 16 10 3). The division of the kingdoms brought Bethel a new opportunity : its ancient sanctity was taken advantage of by Jeroboam for political ends, and he made it one of the two national shrines which he established in North Israel in order that his people might not go over to Jerusalem. In these shrines he set up the golden calves—'Thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' (1 K. 12 29). A priesthood, not Levitical, was established, and a new altar, pilgrimages, and feasts were ordained (1 K. 12 30 *f.*). In the words of Amaziah to Amos, Bethel became a royal and national temple ('sanctuary of the king,' 'house of the kingdom,' Am. 7 13).[2]

A later (perhaps post-exilic) narrative records a prophecy as made by a prophet from Judah, by which Jeroboam was judged according to the Deuteronomic standard, and Yahwè's overthrow of Bethel was predicted (1 K. 13 ; cp 2 K. 10 29). There was no such feeling of guilt or foreboding of doom, however, among the prophets of the northern kingdom, for we find a company of them settled in Bethel, and the place visited by Elijah and Elisha (2 K. 2 2 *f.* 23).

4. Important position. For a national sanctuary the position was convenient. The present village lies about a furlong off the most easterly of the three parallel branches into which the great north road here divides, very near its junction with the road by Michmash to Jericho, and not many miles from the heads of those two other roads which come up from the coast by the Beth-horons, and by Goplina, respectively, to meet the north road just mentioned. That is to say, the main lines of traffic N. to S. and E. to W. crossed at the gates of Bethel. Like other ancient sanctuaries, it must have had a market ; its mercenariness and wealth are implied by Amos (8 4, etc.). Moreover, Bethel lay upon the natural frontier between the two kingdoms on the plateau 'between the passes of Beth-horon and Michmash (on the Chronicler's story of its capture by Abijah of Judah, see ABIJAH, 1). The prophets Hosea and Amos appear in opposition to Bethel, not on the ground (taken by the later Deuteronomists) that it was the seat of a schism, but because of the superstitious and immoral nature of its cult, even though the object of this was Yahwk himself. They regard it as apostasy from Yahwk (Am. 4 4, 'Come to Bethel and revolt' ; 5 5 [βαθηλ Q*vid], 'Seek not Bethel, seek Yahwk '), and its crimes culminate (Am. 7 13) in the silencing of his prophet Amos by its priest Amazixh [see AMOS, § 20). It shall, therefore, bear the brunt of the impending doom (Am. 3 14 Hos. 10 15 [οἶκος τοῦ ἰσραηλ BAQ]). In scorn Amos had said 'Bethel shall become AVEN'—*i.e.*, vanity, falseness, false worship, idolatry (5 5) :—so Hosea calls it Beth-aven (4 15 5 8 10 5) oftener than he calls it Bethel. The nickname was the readier because of the actual BETH-AVEN (*q.v.*), which once stood, and perhaps in the eighth century still stood, in the neighbourhood. After the fall of the northern kingdom the heathen colonists naturally adopted the cult of the 'god of the land,' and Bethel retained its importance as a religious centre (2 K. 17 28). Isaiah and Micah do not mention Bethel ; it is very doubtful if Jeremiah does so (Giesebrecht on Jer. 48 13). The frontier of Judah, however, must have been gradually pushed N. so as to enclose it, for when Josiah put down 'the high places in the cities of Judah' he destroyed the altar in Bethel and desecrated the site (2 K. 23 4 15). The city itself must have been inhabited by Jews, for its families are reckoned in the great post-exilic list [see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 *c* ; Ezra 2 28 (γαιθηλ [B]) = Neh. 7 32 (βηθηλ [BN*]) = 1 Esd. 5 21 (βετολιω [B], βητ. [A])]. It was the most northerly site repeopled by Jews (Neh. 11 31 ; βηθηρ [N c.a mg. inf. ; om. BN*A]).[1] We hear nothing more of Bethel till it is described as one of the strong places of Judah which Bacchides refortified in 161 B.C. (1 Macc. 9 50 ; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3), and then it disappears from OT history.

6. Post-biblical. In 69 A.D. Vespasian garrisoned Bethel before his advance on Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* iv. 9 9) ; and *circa* 132 Hadrian placed a post there to intercept Jewish fugitives (Midrash, *Ekhah*, ii. 3 ; Neub. *Géog. Talm.* 115). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333) gives it as Betthar 12 R. m. from Jerusalem. Robinson's theory (*LBR* p. 270), that Bethel is therefore the Bether of Hadrian's war, is unfounded. Euseb. and Jerome call it a village: the latter adds (under Aggai) that where Jacob dreamed there was built a church—perhaps part of the ruins at Burj-Beitin. The Crusaders exhibited the rock under the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as Jacob's Stone ; hut the 'Cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' gives Bethel as a casale ceded to that church in 1160, and the site of a tower and chapel built by Hugues d'Ibelin (Key, 378). See Guérin, *Judée*, chap. 58 ; *PEF Mem.* 2 295 *f.* 305 *f.* ; Stanley, *SP* 217 ; GASm. *HG*, chap. xii. and pp. 289 *ff.* 298.

(2) A place to which David sent part of the spoil of the Amalekites (1 S. 30 27) : probably the same as BETHUL, if we are not with 𝔊[B] (and Budde) to read βαιθσουρ—*i.e.*, BETH-ZUR. **G. A. S.**

BETH-EMEK (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק, § 99, 'house in the valley'), a place on the boundary of Asher (Josh. 19 27).

Before Beth-emek some words appear to have dropped out : perhaps they are represented by 𝔊's καὶ εἰσελεύσεται [τὰ] ὅρια. (After ὅρια 𝔊[B] continues σαφθαιβαιθμε, where σαφθαι seems to be a corruption of γαιφθαιηλ [=γαι ιεφθαηλ], prefixed wrongly to βαιθμε [=βαιθεμεκ] ; ασαφθα βηθαεμεκ [A], σαφα βηθαεμεκ [L] ; Symm. εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα). The description in *v.* 27 *f.* is not clear ; there would seem to be two descriptions of the northern boundary (if 'on the left hand,' *v.* 28 means 'northward,' and if the equivalent of καὶ εἰσελ. ὅρια is to be inserted before 'northward' in *v.* 27).

Robinson was struck by the resemblance of the name to that of 'Amka, 6 9 m. NE. of 'Akka (Acre); but, as he himself points out (*BR* 4 103 108), the situation of 'Amka is too far N. of Jefāt (Jiphtah-el?), and, even if this objection be waived, 'Amka is at any rate too far N. of Kābūl (which must be the ancient Cabul).

T. K. C.

BETHER (ΘΕΘΗΡ [BL], ΒΑΙΘΗΡ[2] [A]), one of the additional cities of Judah in Josh. 15 59 𝔊 (cp *SBOT*), mentioned after Karem ('Ain Kārim) and Gallim (cp GIBBAR). No doubt it is the modern *Bittīr* (7 m. SW.

[1] In Judg. 2 1 *a* Bethel ought probably to be read for BOCHIM (*q.v.*).

[2] כִּי מִקְדַּשׁ־מֶלֶךְ הוּא וּבֵית מַמְלָכָה הוּא, AV 'for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court'; RV 'for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a royal house.'

[1] On this list see EZRA, ii. 55 5 [*b*], 15 [1] *a*.

[2] βαιθθηρ also occurs in 1 Ch. 6 59 [A], as a substitute for αιταν [B]—*i.e.*, Juttah.

of Jerusalem), which" stands on the slope of a steep projecting hill between the WZdy Bittir and a smaller valley. If we ascend higher we shall reach a site admirably adapted for a fortress, where there are still some ruins connected by popular legend with the Jews. On the E. side are chambers in the rock and old cisterns. Neubauer (*Géog. Talm.* 103-114, cp 90) and Guérin (*Jud.* 2387-395) had all but demonstrated that this was the Bether (ביתר) or rather Beth-ter (ביתתר), within whose walls Bar Cochba so obstinately resisted the Romans under Julius Severus (A.D. 134-5). The proof has now been completed by the discovery of an inscription stating which divisions of the Roman army were stationed there.[1] It is, therefore, no longer possible to maintain with Gratz (*Hist.* 2417) that the Beth-ter of Bar Cochba was identical with the Bettbar of the itineraries, which was situated between Antipatris or Diospolis and Cæsarea (see ANTIPATRIS, § 2, end). See GIBBAR.

Only two ancient statements respecting the position of Bether need be here quoted. Eus. (*HE* 56) describes *βιθθηρα* in these terms : *πολίχνη τις ἦν ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα*, and the Talm. of Jerus. (*Taanith*, 48), 'If thou thinkest that Beth-ter [spelt with two ת almost always in this section] was near the sea, thou art in error: truly it was 40 m. away from the sea.' T. K. C.

BETHER, The mountains of (הָרֵי בֶתֶר), Cant. 217 EV, following Vg. (*Bether*). The word Bether, however, all recent critics agree, is not a proper name : it qualifies the preceding words. Putting aside the old, forced explanations of the phrase, such as 'mountains of ravines' (𝔊BℵAC *ὄρη κοιλωμάτων*—*i.e.*, הרי בתרים ; cp BITHRON), and 'mountains of separation' (between the lovers), one might conjecture that 'Bether' was the Syrian plant malobathron, from which a costly oil was procured, used in the toilet of banqueters (Hor. *Od.* ii. 7 7), and also in medicine (Plin. *NH* xxiii. 448). So Symm. (Field, Hex. on Cant. 217), RVmg.; Wellh. *Prol.*(4) 399; ET 391. Others emend בתר into בשמים, 'spices,' in conformity with 814 (so Pesh., Theod., Meier, Gratz). The best solution, however, has yet to be mentioned : בתר is miswritten for בְּרֹתִ[ים], 'cypresses'; cp 117 (Che.). 'Mountains of cypresses' is an appropriate term for Lebanon ; cp 'mountains of panthers' (48). See *JQR* 10571, and cp CANTICLES, § 15 n.

BETHESDA (ΒΗΘΕϹΔΑ [codleid]—*i.e.*, בֵּית חֶסְדָּא—'house of mercy'; ΒΗΘΖΑΘΑ [Ti. WH]), the reading of TR in Jn.52, for which the best authorities have BETHZATHA or BETHSAIDA. On the topographical question, see JERUSALEM.

BETHEZEL (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל ; 𝔊BAQ *οἶκον ἐχόμενον αὐτῆς*, *i.e.*, אצלה, 'near her'), an unidentified place in the Shephēlah mentioned by Micah (111), who foresees the captivity of its noble ones (עֲצִילָיו, emended from עֶצְבָּתוֹ, 𝔊's reading [*ὀδύνης*], where MT has עמדתו : so Che., *JQR*, July '98). It is scarcely the same as Azel (cp AZAL).

BETH-GADER (בֵּית גָּדֵר ; ΒΑΙΘΓΑΙΔΩΝ [B], -ΓΕΔΩΡ [A], ΒΗΘΓΕΔΔΩΡ [L]), a town, whose 'father' Hareph was of Calebite origin (1 Ch. 251†); the genealogy seems to represent post-exilic relations. On the analogy of the other great divisions Shobal abi Kirjath-jearim and Salma abi Bethlehem, Beth-gader was perhaps no unimportant place, and we may possibly identify it with GEDOR, 1.[2] It is noticeable that the further divisions of Hareph are not enumerated, as they are in the cases of Shobal and Salma.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גָּמוּל, 'place of recompense'? [cp Gamaliel, גַּמְלִיאֵל]; ΟΙΚΟΝ ΓΑΙΜΩΛ [B], Ο. ΓΑΜΩΛΑ [A], Ο. -Λ [Q], Ο. -ΩΑΒ [ℵc.a], om. ℵ*). In Moab on the table-land E. of the Jordan (Jer. 4823), identified by some with *Kh. Jemail*, which lies to the east of the well-known DIBON ; according to others, it finds its modern representative in *Umm ej-Jemāl*, about five hours S. of Boṣra.

BETH-GILGAL (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל), Neh. 1229 RV; see GILGAL, § 6 (5).

BETH-HACCEREM, AV Beth-Haccherem (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם, § 103, 'vineyard place'), is expressly called, not a town, but a 'district' (פֶּלֶךְ), near Jerusalem, Neh. 314 (ΒΗΘΑΧΑΜ [B], -ΘΑΧΧΑΡΜΑ [A], -ΘΑΚΑΜ [ℵ], -ΑΧΧΑΡΑΜ [L]). From Jer. 61 it appears to have included a conspicuous height to the S. of Jerusalem which was used as a beacon-station (*Βαιθθαχαρμα* [B], *Βεθθ.* [K], *Βηθα.* [Q], *Βηθθαχαρ* [A].

Jerome (in his comment on the latter passage) says that it was one of the villages which he could see every day with his own eyes from Bethlehem, that it was called Bethacharma, and that it lay on a mountain. Hence, many since Pococke have placed it on the so-called Fureidis or 'Frank Mountain' (2487 ft. above the sea-level), between Bethlehem and Tekoa, and very near the latter (so even Giesebrecht). Jerome's statement we are unable to criticise ; but there is now no name near the 'Frank Mountain' which confirms this theory, and the special fertility which the name Beth-haccerem implies to have characterised the district suggests looking elsewhere. After all, it was rather hasty to infer from Jer. 61 that Beth-haccerem was bound to be near Tekoa.

Since we have found reason elsewhere (BETH-CAR) to correct 'Beth-car' in 1 S. 711 into Beth-haccerem, and to identify this with the beautiful village of 'Ain Kārim, about an hour and a half W. of Jerusalem, it becomes difficult to resist the conclusion that the hill referred to by Jeremiah was the *Jebel 'Ali*, at the foot of which lies the village in question. The fruitful olive-groves and vineyards of 'Ain KHrim are watered from a superb fountain, and would justify the name Beth-haccerem. The summit of the Jebel 'Ali commands a view of the Mediterranean, the Mount of Olives, and part of Jerusalem (Baed.(3) 112). Conder mentions that there are still cairns on the ridge above 'Ain Kārim which may have served as beacons (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 271). One is 40 ft. high and 130 ft. in diameter, with a flat top measuring 40 ft. across.

Two more references to Beth-haccerem may be indicated. In the Mishna treatise, *Middoth* 3 4, it is stated that the stones for the great altar in the second temple came from the valley of Beth-cerem, which Adler (*JQR* 8390) identifies with Beth-haccerem and 'Ain Kārim ; and among the eleven towns which 𝔊BAL has (but not MT) in Josh. 1559 occurs Karem (*Καρεμ*), which, from the context, can only be 'Ain Kārim. Cp TAHCHEMONITE. For another (probable) Beth-carem see BATH-KABBIM. T. K. C.

BETH-HAGGAN (בֵּית הַגָּן, *domus horti* [Vg.], EV 'the garden-house' ; better in 𝔊 as a proper name, ΒΑΙΘΑΝ [B], ΒΑΙΘΓΑΝ [A? vid. sup ras], ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ = Beth-horon [L]), a place, apparently to the S. of Jezreel, on the road to which Ahaziah fled in his chariot when he saw Jehoram slain by Jehu (2 K. 927). Jenin, the first village which one travelling southwards would encounter, may very well be Beth-haggān (= Beth-haggannim, 'place of gardens'), *i.e.*, EN-GANNIM (*q.v.*, 2). If, however, we hold with Conder that Megiddo, which Ahaziah reached at last—to die—was Mujedda' at the foot of Gilboa, a little to the S. of Beisān, it will become natural to identify Beth-haggān with a northern ***Beit Jenn***, between Mt. Tabor and the S. end of the Lake of Gennesaret (Beit Jenn is, in Arabic nomenclature, a favourite name). Against this view of the flight of Ahaziah, see GASm. *HG* 387, n. 1. T. K. C.

BETH-HANAN. See ELON-BETH-HANAN.

BETH-HARAM, AV incorrectly BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָרָם ; ΟΘΑΡΓΑΕΙ, or perhaps -ΑΔΩΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΜ [AL]), Josh. 1327 (P). For the true form of the name see BETH-HARAN.

[1] Cl. Gan. *Acad. des inscr.*, *Comptes rendus*, 1894, p. 13 *f.*
[2] The position of GEDER, with which it might otherwise be connected, is unknown.

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית הָרָן; probably 'house of HARAN,' Βαιθαραν [B], -αρρα [A], -ν [FL], Nu. 32 36 [E]), the correct and original pronunciation of the name of the place also called BETH-HARAM (Cp GERSHOM for GERSHON). The place thus designated was an ancient Amorite city, fortified by the conquering Gadites. The site is occupied by the modern *Tell er-Rāmeh*, which stands up in a wādy of the same name, between Ḥesbān and the Jordan, at no great distance from the river. The objection to this raised by Guthe (*ZDPV* 2 3, n. 1) is not decisive.

Rāmeh does indeed imply a form, Beth-harāmāh; but this form is vouched for by the existence of the Aramaic Beth-ramtha (see below). It arose out of BETH-HARAM (a phonetic modification of Beth-haran) when the older and correct form of the name had passed out of use, and so the later form, Beth-haram, came to be misinterpreted. Moreover, Tristram's discovery of a 'conspicuous mound' called Beit Harran (*Land of Moab*, 348) has not been verified by subsequent travellers[1] though it is still recognised in Baed.(3) (map of Peræa), and the identification (which stands in Di.'s comm.) is retained by von Riess in *Bibel-Atlas*(6), on the assumption that Beit Harran (or Haram) is nearer to the outlet of the wādy than Tell er-Rāmeh.

The really conspicuous mound is surely that of Tell er-Rāmeh, which is 673 ft. above the sea-level, and certainly marks the site of an ancient town of importance (Conder, *PEF Mem.*, *E. Pal.* 1238). Such a town was the Beth-ramtha of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 247), the name of which is attested by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome.[2]

Herod had a palace here (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10 6, *BJ* ii. 4 2); Herod Antipas walled it and called it Julias after the wife of Augustus, at the same time that Herod Philip rebuilt Bethsaida and gave it the same name after the emperor's daughter (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 1; *BJ* ii. 9 1). Jerome, however, enables us to correct this statement (*OS* 103 17). The older name of the city was Livias; the name was changed to Julias when Livia was received into the gens Julia by the emperor's testament (see Schürer, *Hist.* ii. 1 142). Eus. (*OS* 234 88) and Theodosius (530 A.D.) also call it Livias, the latter (*De Situ Terræ Sanctæ* 65) describes it as 12 R. m. from Jericho, near warm springs that were efficacious against leprosy. T. K. C.

BETH-HOGLAR, once (Josh. 15 6) AV **Beth-hogla** (בֵּית חָגְלָה, § 104, 'place of partridge,' cp HOGLAH),[3] a Benjamite city on the border of Judah (Jos. 15 6, Βαιθαγλααμ [B], -λα [L], -θαλα [A]; 18 19 21, θαλασσαν and Βεθεγαιω [B], Βαιθαλαγα [A], Βηθαγλα [L, and A in 21]). It is the modern 'Ain (and Kaṣr) Hajla, a fine spring and ruin situated between Jericho and the Jordan S. of Gilgal (cp Di. on Gen. 1 11 and Baed.(3) 154). Under the form Beth-alaga it is, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 1 5), the place to which Jonathan fled before Bacchides, 1 Macc. 9 63 (but see BETHBASI). The *Onom.* erroneously identifies Beth-hoglah with Atad (see ABEL-MIZRAIM, end). The interpretation '*Bethagla, locus gyri*' of Jer., according to WRS (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 191, n. 1), may rest upon a local tradition of a ritual procession around some sacred object there (cp Ar. *ḥajala*, 'hobble, hop')—similar perhaps to the Ar. ceremonial *ṭawāf* (for which see We. *Heid.*(2) 110).[4] The form *ḥajla* survives also in Makhāḍet Hajla (see BETH-ARABAH, 2), a noted bathing-place for pilgrims at the mouth of the Wādy el-Kelt (Baed. 169).

BETH-HORON (בֵּית חוֹרֹן, also ב׳ חֹרֹן and ב׳ חֹרֹן, and in Ch. ב׳ חורון; Βαιθωρων or Βεθ. [BAL], Βεθωρα, Βαιθ-, -θωρω, Βηθ. in Jos. [cp the modern form Beit 'Ūr], probably 'the place of the hollow' or 'hollow way') was the name of two neighbouring villages, upper Beth-horon (ב׳ ח׳ עֶלְיוֹן, Josh. 16 5; βηθωρων [L]) and lower Beth-horon (ב׳ ח׳ תַּחְתּוֹן, Josh. 16 3; but in 2 Ch. 8 5 העליון and

1. Site.

[1] See, *e.g.*, Schick, *ZDPV* 2 11; cp p. 2.

[2] Jos. gives the name as βηθαραμαθα and βηθαραμφθα; once (*Ant.* xvii. 106) the text gives ἀμμαθα. Eus. (*OS* 234 87) βηθραμφθα, with a fragmentary reference to the ἀσσύριοι. Jer. (*OS* 25 11; 103 16), 'Betharam domus sublimium vel montium'; quae a Syris dicitur Bethramtha').

[3] The *o* in Hoglah is not supported, and all the evidence points to the reading 'Haglah.'

[4] For another explanation see EN-EGLAIM.

התחתון—hence the dual form preserved by ωρωνειν[1] [B; but βηθωρων AL], Josh. 10 10 *f.*), near the head and the foot, respectively, of the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin, and represented to-day by *Beit 'Ūr el-fōḳa* and *Beit 'Ūr et-taḥta* (large *PEF* Surv. Map, Sheet xvii.). The road leaves Beit Ṣira (in which some see Uzzen-sheerah: see SHERAH), 840 ft. above sea-level, on the high plain of Aijalon: climbs up the spur of the Benjamite hills in about 50 minutes to the lower Beth-horon, 1240 ft.; and thence, dropping at first for a little, ascends the ridge, with the gorges of Wādy Selmān to the S., and Wādy es-Sant and Wādy el-'Imeish to the N., to the upper Beth-horon, $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. from its fellow and 2022 ft. above the sea; and thence, still following the ridge, comes out on the Benjamite plateau about $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. farther on, to the N. of el-Jib (Gibeon), at a height of about 2300 ft. The מעלה or ascent to Beth-horon (Josh. 10 10) may be the road towards the upper Beth-horon from Gibeon: it does rise at first from the plateau before descending; the מוֹרד or descent to the two Beth-horons (Josh. 10 11, 𝔊B) is the whole road from the edge of the plateau. More probably, the two are the same taken from opposite ends. This Beth-horon road is now no longer the high road from Jerusalem and the watershed to the Maritime Plain; but it was used as such from the very earliest times to at least the sixteenth century of our era, and indeed forms the most natural, convenient, and least exposed of all the possible descents from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to the plain of Sharon. The line of it bears many marks of its age and long use. Carried for the most part over the bare rock and rocky debris, it has had steps cut upon it in its steeper portions, and has remains of Roman pavement. Standing as they do upon mounds, the two Beth-horons command the most difficult passages of this route and form its double key.

2. Beth-horon road.

The constancy with which the Beth-horons appear in history is, therefore, easily explicable (they do not occur, however, in either the lists of the conquests of Thotmes III. or the Amarna letters). According to JE, after Joshua had won for Israel a footing on the Benjamite plateau and made peace with Gibeon, the latter was threatened by the Canaanites. Joshua defeated them at Gibeon, and pursued them all the way down by the Beth-horons (Josh. 10 10 *ff.*). In the days of Saul the Philistines must have held the pass from their camp at Michmash (1 S. 13 18).[2] Solomon fortified Beth-horon the nether, along with Gezer, on the opposite side of Aijalon (1 K. 9 17 [om, BL, Jos. βητχωρα; in 1 K. 2 35*i* βαιθωρωθ, A]; 2 Ch. 8 5 adds Beth-horon the upper [βαιθωρωμ, B]). During his son Rehoboam's reign Shishak or Šošenḳ of Egypt invaded Judah by the Beth-horon passage, it would appear, for both Ai-yu-ru-u (Aijalon) and Bi-tj-ḫ-va-ru-n' (Beth-horon) occur in his lists of the towns he conquered (Nos. 26 and 24; see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 166).

3. Military history.

In the Syro-Maccabean wars, Seron, a Syrian general, advanced on Judah by Beth-horon; Judas with a small force met him on the ascent, defeated him, and pursued him out upon the plain (1 Macc. 3 13-24 [𝔊A *v.* 16, μεθωρων]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7 1). A few years afterwards, Nicanor having retired from Jerusalem upon Beth-horon, Judas attacked and slew him, and routed his army as far as Gezer (1 Macc. 7 39 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 5). Beth-horon was among the places fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. 9 50 [βηθωρων, V*], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3). See also Judith 4 4 (βεθωρω [A]).

[1] A similar dual (חֹרֹנַיִם) is to be read in 2 S. 13 34 with We., Dr., and Bu. *SBOT*, following 𝔊B's ωρωνην (ορεων ἡ [A vid], σωραιμ [L]).

[2] It was probably by the Beth-horons that the Philistines were routed by Saul (1 S. 13 14) and 'from Gibeon south to Gezer,' by David (2 S. 5 25).

In 66 A.D. a Roman army under Cestius Gallus, ascending by Beth-horon, had their rear disordered by the Jews, and after a short and futile siege of Jerusalem retreated pell-mell by the same way. Josephus describes the difficulties of the ground in a manner that leads us to suppose that the Romans in their haste cannot have kept to the high road by the Beth-horons, but were swept down the gorges on either side (*BJ* ii. 19). Perhaps because of this experience, Titus, in his advance upon Jerusalem two years later, took another road; and Beth-horon is not again mentioned in the military history of Palestine.

In the division of the land among the tribes of Israel, the border line between Benjamin and Ephraim ran by

4. Population. the Beth-horons (Josh. 16 3 5 [L *v.* 5, βηθωρων], 18 13 *f.*) which were counted to Ephraim (Josh. 21 22). They remained part of the N. kingdom; and we do not read of any Jews settled there in post-exilic times. That is to say, they were held by the Samaritans. Sanballat, one of the chief foes of the Jews in Nehemiah's day, is called 'the HORONITE' (Neh. 2 10, αρων[ε]ι [BA]. ανρωνει [א vid], ωρωνιτης [L] 19 13 28, om. BאA, ωρανιτης [א c.a mg.], etc.). Schlatter (*Zur Topog. u. Gesch. Pal.* 4, 'War Beth-horon der Wohnort Sanballat's?') seeks to prove that Horonite means 'from Horonaim,' the town in S. Moab (Is. 15 5 Jer. 48 3 5 34, and Moabite stone), partly on the ground that Sanballat is associated with Tobiah the Ammonite; but Ammonite may mean 'from CHEPHAR-AMMONI' (a town of Benjamin, Josh. 18 24); and Buhl (*Geog.* 169) points out that *b's* form of Beth-horon Ὡρωνειν (Josh. 10 10 [B], cp 2 S. 13 34) confirms the possibility of *Ḥōrōnī* meaning 'from Beth-horon.' By 161 B.C. Beth-horon had become a city of Judæa (1 Macc. 9 50; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3, cp 7 1).

According to the Talmud it was the birthplace of many rabbis (Neub. *Géog. Talm.* 154). Jerome gives it in the itinerary of S.

6. Post-biblical references. Paula, who came to it from Nicopolis (*Epit. S. Paul., Hier. Op.*, ed. Migne, i. 883). There are the ruins of a mediaeval castle in upper Beth-horon, but the substructions in both villages are probably more ancient. The name is given by very few mediaeval travellers (Brocardus, ch. 9; Marin. Sanutus, 249), and not at all, it would appear, by the Arab geographers—unless the 'Urāmah mentioned by Yāḳūt but not located, he the same place. The mediaeval pilgrim's dent to Jerusalem by Ramleh and the present line of road. In 1801 Dr. Clarke (*Travels*, pt. ii. vol. i. 628) rediscovered the name.

See Rob. *BR* 3 59; Guérin, *Jud.* 1 338, 346; Stanley, *SP* 212; GASm. *HG* 210-213, 254. G. A. S.

BETH-JESHIMOTH, once (Nu. 33 49) AV Beth-jesimoth (בֵּית הַיְשִׁימוֹת, ΒΗϹΙΜΟΥΘ [AL]), is assigned in Joshua (12 3 ΑϹ[Є]ΙΜΩΘ [BA], ΑΙϹΙΜ. [F vid], ΒΗΘΑϹ[Є]ΙΜ. [L], 13 20 ΒΑΙΘΘΑϹЄΙΝΩΘ [B]) to the Reubenites (cp Nu. 33 49, ἀνὰ μέσον αισιμωθ [BFL], Α. Μ. ΑϹ. [A]); but probably it was, like most of the neighbouring places, in the possession of the Moabites during a considerable period of the Hebrew monarchy. We know that it was Moabite in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 25 9, οἶκον θασιμουθ [B], ο. βεθασ. [B b.(vid) A], ο. βαιθα. [Q*], ο. βαιθ' ιασ. [Qa]), who speaks of it along with Baal-meon and Kiriathaim as 'the glory of the country.' As βησιμώθ it is mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* iv. 7 5) as having been taken by Placidus; Eus. writes βηθσιμούθ (*OS*(2) 266 27) and βηθασιμουθ (233 81); Jerome (*ib.* 103 9), writing *Bethsimuth*, describes it as a village bearing in his day the name *Isimuth*, opposite Jericho at a distance of 10 R. m. 'in meridiana plaga, juxta mare mortuum.' The name and description point to the modern *Khirbet es-Suweimeh*. The name Jeshimoth may be compared with the Jeshimon 'on the face' of which 'the headland of Pisgah looked down' (Nu. 21 20); for probably this Jeshimon (= 'desolation') is not the Jeshimon of Judah, but the barren land off the NE. end of the Dead Sea. With this name Hommel (*AHT* 197) compares, *Yasumūnu*, the name of a Palestinian district mentioned by an early Assyrian king. Cp GASm. *HG* 564, n. 1.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה), Mic. 1 10† RV, AV APHRAH, HOUSE OF.

BETH-LEBAOTH (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת, §§ 93, 104,—*i.e.*, 'abode of lions,'—Josh. 19 6, ΒΑΘΑΡΩΘ [B], ΒΑΙΘΑΛΒΑΘ [A], ΒΗΘΛΕΒΑΩΘ [L]), or, simply, LEBAOTH (Josh. 15 32, ΛΑΒΩϹ [B], -ΩΘ [AL]), an unidentified site in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15 32), assigned to Simeon (Josh. 19 6). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 4 31 has BETH-BIRI (בֵּית בִּרְאִי), which has probably arisen from a corruption of the text. For 'and at Beth-biri and at Shaaraim' 𝔊 has καὶ οἶκον βραουμσεωρειμ [B], κ. ο. βαρουμ' . σ. [A], κ. ἐν βαιθβαρειμ κ. ἐν σααριμ [L].

BETHLEHEM (בֵּית־לֶחֶם Ru. 1 19, etc.; בֵּית לֶחֶם 1 S. 20 6, etc.; ΒΗΘΛЄЄΜ [L commonly] some codd. ΒЄΘΛЄЄΜ, ΒΑΙΘΛЄЄΜ [BA]; Jos. ΒΗΘΛЄΜΗ and ΒΗΘΛЄΜΑ; gentilic Bethlehemite, בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי, ΒΗΘΛЄЄΜЄΙΤΗϹ, 1 S. 16 18, etc.) meant, to the Hebrew, 'house of bread'; NAMES, § 10; on a less obvious explanation of H. G. Tomkins, see ELHANAN, 1, end.

1. Beth-lehem-judah (בּ' יְהוּדָה Judg. 17 7 *ff.*, etc.), the modem *Beit Laḥm*, 2350 ft. above sea-level, 5 m.

1. Site. S. of Jerusalem (Jos., 20 stadia, *Ant.* vii. 12 4), a little off the high road to Hebron, on a spur running E. from the watershed, surrounded by valleys among the most fertile of Judæa. The site is without springs (the nearest being one 800 yards SE. of the town, and others at Arṭās 1½ m. away), but receives water from an aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon (CONDUITS, § 3) compassing the SE. end of the spur, and from many cisterns—of which the greatest are three in front of the great basilica; there are three others from 12 to 21 ft. deep, on the N., called Bi'ār Dā'ūd. The immediate neighbourhood is very fertile, bearing, besides wheat and barley, groves of olive and almond, and vineyards. The wine of Bethlehem ('Talhami') is among the best of Palestine.

So great fertility must mean that the site was occupied, in spite of the want of springs, from the earliest times;

2. OT references. but the references to it in Judges—as the home of the Levite who sojourned in Micah's house (17 7 9), and of the young woman whom the Benjamites maltreated (19 1 *f.* 18)—and in the Book of Ruth are of uncertain date, and into the clear light of history Bethlehem first emerges with David.[1] It was his home (1 S. 20 6 28, very early), for the waters of which, when it was occupied by the Philistines, he expressed so great a longing—probably as a pledge of his fatherland's enfranchisement—that his three captains broke the enemy's lines, and drew water from the cistern 'in the town's gate' (2 S. 23 14 *ff.*, from the same early source), which tradition has identified with the Bi'ār Dā'ūd (but Guérin, *Jud.* 1 130 *ff.*, following Quaresmius, prefers those in front of the basilica). Other references to Bethlehem as David's home are 1 S. 16 1 4 17 12 15 58 (from later strata). Asahel, brother of Joab, was buried in Bethlehem in his father's grave (2 S. 2 32). Thus, Joab, like his leader, was a Bethlehemite. Except for a statement of 2 Ch. 11 6 (𝔊 B*A βαιθσεεμ), that Rehoboam fortified Bethlehem, the town is not mentioned again till Micah, who describes it (5 2) as still one of the smallest of the townships of Judah, but illustrious as the birthplace of the Messianic king (see MICAH, ii. § 2 *b*). According to Jer. 41 17. the Jews who in 586 B.C. fled to Egypt rested at Gidroth-chimham (see CHIMHAM), near Bethlehem. The Bethlehemites carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar repeopled their town after the return (Ezra 2 21 βαρθαλαεμ [B], βεθλαεμ [A]; Neh. 7 26 Bom., βεθλλεεμ [K], βαισαλεεμ [A], cp *v.* 6; 1 Esd. 5 17 ραγεθλωμων [B], βαιθλωμων [A], βιθλεεμ [L]). Bethlehem is the scene of the beautiful story of Ruth, in connection with which it is necessary to note that Moab is clearly visible from about Bethlehem: thus, Ruth in her adopted home must often have had her own fatherland in sight. In the lists of the MT of Joshua (P) Bethlehem is not given; but it is added with ten. others in the 𝔊 BAL text of 15 59 (και εφραθα αυτη εστι Βαιθλεεμ): 𝔊's reading must be genuine, since the group which it

[1] If it does so even then: see DAVID, § 1 *a*.

includes is too important to have been omitted from the original.

The name Ephrathah or Ephrath of this passage is assigned to Bethlehem also in Mic. 6 2 [1] (the reading

3. Ephrath. אפרת or אפרתה is not certain; but the reference to Bethlehem is clear), in Ru. 4 11, virtually in Ru. 1 2 (L om.) in 1 S. 17 12 (B om.),[1] and probably also in Ps. 1326. Apart from Micah, the documents in which Ephrath[ah] occurs are probably so late that we might reasonably suppose that Bethlehem was the earlier name of the town. On the other hand, these documents are probably based on very early material: Micah (if Mic. 6 2 is his work) takes the name as well known. It is possible to argue from 1 Ch. 2 19 50 44 (βαιθλαδεν [B], βαιθλαεμ [A]), that Ephrath[ah] was the name of the whole district in which Bethlehem lay.

Bethlehem is not mentioned by Josephus after Solomon's time, nor in the Books of Maccabees; which proves how insignificant it continued to be. As the place commanded the fertile wādies and water-supply around it,—the Philistines had deemed it important enough to occupy—this silence is very remarkable.

4. Christian times. Bethlehem reappears in Mt. 2 Lk. 2 as the birthplace of Jesus, distinguished still as Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Mt. 2 1 5, cp 6 8 16), 'the city of David' (Lk. 2 4 15 cp Jn. 742). Lk. describes the new-born child as having been laid in *a* manger (ℵABDLΞ omit the definite article of *TR*), 'because there was no room for them in the *Khān*'; they had retired then 'to a stall or cave where there was room for the mother and a crib for the babe.'

It is significant that Bethlehem appears to have been chosen, along with the sites of the crucifixion and the resurrection, for special treatment by the Emperor Hadrian. As he set up there an image of Jupiter and an image of Venus, so he devastated Bethlehem and planted upon it a grove sacred to Adonis (Jer. *Epist. ad Paul.*, 583). This proves that even before 132 A.D. Bethlehem was the scene of Christian pilgrimage and worship, as the birthplace of Jesus. (The Talmud also admits that from Bethlehem the Messiah must come: Berachoth, 5*a*.) About 150 A.D. Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 70 78) describes the scene of the birth as in a cave near the village. This tradition may be correct: there were many ancient cave-stables in Palestine (Conder, *Tent Work*, chap. 10), and caves are still used as stables. In 315 A.D. the site of Bethlehem was still 'a wild wood' (Cyr. Jerus. *Catech.* 1220). Constantine cleared it and built a basilica. Soon after, in Jerome's time, a cave in the rock near the basilica was venerated as the stable, and in a neighbouring grotto Jerome himself prepared his translation of the Bible. From that day to this the tradition has been constant.

The centre of interest in modern Bethlehem is, therefore, the large basilica S. Maria a Præsepio, surrounded and fortified by the Latin, the Greek, and the Armenian monasteries. Although the architecture is mixed and of many periods, the bulk of the church is that built by Constantine. Cp De Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, 46 *ff.*

Eutychius (*circa* 937, quoted by Guérin, 2 161) asserts indeed, that the church is a building of Justinian, who pulled down Constantine's as too small and raised a grander edifice. Procopius, however, in his *De Ædific. Justin.*, whilst recording that this emperor built the walls of Bethlehem (5 8), does not mention any basilica there of his construction as, had there been one, he must have done. Probably Justinian only added to Constantine's church, and the building is, therefore, the most ancient church in Palestine and one of the most ancient in the world. The fine mosaics are from the court of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (*circa* 1169 A.D.), and the rafters by Philip of Burgundy (in 1482).

[1] In the latter two passages Ephrathite means, of course, 'of Ephrath[ah]'=Bethlehem. It is interesting that in *PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, Schick attempts to prove that Ramathaim-zophim the town of Samuel 'an Ephrathite,' was in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. 'Ephrathite' in 1 S. 1 1 probably means Ephraimite (cp Judg. 125 where for אֶפְרָתִי 𝔊B has Εφραθειτης but 𝔊AL ἐκ του Εφραιμ).

Under the chancel is the Grotto of the Nativity, called also the Milk-Grotto and the Grotto of our Lady; 'mghāret el ḥalīb' and 'mghāret-es-Seiyide.' We have seen the precariousness of the tradition which sanctions it: it is only probable that Jesus was born in a cave, and there is nothing to prove that this was the cave, for the site lay desolate for three centuries.

Among recent works, consult Tobler's monograph, *Bethlehem in Palästina*, and Palmer, 'Das jetzige Bethlehem,' *ZDPV* 17 89 *ff.*, with map and name-lists.

2. Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 19 15, Βαιθμαν [B]), now *Beit Laḥm*, 7 m. NW. of Nazareth, 'a miserable village among oak woods' (Guérin, *Galilée*, 1 303; Rob. *BR* 3113). In the Talmud it receives the designation צרייה, perhaps a corruption for נצרייה, 'of Nazareth' (Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.* 189 *f.*) The combination, of two names so famous in the Gospel history is remarkable. Most scholars take this Bethlehem to have been the home and burial-place of the judge Ibzan (Judg. 128 10). Josephus and Jewish tradition assign him to Bethlehem Judah (*Ant.* v. 7 13). G. A. S.

BETHLOMON (Βαιθλωμων [A]), 1 Esd. 5 17 = Ezra 2 21, BETHLEHEM, § 2.

BETH-MAACHAH (בֵּית־מַעֲכָה), 2 S. 20 14. See ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבֹת, § 96—*i.e.*, 'the house of chariots') and HAZAR-SUSAH (חֲצַר סוּסָה,—*i.e.*, 'station of horses') are mentioned together in Josh. 19 5 *f.* (P) in the list of Simeonite towns.

The 𝔊 readings are: for Beth-marcaboth; in Josh. 19 5 βαιθμαχερεβ [B] -θαμμαρχασβωθ [A], βηθαμαλχααχωθ [L]; in 1 Ch. 4 31, where the Hebrew article is omitted, βαιθμαρειμωθ [B], -ρχαβ και εν μαριαβωθ [L], -θ' μαρχαβωθ [A]. For Hazar-susah; in Josh. 19 5 σαρσουσειν [B], ασερσουσιμ [A], Α[σα]ρσουσιν [L]; in 1 Ch. 4 31, Hazar-susim [see below] ημισυσεσοραμ [B], ἥμισυς ἕως ὁρὰμ [Bab], ημισυεωσιμ [A], ασερσουσι [L].

The names seem to indicate posts of war-horses and chariots, such as Solomon is said to have established (1 K. 9 19 10 26). The two places may possibly be identical respectively with MADMANNAH and SANSANNAH, 'cities' in the Negeb towards Edom. The latter are the older names; for Madmannah, at least, appears in 1 Ch. 2 49 (which belongs to the list of pre-exilic settlements of the Calebites), whilst it is impossible to assign a very early date to 1 Ch. 4 31, where Beth-marcaboth and HAZAR-SUSIM (חֲצַר סוּסִים) are mentioned as Simeonite towns 'before the reign of David.' That the two places actually were regular stations for horses and chariots may be taken for granted; but it may be questioned whether they were so before post-exilic times, when the Persians established post-stations on the route from the Shĕphēlah into Egypt (by Gaza to Pelusium).[1] On this view Sansannah may very well be the modern *Simsim*, a village in an olive-grove on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (9½ m. NE. from the latter town), and Madmannah may be conjectured to be the modern *Khān Yūnus*, 14 m. SW. from Gaza (so Guérin, *Jud.* 2 230). *Khān Yūnus* has always been an important station. It may be noted that in the time of Micah (1 13) Lachish (about 8 m. from Simsim) also was a chariot city. Cp MARCABOTH. W. R. S.

BETH-MEON (בֵּית מְעוֹן), Jer. 48 23. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-MERHAK, AV 'a place that was afar off,' RVmg. 'the Far House,' (בֵּית הַמֶּרְחָק, εν οικω τω μακραν [BAL], *procul a domo*). Beth-merḥak is either the proper name (so Ges.(13), BDB doubtfully),—in which case the name is Beth-hammerḥāḳ, like Beth-haccerem,—or a description (Ew., The., Ke., Kau. *HS*, 'the last house') of the place outside Jerusalem where David waited with his attendants until the people and the body-guard had passed, 2 S. 15 17 (on the text, which is doubtful, see Dr. *HPSm.* and Klo. *ad loc.*).

[1] It is evident that chariots went down to Egypt by this way at least as early as the eighth cent. B.C. Cp Gen. 46 5 Mic. 1 13.

BETH-MILLO (בֵּית מִלּוֹא), Judg. 9 6 RVmg.; see JERUSALEM.

BETH-NIMRAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה, perhaps 'place of pure water'; cp Ar. *namīr*, Ass. *namri*, 'transparent'; but see NIMRIM and NAMES, § 104; Nu. 32 36 ΝΑΜΡΑΜ [BF], ΑΜΒΡΑΝ [A], [Ν]ΑΜ. [L]; Josh. 13 27 ΒΑΙΝΘΑΝΑΒΡΑ [B], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΜΡΑ [L], ΒΗΘΑΜΝΑ [A]), or Nimrah (Nu. 32 3 ΝΑΜΒΡΑ [B], -ΜΡ. [F], ΑΜΒΡΑΜ [A], ΜΑΜΒΡΑΝ [L]), one of the Amorite cities which were afterwards 'built' by Gad (Nu. 32 36), is the *βηθναμβρις* and *Bethamnaris* of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 232 43; *ib.* 102 1), a village still extant in their day, about 5 R. m. N. from Livias (BETH-HARAN, *q.v.*), the בית נמרן and בית נמר of the Talmud (cp Del. *ad loc.*), the modern *Nimrīn*, a well-watered oasis on the brink of the Jordan valley some 13½ miles E. of Jordan (cp Baed. *Pal.*(3) 162). Beth-nimrah is nowhere mentioned under this name in OT outside of Numbers and Joshua, but it is identified by many modern critics with the waters of NIMRIM (*q.v.*), and, as stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), Beth-nimrah may be the original of the variants Bethany, Bethabara, in Jn. 1 28.

BETHORON (Judith 4 4), RV BETH-HORON (*q.v.*).

BETH-PALET, or (Neh. 11 26) BETH-PHELET, RV always **Bethpelet** (בֵּית־פֶּלֶט, 'house of escape'), an unknown Calebite town (cp PELET [1], 1 Ch. 2 47), on the Edomite border of Judah, Josh. 15 27 (ΒΑΙΦΑΛΑΔ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑΛΕΘ [A], ΒΗΘΦΕΛ. [L]), mentioned in the list of Judahite villages (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [b], § 15 [1]*a*); Neh. 11 26 (ΒΗΒΦΑΛΤ [ℵc.a mg.], ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑΤ [L], om. Bℵ*A). For the gentilic Paltite (הַפַּלְטִי), corruptly PELONITE (1), see PALTITE.

BETH-PAZZEZ (בֵּית־פַּצֵּץ), an unknown point on the border of Issachar, Josh. 19 21 (ΒΗΡϹΑΦΗϹ [B], ΒΑΙΘΦΑϹΗϹ [A], ΒΗΘΦΑϹϹΗϹ [L]). Compare the equally obscure name HAPPIZZEZ.

BETH-PEOR (בֵּית פְּעוֹר, οἶκος Φογωρ [BAFL]), a place named in Dt. 3 29 4 46 34 6 Josh. 13 20. In Josh. 13 20 (ΒΑΙΘΦΟΓΩΡ [BL], ΒΕΘ. [A]) it is enumerated among the cities of Reuben; in Dt. 3 29 4 46 the ravine (גיא) in front of (מול) it is mentioned as the place where Israel was encamped when the Deuteronomy discourses were delivered; and in Dt. 34 6 the same ravine is mentioned as the place of Moses' burial. The exact site is uncertain; but it seems clear that it cannot have been very far from the Pisgah ridge. Eusebius states (*OS*(2) 233 78) that Βεθφογορ was near Mount Φογορ (cp 'the top, or head, of Peor,' רֹאשׁ הַפְּעוֹר, Nu. 23 28), opposite to Jericho, 6 m. above Livias (*i.e.*, Tell er-Rāmeh; see BETH-HARAN); and (*OS*(2) 213 47) that Mount Φογωρ was opposite to Jericho, on the side of the road leading up from Livias to Heshbon, a part of it being 7 m. from the latter place (115 1-2). If we may judge from the map in the *Survey of E. Palest.*, the ascent from Livias to Heshbon would be made naturally either along the WZdy Ḥesbān (cp Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 525 *f.*; Tristram, Moab, 346) or along the more circuitous road N. of this, said by Tristram (p. 343) to be the one ordinarily used. The statements of Eusebius, if correct, would thus point to a site near one of these two roads, some four or five miles N. of Nebs. The 'head of Peor' (Nu. 23 28) might be an eminence in the same locality. The opinion that this was the site is supported by the mention, in Josh. 13 20, of Beth-peor next to the 'slopes (אשדת) of Pisgah,'—*i.e.*, in all probability, the declivities on the S. side of the Wādy 'Ayiin Mūsā. The 'ravine in front of Beth-poor' might thus be the WZdy Ḥesbān. Conder (*PEFQ* 1882, p. 85 *f.*; *Heth and Moab*,(3) 146 *f.*) suggests a site farther to the S.—*e.g.*, on the crest of a hill above 'Ain el-Minyeh, 8 m. SW. of Nebs., commanding (see Nu. 23 28; and 24 2 compared with 25 1) an extensive view of the lower valley of the Jordan. Peor, however, the spot at which Baal of Peor was worshipped (which can hardly have been far from Beth-peor), would seem (Nu. 25 1-3) to have been more readily accessible from the plain of Shittim (the Ghōr-es-Seisebān) than 'Ain el-Minyeh would be; Nu. 23 28 compared with *v.* 14 makes it probable also that it was less distant from Pisgah; whilst, as we have seen, whatever other indications we possess point to a site N. of the Nebo-Pisgah ridge (the modern Nebs, Rās Ṣi'āghah), rather than to one S. of it. Until, therefore, it has been shown that there is no eminence in the neighbourhood of the Wādy Ḥesbān commanding the prospect implied in Nu. 23 28 and 24 2 (cp 25 1), it is here that the ancient Beth-peor must be sought. Travellers will perhaps explore this region with the view of ascertaining whether there is such a height. Cp PEOR. S. R. D.

BETHPHAGE (ΒΗΘΦΑΓΗ [Ti. WH], *BETHPHAGE*), a locality near the Mt. of Olives, on a small hill on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is mentioned together with BETHANY [*q.v.*, 1], and probably lay to the E. of it (Mt. 21 1 Mk. 11 1 Lk. 19 29). Origen in Mt. (vol. xvi. chap. 17) describes it as a place of priests' (cp *OS*(2) 188 75). According to various passages of the Talmud, Beth-phagb was the name of the district extending from the base of Olivet to the walls of Jerusalem, and, according to the Talm. Bab. (*Men.* xi. 2, 78 *b*), Beth-phagè was one of the limits of the Sabbatic zone around Jerusalem (cp GEZER), whence Cl. Ganneau would identify it with Kefr eṭ-Ṭūr (see *PEFQ* 1878, p. 60; but see BETH-ZUR).

The current explanation of the name is a little more plausible than that of BETHANY (*q.v.*). Βηθφαγη (the בית פאגי of Talm.) would naturally mean 'place of young figs'; cp פג in Cant. 2 13 with Delitzsch's note. This, however, may be no more than a popular etymology. Nestle (*Phil. Sac.* 1896; cp *ZWT*, etc. xl. 148) is convinced that the narrative of the barren fig-tree, which in Mt. 21 17-19 Mk. 11 12-14 is localised in Bethany, has arisen out of this faulty popular explanation of Beth-phagb. It has often been remarked that there is a startling peculiarity in this narrative as compared with the other evangelical traditions. See also A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 166.

The mediaeval Bethphagè was discovered by Guillemot and Clermont-Ganneau in 1877 between the Mount of Olives and Bethany. In his account of this discovery the latter scholar offers the suggestion that the 'Village of the Mount of Olives' (*Kefr eṭ-Ṭūr*), which admittedly stands on the site of some important ancient village, may be the Bethphage of the Gospels and of the Talmud. This view would clear up the Talmudic statement respecting the Sabbatic zone already mentioned. See *PEFQ* 1878, pp. 51-61.

BETH-PHELET (בֵּית־פֶּלֶט), Neh. 11 26 AV. See BETH-PALET.

BETH-RAPHA (בֵּית־רָפָא), in an obscure genealogy of Chelub (=Caleb), 1 Ch. 4 12 (ΒΑΘΡΑΙΑΝ [B], -ΡΕΦΑ [A], ΒΗΘΡΑΦΑΝ [L]). No place of this name is known; Rapha appears to be a clan-name, unconnected of course with 'Rephaim.' RAPHA [2] appears to occur as a name in BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. *β*).

BETH-REHOB (בֵּית רְחֹב, ΡΟΩΒ [BAL]), an Aramæan town and district, which with ZOBAH and MAACAH sent men to the help of Ammon against David (2 S. 10 6, *ib.* 8, REHOB [ΡΟΑΒ A]; ΒΑΙΘΡΑΑΒ [L in both]).[2] See ARAM, §§ 5, 6. It is stated in Judg.

[1] In the Talmud, פגא also means a jaw or cheek, and from Dt. 18 3 we learn that the cheeks (Syr. has פקא) belonged to the portion of the priests (cp Reland, 653). Hence, on the supposition that Beth-phage meant 'place of cheeks,' it was presumed that there was a school of priests here.

[2] A reference to a similar defeat at the hands of Saul in 1 S. 14 47, (cp 𝔊 βαιθεωρ [B], -ροωβι [L], βεθωρ [A]) is open to suspicion; see SAUL, § 3, and cp Wi. *GVI* 1 142 *f.*

1828 that Laish-Dan was in 'the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob' (οικος ρααβ [B], ο. ροωβ [L], ο. τωβ [A]). Beth-rehob is doubtless the REHOB of Nu. 13 21, which, according to P, was the most northern point reached by the spies[1] (ρααβ [B], ροωβ [F]). A connection with the Asherite REHOB (i. 2, 3) is improbable (though not impossible, see ARAM, § 5).[2]

The exact site of Beth-rehob is uncertain. It can hardly be the Jebel Hūnīn, finely situated above the great plain of Ḥūleh to the W. of Bāniās, and remarkable for the remains, partly ancient, of a fortress (so Rob. *BR* 4 370 *f.*). Others have thought of *Ḳal'at Buṣra*, about 1 hour N. of Dan; but may not the site of the *town* Beth-rehob be placed quite as reasonably at Bāniās itself[3] (see CÆSAREA, § 7 *f.*)?

BETHSAIDA (Βηθσαιδα [Ti.], Βηθσαιδα [WH]; Syr. ܒܝܬ ܨܝܕܐ; place of fishing or hunting). Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xviii. 2 1) that the Tetrarch Philip raised a village (κώμη) Bethsaida on the Lake of Gennesareth to the rank of a city, and called it Julias, after Julia the daughter of Augustus. Elsewhere he describes Julias as in the Lower Gaulonitis (*BJ* ii. 9 1), close to the Jordan (*Vit.* 72), near where the latter runs into the lake (*BJ* iii. 10 7). Pliny (v. 15) and Jerome (*Comm.* Mt. 16 13) also place it E. of Jordan.

1. Julias.

In conformity with these data, the site has been fixed on the fertile and very grassy plain El-Buṭeiḥa, in the NE. corner of the lake, either at et-Tell, a mound with many ruins, close to the Jordan where the latter issues from the hills, or at Mas'adiyeh, by the mouth of the river (to which Thomson [*Land and Book*, ed. 1877, 360] heard the name Bethsaida attached by Bedouin). Fish abound on either side of the Jordan's mouth and (presumably) in the river itself. There can be little doubt that this was the 'city called Bethsaida' (Lk. 9 10; εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης βηθ. is not found in ℵ^{c.a}BL, etc., which reads εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην βηθ.; so Ti. WH, etc.) to which Jesus withdrew, as being in Philip's jurisdiction, when he heard of John's murder by Antipas (cp Mt. 14 13). Lk. places near it the feeding of the five thousand, which Mt. (14 14 *ff.*) and Mk. (6 31 *ff.*) describe as in a desert (*i.e.*, uninhabited) but grassy place (Mt. 14 19 Mk. 6 39 'green grass,' such as grows in the Bufeiha, in contrast to the paler herbage of the higher and drier parts), to which Jesus proceeded by boat, followed by multitudes on foot. J. also describes the scene on the E. shore of the lake (6 1), and says 'there was much grass in the place' (*v.* 10). A site on the Bufeiha suits also the Bethsaida of Mk. 8 22, for Jesus was already E. of Jordan (*v.* 13) and went thence to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi (*v.* 27). All interpreters of the Gospels are virtually agreed about this.

The question has been raised, whether there was not a second Bethsaida. After the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus, it is said, constrained his disciples to go before him to the other side to Bethsaida (Mk. 6 45, εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς βηθ.). This has forced some scholars, one or two much against their will (Reland, *Pal.* 653 *ff.*, Henderson, *Pal.* 156 *f.*), to conclude that there was a Bethsaida to the W. of Jordan, either a suburb of Julias, separated from it by the river, or at 'Ain Ṭābigha (Rob. *LBR* 358 *f.*), 4 m. along the coast, where there is a bay containing fish in abundance, and the modern shrine of *Sheikh 'Aly eṣ-Ṣaiyād*, 'Aly of the Fishermen, and strong streams (Ewing). But, in the first place, the phrase 'to go to the other side' does not necessarily imply the passage from the E. to the W. coast of the lake, for Josephus speaks of 'sailing over' (διεπεραιώθην) from Tiberias to Tarichεæ (*Vit.* 59), though these towns lay on the same side; and, secondly, Jesus would not seek again the territories of Herod Antipas so soon after leaving them for those of Philip, but would most probably return to what Lk. tells us he had just chosen as his headquarters. We may be certain, then, that the Bethsaida of Mk. 6 45 is still Bethsaida Julias.

2. Mk. 6 45.

Nor need we seek for another in the 'Bethsaida of Galilee' to which the Fourth Gospel (1 44 [45] 12 21) says that Andrew, Peter, and Philip belonged. In the time of the Great War (66-70 A.D.) the name Galilee appears to have been extended round the Lake—Josephus calls Judas of Gamala the Galilean (*Ant.* xviii. 1 6)—and at even an earlier date the jurisdiction of the ruler of Galilee may have comprised part of the E. coast (cp *BJ* xx. 4). Besides, a town which lay so immediately on the Jordan might easily be reckoned to Galilee. In any case, by 84 A.D. the E. coast was definitely attached to the province, and Ptolemy (v. 15), writing about 140, places Julias 'in Galilee.' That being so, it is significant that it is only the Fourth Gospel that speaks of 'Bethsaida of Galilee.' There is, therefore (as held by Wilson, *Recov. of Jerus.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ed. 1877. 372 *ff.*; Holtzmann, *JPT*, 1878, pp. 383 *f.*; Furrer, *ZDPV* 2 66 *ff.*; Socin and Benzinger in Baed. ed. 1891, p. 256; GASm. *HG* 457 *ff.*; Buhl, *Pal.* 241 *ff.*) no reason compelling us to the theory of a second or western Bethsaida. It is interesting that the disciple of Jesus called Philip should come from Philip's Julias.

3. John 1 44 [45] 12 21.

Early Christian tradition and the mediæval works of travel agree in showing no trace of more than one Bethsaida. The site shown for it, however, is uncertain, and may have varied from age to age. Eusebius and Jerome define it only as on the Lake (OS). Epiphanius (*Haer.* ii. 51 13) merely says it was not far from Capernaum. Willibald's data (722 A.D.), which place it on his journey between Capernaum and Chorazin, suit the E. bank of the Jordan (in spite of what Robinson says) even if Chorazin (*q.v.*) be Kerāzeh, but Gergesa (Khersa) may be meant.

In all probability Bethsaida remained locally distinct from Julias after the erection of the latter by Philip. The custom of Jesus was not to enter such purely Greek towns as Julias must have been; yet, according to Mt. 11 21, he did many 'wonderful works' in Bethsaida. Jnlias had fourteen villages round about it (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 4). Schumacher suggests for Bethsaida some ruins on the Lake called el-'Araj, which were joined with et-Tell (Julias) by a Roman road (*ZDPV* 9 19).

G. A. S.

BETHSAMOS (Βαιθασμωθ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 18 AV; RV^{mg.} AZMAVETH (*q.v.*, i.).

BETH-SHEAN (בֵּית־שְׁאָן, § 90, cp *Ba-y-ti-Ša-'ā-ru*, *i.e.*, בית־שאל, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 153.; Βαιθσα[α]ν [BAL]), or Beth-shan (בֵּית־שָׁן, in pause בֵּית־שָׁן; Βηθσαν [A], Βαιθ. [L]), or Beth-san (1 Macc. 5 52 12 40 [βεθσα (A)] *f.*), mod. *Beisān*, 320 ft. below the sea-level, was finely situated on a low table-land above the Jordan valley, at the mouth of the W. Jālūd, which leads gently np from the Jordan to Zer'in (Jezreel). The Jordan itself is three miles off (cp ZARETHAN, § 1); but Beth-shĕān was unusually well supplied with water, being intersected by two streams. Amid the extensive ruins rises the *tell* of the ancient fortress, 'a natural mound, artificially strengthened by scarping the side' (*PEF Mem.* 2 108).

1. Position.

The illustration given in the Memoirs of the Survey will enable the reader to divine the grandeur of the prospect from this eminence. 'The eye sweeps from four to ten miles of the plain all round, and follows the road westward to Jezreel, covers the thickets of Jordan where the fords lie, and ranges the edge of the eastern hills from Gadara to the Jabbok' (GASm. *HG* 357).

This 'farthest-seeing, farthest-seen fortress' must have been hard for the Israelites to conquer; yet till it was in their hands they were excluded from one of the main roads between western and eastern Palestine, and from the occupation of a coveted portion of the Jordan valley. That Beth-

2. History.

1 The mention of the 'entrance to Hamath' here is possibly a gloss (cp Moore, *Judg.* 399).

2 In 2 S. 8 3 12 the king of Zobah is called 'son of Rehob'; see HADADEZER.

3 So Thomson, *Land and Book*,(2) 218; Buhl, *Pal.* 240; Moore, *Judg.* 399.

shean was included in one of the prefectures of Solomon's kingdom is certain (1 K. 4 12, 6 οἶκος δαν and βαισαφουτ —*i.e.*, בּ' שׁ' עַר [B], 6 οἶκος σαν and βεθσαν [A], οἶκος σααν and βαιθσ. [L]).[1] On the death of Saul, on the other hand, we find it in the hands of the Philistines (1 S. 31 10, βαιθεμ [B], 12, -θσαμ [B], 2 S. 21 12, βαιθ [B]); and, though Beth-shean may be one of the 'cities of the Jordan' (1 S. 31 7, corr. text) which the Israelites deserted after the battle of Gilboa, it is equally likely that it was still a Canaanitish city when captured by the Philistines. We know, at any rate, that it retained its Canaanite population for some time after the Israelite occupation of Palestine (Judg. 1 27, βαιθηλ [B], βεθσαν [L]; Josh. 17 11, καιθοαν [B*b], βαιθσαν [Ba mg.], 16 βαιθαισαν [B]). It may possibly have been as late as the time of David that this great fortress fell into the hands of the Israelites. Standing on the road from Damascus to Egypt and also from Damascus by Shechem to Jerusalem and Hebron, it had a commercial as well as a military importance which would have attracted the notice of such a keen-sighted king as David.

From the Macedonian period onwards Beth-shean bore the strange Greek name Scythopolis (see Judg. 1 27, 𝔊 β. ἥ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις; 2 Macc. 12 29-31, etc.), which probably records the fact (or belief) that some of the Scythian invaders of the seventh cent. B.C. (see SCYTHIANS) had settled here. In NT times it was one of the most important cities of the DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*, § 2).

BETH-SHEMESH (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ, § 95 *f.*—*i.e.*, 'temple of the sun'—ΒΑΙΘϹΑΜΥϹ [BAL]; gentilic בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי, ὁ ἐν β. [BA], 6 ἐκ β. [L], in 1 S. 6 14, *v.* 18 βαιθσαμυσειτης [BL], βεθθαμυσιτης [A], EV Beth-shemite).

1. Bethshemesh or IR-SHEMESH (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ, Josh. 19 41, ΠΟΛΙϹ ϹΑΜΕϹ [AL], ΠΟΛΕΙϹ ϹΑΜΜΑΥϹ [B]), a Levitical city (Josh. 21 16, ΒΕΘϹΑΜΕϹ [A], ΤΗΝ ϹΑΜΕϹ [L]; 1 Ch. 6 59 [44], ΒΑϹΑΜΥϹ [B]) on the borders of Judah (Josh. 15 10, ΠΟΛΙΝ ΗΛΙΟΥ [BAL]) but assigned to Dan (Josh. 19 41), is the modern 'Ain Shems, 917 feet above sea level, on the south side of the broad and beautiful and still well-cultivated W. eṣ-Ṣarār, opposite Zorah and two m. from it: 'a noble site for a city; a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains' (Robinson). It is a point in the lowland on the road from Philistia (Ekron) to the hill-country of Judah (1 Sam. 6 9 12b 13 15 19 βεθθαμυς [A], 12a 20 βεθσα. [A]), and probably was an ancient sanctuary, since the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite was for some time during the Philistine domination the resting-place of the ark. In truth, it is difficult not to identify it with the Šamašana of the Palestinian lists of Rameses II. (*RP*(2) 6 27; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 166) and Rameses III.[2] (*RP*(2) 6 39), whose sanctuary may be presumed to be connected with the myth of SAMSON (*q.v.*). It was at Beth-shemesh that Amaziah of Judah was defeated and made prisoner by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 11-13, 11 βηθσαμυε [A], 13 βεθ. [A], 2 Ch. 25 21-23). According to the Chronicler, it was one of the cities in the lowland of Judah taken by the Philistines from Ahaz, 'king of Israel' (2 Ch. 28 18). The place was still shown in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who give its position as 10 R.m. E. of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis—a statement which suits the identification given above. There are many traces of ancient buildings.

2. An unidentified city within the territory of Naphtali, apparently in its northward portion (Josh. 19 38, θεσσαμυς [B], θασμους [A], βιθσαμις [L]). From Judg. 1 33 (βεθσαμυς [A]) we learn that, along with Bethanath, its population continued to be chiefly Canaanite.

3. An unidentified city on the border of Issachar (Josh. 19 22, βαιθσμας [A], βιθσαμις [L]), perhaps = (2), if the latter lay in the extreme south of Naphtali.

[1] The double mention of Beth-shean probably arises from a corruption of the text.

[2] The latter was discovered by Sayce at Medinet Habū in 1892.

4. A city of Egypt, mentioned in Jer. 43 13, (ἡλιου πολεως [BℵAQ]) 'he shall break the obelisks of Beth-shemesh in the land of Egypt.' It is commonly supposed *e.g.*, by Griffith in Hastings' *DB*) that what is meant is Heliopolis, the city of the sun (see ON); but בית is simply dittographed from בות in מצבות. We should read מצבות שמש, 'pillars of the sun' or obelisks (Wi. *AT Unters.* 80 *f.*; Che. *Intr. Is.* 102, n. 2).

BETH-SHITTAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה—*i.e.*, 'place of acacias') is mentioned in Judg. 7 22 (ΒΗΘϹΕΔΤΑ [B], ΒΑϹΕΕΤΤΑ [A], ΒΑΙΘΑϹΕΤΤΑ [L]) as a point to which the panic-stricken Midianites fled before Gideon. It was on the way toward ZERERAH (see ZARETHAN, *begin.*), but has not been identified; probably it was well down in the Jordan valley, at the mouth of some wādy where acacias flourished. The identification with Shaṭṭa on the north side of the W. Jālūd, 5 m. NW. of Beisān and 6 m. E. of Zer'in (cp Rob., Conder, etc.) has little to recommend it: it lies much too near the supposed scene of the surprise. More, perhaps, could be said for Beisān. Others compare el-Meshetta (see *MDPV*, 1895, pp. 81 *ff.*; Schnmacher, *ZDPV*, 15 64 writes *mashaṭṭa*) 14 m. SSE. of Jogbehah. The whole narrative is, however, composite (see JUDGES, § 8), and the Heb. construction favours the assumption that Zererah does not belong to the same source as Beth-shittah. In J Midian flees east from Shechem to the other side of the Jordan, whereas from *v.* 24 it appears that in E's narrative they turn S. (to Zarethan) through the Jordan valley, where they are intercepted by the Ephraimites (cp Moore, *Judg.* 212).

BETH-SURA (Η ΒΕΘϹΟΥΡΑ [A]), 1 Macc. 4 61; 2 Macc. 11 5 RV Bethsuron. See BETH-ZUR.

BETH-TAPPUAH (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ, § 103—*i.e.*, 'place of tappūăḥ'; see APPLE), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 53, ΒΑΙΘΑΧΟΥ [B], ΒΕΘΘΑΠΦΟΥΕ [A], ΒΗΘΘΑΦ. [L]), having a traditional connection with its greater neighbonr Hebron (1 Ch. 2 43, see TAPPUAH, 1), and very possibly identical with the fortified town called TAPHON (*q.v.*) in 1 Macc. 9 50. If the similarity of names, the vicinity of Hebron, and the fruitfulness of the district prove anything, the modern *Teffūḥ* is the ancient Beth-tappuah. The village so named is 39 m. W. by N. from Hebron, and stands on a high hill, the slopes of which are planted with aged olive-trees; indeed, the whole of the *Wādy Tuffāḥ* abounds in fruit-trees of all kinds. Traces of old buildings remain, and there are two ancient wells (Rob. *LBR* 2 428; Guérin, *Judée*, 3 374). Several ancient sites named *Beth* have lost this prefix. Thus the בית נמרה of Nu. 32 36 is modern Nimrin.

The notices of Eus. and Jer. (OS 235 17 104 17; cp 156 20) are of interest only as showing that there was another place on the confines of Palestine and Egypt bearing the same name. Whatever the fruit called tappūăḥ was (see APPLE), it was as common in Palestine as quinces and apricots are now.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל, for מְתוּאֵל, 'man of El ?—cp Methushael, and see CAINITES, § 7; hardly for Ass. *bit ili*, 'house of a deity'; ΒΑΘΟΥΗΛ [ADEL]).

1. B. Nahor; father of Laban and Rebekah (Gen. 22 22 *f.* 24 15 [J]). In Gen. 25 20 28 5 [P] he is called an 'Aramæan,' as is also his son Laban in 31 20 24. See ARAM, § 3.

2. See BETHUL.

BETHUL (בְּתוּל), a Simeonite town (Josh. 19 4, ΒΟΥΛΑ [B], ΒΑΘΟΥΛ [AL]), called BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל, ΒΑΘΟΥΝ [B], -ΟΥΛ [A], -ΟΥΗΛ [L]) in 1 Ch. 4 30, and corruptly CHESIL (כְּסִיל) in ‖ Josh. 15 30 (ΒΑΙΘΗΛ [B], ΧΑϹΕΙΡ [A], ϹΕΙΕΙΛ [L]). The form בתואל may perhaps be classed with Penuel; for elision of א cp HAMUL. It is doubtless the BETHEL (בֵּית־אֵל, βαιθηλ [AL], βαιθσουρ —*i.e.*, Beth-zur [B])[1] of 1 S. 30 27, mentioned along with

[1] The situation of Beth-zur is less suitable (We., Dr.).

Jattir and other places in the Negeb; but the site has not yet been identified. There was probably a Bethel near Gaza.[1]

BETHULIA (ΒΕΤΥΛΟΥΑ [BRA], [the preferable reading; but ΒΑΙΤΟΥΛΟΥΑ [Bℵ], ΒΑΙΤΥΛΟΥΑ [BℵA] are also found]; *BETHULIA* [Vg.]; ܒܝܬ ܦܠܘ), the centre of the action in the book of Judith (221 [ℵ*] 46 [ℵ], ΒΑΙΤΟΥΛΙΑ 6 10 *f.* 14 7 1 *ff.*). In the shorter version of the narrative its place is taken by Jerusalem, and there is little doubt that Bethulia (properly Betylua) represents בֵּית־אֵל,[2] the house of God—viz., Jerusalem (see JUDITH, ii.). So already Reuss, who, however, together with Welte, derived the name from בֵּית אֱלוֹהַּ. Bertholdt's conjecture בְּתוּלְיָה, 'virgin of Yahwè,' may be worth noticing.[3]

According to the representations of the book (cp 4 6 7 3), Bethulia lay near Jezreel, upon a rock by a valley, commanding the passes to the S. (so Buhl, Pal. 201, n. 627). Various identifications have been suggested.

Some have sought for it near the modern Kefr Kūd, formerly Capharcotia, NE. of the plain of Dothan (Hi., cp also Riehm): other suggestions are the fortress Sānūr (Grove in Smith's *DB*), Kh. Ḥarāiḳ el-Mellāḥ (Marta, quoted in *ZDPV* 12 117), Jenin (Ew), Beit Ilfā (Schultz), and plausibly no doubt (6 and *m* being often 'confounded'), Mithilīyeh or Misilia (Conder; Socin, also inclines to this view, Bad.[(2)], 226). More recently, Torrey (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 20 160 *ff.* ['99]) argues ably in favour of Shechem.

So large and important a place as Bethulia—with its rulers and elders (6 14 16), its streets and towers (7 22 32), and its siege, lasting for four-and-thirty days, by an immensely superior army (7 20)—cannot reasonably be identified with any small and insignificant locality. It remains to be added that the mention of Jerusalem and Bethulia as two distinct places (cp 4 6 15 5 *f.*) is probably to be assigned to a time when the identity of the ideal Bethnlia with Jerusalem was forgotten.

S. A. C.

BETHZACHARIAS, AV (by misprint?) BATHZACHARIAS (ΒΕΘΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ [A], ΒΑΙΘ. [ℵV]; Jos. Βεθζ., ΒΗΤΖ.), the scene of the defeat of Judas the Maccabee by Lysias, and of the death of his brother Eleazar (1 Macc. 6 32 *f.*). Its position is defined by Josephus (Ant. xii. 94) as 70 stadia (N.) from Bethsur; it is thus represented by the modern *Beit-Sakāriā* (described by Robinson[(2)] 3 283 *f.* and *PEF Mem.* 335 108).

BETHZATHA (ΒΗΘΖΑΘΑ), the reading adopted by Ti. WH in Jn. 5 2, where TR has BETHESDA. For the evidence, see WH. ii. App. 76: perhaps the purest form would be Βηθζαιθά, 'the place of the olive' (cp BEZETH).

BETH-ZUR (בֵּית־צוּר, ΒΕΘΣΟΥΡ [AL], § 96, 'house of rock,' or, on the analogy of Beth-el, 'house of *Zur*'—a divine name, Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 47, n. 1; Hommel *AHT* 319; see ZUR), a city in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Halhul and Gedor[4] (Josh. 15 58, βαιθσουρ [B]; cp 1 Ch. 2 45, where Bethzur—γεδσουρ [B], βηθσουρ [AL]—is the 'son' of Maon), is stated in 2 Ch. 11 7 (βαιθσουρα [B], τὴν βαιθσ. [A], τὴν βαιθσουρ [L]) to have been fortified by Rehoboam. It was head of a district in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3 16, βησορ [Bℵ], βηθσουρ [A]). Frequently an object of struggle in the Maccabean wars (ἡ βαιθσούρα, τὰ β. [KV]. ἡ βεθσ., τα β. [Aℵ], 1 Macc. 4 29 61 6 7 26 31 49 50 9 52; 10 14 βαιθσουρος [V*]; 11 65 14 7 33),[5] it was in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 56) 'the strongest place in all Judæa,' and was still an inhabited village (βηθσωρω Bethsoro) in the days of Eusebius and Jerome (OS 104 27; 326 26). It is represented by *Bēt Ṣūr* (*Burj Ṣūr*), and occupies a position of strategic importance as commanding the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, 4½ m. N. from the latter city. The modern village has a ruined tower, and 'there are hewn stones scattered about, as also some fragments of columns, and many foundations of buildings. . . . It must have been a small place' (Robinson).

If the statements in 2 Macc. 11 5 (RV BETHSURON) are reliable there must have been a second Beth-zur in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Grimm suggests the modern village of Bēt-Sāḥūr, half-an-hour SE from Jerusalem. Schick, with more probability, identifies it with the modern *Kefr-eṭ-Ṭūr* (the Ar. form of Beth-zur) on the central height of the Mount of Olives (PEFQ, Jan. 1895, p. 37, see *Camb. Bible* on 1 Macc. 4 29). See, however, BETHPHAGE.

BETOLIUS (ΒΕΤΟΛΙΩ [B]), 1 Esd. 5 21 AV; RV Betolion = Ezra 2 28, BETHEL.

BETOMESTHAM, RV Betomesthaim in Judith 4 6, or Betomasthem, RV Betomasthaim in 15 4 (ΒΑΙΤΟΜΑ[Ι]ΣΘΑΙΜ [B], -ΑΣΘΕΝ [ℵ], ΒΕΤΟΜΕΣΘΑΙΜ [A]; ܒܝܬ ܡܣܬܚܡ; om. 𝔊ℵ Vg. in 4 6 and 𝔊A Vg. Syr. in 15 4) lay 'over against Jezreel in face of the plain that is near Dothan.' If 'toward' (κατὰ πρόσωπον) can be taken as meaning 'eastward of' the plain of Dothan, we are able to determine its position pretty nearly; but the exact site has not been identified.

BETONIM (בְּטֹנִים, § 103—*i.e.*, 'pistachio nuts,' ΒΟΤΑΝΕΙ [B], -ΝΙΝ [A], -ΝΕΙΜ [L]), in Gadite territory (Josh. 13 26), may perhaps be *Baṭanah*, 3 m. W. from es-Salt (Ramoth-gilead).

BETROTHAL. The Heb. verb is ארשׂ *'āraś* (𝔊 ΜΝΗΣΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ), on which see MARRIAGE, § 1. In 2 S. 3 14, RV rightly has 'betrothed' instead of AV 'espoused.' So also in Mt. 1 18 Lk. 1 2 2 5. In Lev. 19 20† the verb is חרף, and seems to denote marriage by capture rather than marriage by purchase. In Ex. 21 8 *f.*† it is יעד, RV 'espouse.' There is some disorder in the text.

BEULAH (בְּעוּלָה, 'married'; ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ [BℵAQ], Aq. ΕΣΧΗΜΕΝΗ, Symm. Theod. ΣΥΝΩΚΙΣΜΕΝΗ), the symbolical name (Is. 62 4) by which Zion may fitly be called when her land is 'married' (תִּבָּעֵל; cp BAAL). Two primitive and related ideas underlie the expression. The first is that the people of a land, as well as all other 'fruits' (Dt. 28 4), arise from the fertilising influence of the lands Baal or divine Husband (cp *RS*[(2)] 107 *f.*); the second, that a people which remains faithful to the land's divine Husband is sure of his protection. The former is merely hinted by means of the contrast of the two names 'Desolate' and 'Married' (Is. 62 4); in Is. 54 1-6, on the other hand, it engrosses the mind of the prophetic writer. It is on the latter, as the context shows, that the writer of Is. 62 (who is not the author of Is. 54) wishes to concentrate our attention. Zion is at present despised (*v.* 7), and her harvests are plundered by the heathen (*v.* 8 *f.*); but when her land is once more 'married,' she will be entitled to the protection of the God of the whole earth.

The sense of the passage has been obscured by an error in the vowel points. For בָּנַיִךְ, 'thy sons' (*v.* 5), read בֹּנֵיךְ 'he who bnildeth thee up' (cp 54 11 *f.* Ps. 147 2). See Du., Che. (*SBOT*), and on the other side Di., who gives no parallel, however, for the startling play upon meanings which he assumes.

T. K. C.

BEZAANANNIM (בְּצַעֲנַנִּים) occurs in Josh. 19 33 RV[mg.], 'the oak of Bezaanannim,' where EV has 'the oak in ZAANANNIM,' a view of the text now pretty generally abandoned. The 'oak (or sacred tree) of Bezaanannim' is a landmark on the W. border of Naphtali, following Heleph, and preceding Adami-nekeb and Jahneel, and is usually identified with 'the oak of Bezaanaim' (following the points), or of 'Bezaanim,' or 'of Bezaanannim (Ḳ'rē) in Judg. 4 11, where RV has 'the

[1] Bethel (βηθελία) a populous village of Gaza with very ancient and much-rivered temples, is mentioned by Sozomen (v. 15 14, p. 202). [MS note of WRS.]

[2] For the form Betylua, cp the magical stones Bætylia, which derive their name from Beth-el; and on interchange of the forms Bethu- and Beth-, see BETHUL.

[3] So Jerusalem is referred to as κόρη in Sibyll. 3 784-786 (APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 86 *ff.*). Cp DAUGHTER, 4.

[4] Possibly also in 1 S. 30 27 (see BETHEL, 2).

[5] In 2 Macc. 13 19 22 𝔊A has τ. βαιθσ. 11 5 βεθσουρων [A], βαιθσουρων [V].

oak in Zaanannim,' and has inconsistently omitted to record the modern view of the text in the margin. 𝔊 reads in Josh. 19 33 καὶ μωλα καὶ βεσεμιειν [B], κ. μηλων καὶ βεσενανιμ [A], κ. ωλαμ σεεναναειμ [L]; in Judg. 4 11 ἕως δρυὸς πλεονεκτούντων [B; so Theod.], πρὸς δρῦν ἀναπαυομένων [AL]; see Field's *Hexapla*.

The difficulty connected with the phrase is twofold. (1) In Joshua *l.c.*, this famous tree is placed on the border of Naphtali; but Judges *l.c.*, read in the light of Judg. 4 17 5 24, makes the tree much nearer to the battle-field, which, according to Judg. 5 19 21, was by the stream Kishon. (2) The name is inexplicable, whether we read בצענים (Bezaanim?) or בצעננים (Bezaanannim?). If, however, several times in Judges (see KADESH), and once in Judg. 4 (see HAROSHETH), the name קִרְשׁוֹן = קֶדֶשׁ has been correctly restored, it is plausible to suppose that the incomprehensible name, pronounced sometimes Bezaanaim or (better) Bezaanim, sometimes Bezaanannim, may conceal the same old name, especially as in Judg. 4 11 the words 'which is by Kedesh' are added. It is extremely probable that both in the far north (see KADESH, 2) and in the territory of Issachar there was a place which bore the name of Kadshon (Kidshon); the people of either place could be called Kadshonim (Kidshonim). Nor need we hesitate to emend בצענים (the form which the best critics prefer) to קִדְשׁוֹנִים, a form which should be restored, as the present writer has sought to show, in Judg. 5 22 26 (see KADESH[1]). It is easier to suppose that the 'oak' or 'sacred tree' which forms the subject of this article was near the Kidshon (Kedesh) of Issachar than to follow the Priestly Writer in Joshua, who places it on the border of Naphtali. The error of the latter seems to have arisen from the statements in Judg. 4 6 9 *f.*, which place the mustering of the Israelitish warriors at Kedesh-Naphtali. The error of the scribe who wrote בצענים was facilitated by an inopportune recollection of the form כנענים Kĕna'anim (Canaanites). Whether he also thought of the new Heb. בִּצָּה, 'ditch, dike, pond' (cp בִּצָּה, 'marsh,' Job 8 11 40 21), cannot be determined (cp Neub. *Géogr. Talm.* 225).

An identification of 'Bezaanim' with Khirbet Bessūm, E. of Tabor, on the plateau of the Sea of Galilee, was proposed by Conder in *PEFQ* '77, p. 25 (so *Tent Work*, 2 132); cp GASm. *HG* 396, who considers it 'well supported.' But we must first of all be sure of the reading of the name. It is remarkable that tradition still affirmed that the 'oak o.f. . . .,' which was a fixed element in the story, was 'by Kedesh.' Of course, אשר את־קדש is not required when we read עד־אלון קדשנים, 'to the sacred tree of the Kidshonim.'

T. K. C.

BEZAI (בֵּצָי, § 52; Hilprecht has found the Jewish name Biṣā on a tablet from Nippur [*PEFQ*, Jan. 1898, p. 55]). The b'ne Bezai, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii., §§ 9, 8 *c*), Ezra 2 17 (Βαcoγ [B], -cc. [A], Βαcει [L]) = Neh. 7 23 (Βεcει [Bℵ], Βαcι [A], -ccη [L] = 1 Esd. 5 16 BASSA, RV BASSAI (Βαccαι [B], -ccα [A], -ccει [L]); represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7). Neh. 10 18 [19] (Βηcει [BA], Βηθει [ℵ], Βεcει [L]).

BEZALEEL, RV Bezalel (בְּצַלְאֵל, §§ 22, 29, 'in the shadow of God'; cp BESODEIAH; βεσελεηλ [BAL]). The form is improbable. Sil-Bel, 'Bel is a shelter,' the name of a king of Gaza in Sennacherib's time (*KAT*(2) 162), even if correctly represented, is not parallel. Read חלצאל, 'God rescues,' and cp the Phœn. names חלצבעל, אשמנחלץ. The number of the artificial religious names of later times has been exaggerated.

1. b. Uri b. Hur of the tribe of Jodah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2 20), a skilled workman in gold, silver, and brass, who together with Aholiab executed the work of the tabernacle (Ex. 31 2 35 30 36 1 *f.* 37 1 38 22, all P). He is mentioned in 2 Ch. 1 5 as having made the brazen altar.

2. One of the b'ne Pahath-Moab in the list of those with foreign Wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 30 (βεσεληλ [BA], βεσσ. [ℵ], βεσσεληλ [L] = 1 Esd. 9 31, SESTHEL (σεσθηλ [BA]).

T. K. C.

BEZEK (בֶּזֶק, cp § 100, 'gravel'? cp Syr.; Βεζεκ [BAL]; *BEZEC*). 1. A place at which Saul mustered the force he had raised for the relief of Jabesh-gilead; 1 S. 11 8 (αβιεζεκ εν βαμα [B]; εν βεζεκ [A]; Σαουλ εν *pupa* [L]). Eusebius (*OS*(2) 237 52) locates two neighbouring villages of this name 17 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis; beyond doubt Khirbet Ibzīḳ, 14 Eng. m. from Nābulus and nearly opposite the lower end of Wādy Yābis, with which Eshtori Parchi (A.D. 1322) identified it. See *PEF Mem.* 2 231 237.

2. A place at which Judah and Simeon, in invading the S. of Palestine, encountered and routed the Canaanites under Adoni-bezek; Judg. 1 4 *f.* (βαζεκ [A]; om. B* in v. 5). Many scholars, from Eusebius downwards, identify this with No. 1; but this is inadmissible.

Judah and Simeon set out from the neighbourhood of Gilgal (Judg. 1 16 *f.* 2 1) to invade the region in which they afterwards settled; the end of the story of Adoni-bezek conducts him to Jerusalem, which was probably his own city (Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem; see ADONI-BEZEK and ADONI-ZEDEC). Ibzik lies wholly out of this sphere of action and in a quite different direction.

The Bezek of Judg. 1 must be sought much farther south. Conder would find it at Bezḳeh, 6 m. SE. of Lydda (*PEF Mem.* 3 36); but this view is scarcely probable. In view of the change which the name of the king has suffered, it may be questioned whether the name of the place has been correctly preserved.

G. F. M.

BEZER (בֶּצֶר, § 106, 'fortress'; Βοcορ [BAL]), a levitical city and city of refuge, Dt. 4 43 Josh. 20 8 21 36 (om. MT; Βοcωρ [L]), 1 Ch. 6 78 [63]—the BOZRAH [1] (בָּצְרָה) of Jer. 48 24 (𝔊 βοσορ)—is described in Josh. 20 8 as lying in the wilderness on the (Amorite) 'Mishor' or Tableland, and is usually identified with the modern *Ḳeṣūr el-Besheir* (or *Beshīr*), about 2 m. SW. of Dibon, and about the same distance N. of Aroer. King Mesha of Moab in his inscription (l. 27) says: 'I built Bezer, for ruins had it become.' With this place some have identified BOSOR (*q.v.*, 2).

BEZER (בֶּצֶר; coβαλ [B], Βαcαρ [AL]), in genealogy of ASHER [§ 4 (ii.)], 1 Ch. 7 37†.

BEZETH (Βηzεθ [A], Βηθzαιθ [ℵ], Βαιθzηθ [V], Βηρzηθω [Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 2; but Βηθzηθω, *ib.*, Βηρzηθω, xii. 11 1; Schlatter, *ZDPV* 19 224]), a place near Jerusalem where Bacchides encamped, and, having slain some deserters and prisoners, threw them into 'the great pit' which was there (1 Macc. 7 19). The readings of 𝔊ℵ and Syr. in this passage (ܒܝܬ ܙܝܬ [ed. Lag.]) point to an original Beth-zaith (house of the olive). Hence it is possible that Bezeth may be the later Bezetha ('place of olives'), the name given to the N. end of the plateau, on the S. part of which lay Jerusalem. See BETHZATHA, JERUSALEM, OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

BIATAS (φιαθας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 48 AV = Neh. 8 7, PELAIAH, 2.

BICBRI (בִּכְרִי, § 61; Βοχορει [BA], Βελλααι [L]) in Sheba b. Bichri (2 S. 20 1 *ff.*), a gentilic from BECHER [*q.v.*]. The plural **Bichrites** (הַבִּכְרִים) is postulated by 𝔊BA (καὶ πάντες ἐν Χαρρει) in 2 S. 20 14 in place of BERITES [*q.v.*]. See SHEBA, ii. (1), BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β.

BIDKAR (בִּדְקַר; Βαδεκ [L], -κα [B], -καρ [B^b A]), Βαδεκαρ [B^a mg.], Jehu's adjutant (שָׁלִישׁ), 2 K. 9 25. The name is noteworthy, because the chief support of the theory that ב at the beginning of proper names sometimes stands for 'son of' is that Pesh. here has *bar-dĕḳar* (hence בִּדְקַר = בֶּן־דֶּקֶר, 'son of piercing'—a suitable name for a warrior; cp Lanzknecht; cp Ass. *bindiḳiri* [Del. *ZKF*

[1] *JQR*, 10 567 *f.* ['98].

2 172], and see BENDEKER). For other examples, all doubtful, see Ges. *Thes.* col. 349; Konig, *Lehrgeb.* 2248; and against this Ols. *Heb. Gr.* 613. Halévy (*Rech. Bibl.* iii., *REJ*, Jan,-June 1885) thinks ב in all these words=[י]אב. For this ב=בן theory we can hardly cite the one or two cases in Phœnician, probably accidental (*CIS* i. 192 2, 3933). Does 𝔊L's Βαδεκ imply a reading בדק רש שלישיו, 'B. chief (ראש) of his (Jehu's) captains'? W. R. S.

BIER (מִטָּה, κλινη), 2 S. 3 31; (σορος), Lk. 7 14. See DEAD, § 1.

BIGTHA (בִּגְתָא; Βωραζη [BאL²], [οαρε] Βωα [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10). Marq. (*Fund.* 71) finds its Gr. equivalent in ζηβαθαθα [A], for βαζηθαθα, whence he restores בנזתא (misread בזרתא)=O. Pers. *bagadāta*, 'given by God'; cp BAGOAS, and see ESTHEX, ii. § 3.

BIGTHAN (בִּגְתָן, etymology doubtful; Βαγαθαν [אc.a mg. sup.]; BKAL om.; Jos. Βαγαθωος), Esth. 2 21, or Bigthana, Esth. 6 2 (בִּגְתָנָא; 𝔊 as in 2 21; Jos. Γαβαταιος), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus, who, in Esth. 12 1, is called GABATHA (γαβαθα [BאAL²]). See ESTHER, ii. § 3.

BIGVAI (בִּגְוַי, rather BAGOI, *i.e.*, BAGOAS [*q.v.*]; Βαγουα [A], -ουια [L]).

1. A leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 *e*) in the great post-exilic list (*ib.* ii. § g), Ezra 2 2 (βατουσι [B], βαγουαι [L])=Neh. 7 7 (βατοει [BN], βαγουιαι [A])=1 Esd. 5 8, AV REELIUS (βορολειου [BA], βαγουαι [L]); signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 16 [17] (βαγοσι [B], -οει [אA], βασουι [L]).

2. Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 *c*), Ezra 2 14 (βαογει [B], βαγουα [Avid], -ουαι [L])=Neh. 7 19 (βατοει [BאA])=1 Esd. 5 14, BAGOI (βοσαι [B], βαγοι [A], -ουαι [L]).

3. Family in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [i.] *d*), Ezra 8 14 (βαγο [B], γαβουαει [A], γαβουια [L])=1 Esd. 8 40 BAGO (βαναι [B], βαγο [A]). Cp HEGAI.

BIKATH-AVEN (בִּקְעַת־אָוֶן), Am. 1 5 AVmg. See AVEN, 3.

BILDAD (בִּלְדַּד, § 43, Βαλδαδ [BאAC], -δας [A]), the Shuhite (see SHUAH), one of Job's friends (Job 2 11 and elsewhere). The name either means 'Bel has loved' (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 42 479 ['88]), or is a softened form of Bir-dad, which appears to lie at the root of BEDAD (so Del. *Par.* 298). See ELIDAD, and cp DOD.

BILEAM (בִּלְעָם, § 77), 1 Ch. 6 70 [55]. See IBLEAM.

BILGAH (בִּלְגָּה, 'cheerfulness'?).

1. Head of the fifteenth course of priests, 1 Ch. 24 14 (βελγα [A], -αδ [L]). 𝔊B has εμμηρ, which must represent Immer, the head of the sixteenth course. (γελβα, the name of the head of the fourteenth in 𝔊B [MT יֶשֶׁבְאָב], is merely a transposed form of Bilgah in a different place in the list.)

2. A priest (βαλγας [אc.a mg.], βελ. [L]; om. BאA) in Zerubbabel's hand (EZRA, ii. § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 5; in *v.* 18 (βαλγα [אc.a mg.], βελγας [L]; om. BNA) a 'father's house.' Cp also BILGAI.

BILGAI (Βελγα[ε]ι [AL], -λς[ε]ια [Bא]), a priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. §§ 6, 7), Neh. 10 8 [9]. No doubt the same as BILGAH.

BILHAH (בִּלְהָה; Βαλλα [BADEL], but 1 Ch. 7 13 Βαλαμ [B], -λααμ [L]).

1. The 'mother' of the tribes Dan and Naphtali, according to J; also represented as the maid of Rachel (mother of the house of Joseph) and concubine of Jacob and his eldest son Reuben.

We have not, unfortunately, the means of determining how far we are warranted in regarding these relations as representing traditions of fact, and how far they may be imaginative incidents of the story. Was Bilhah, *e.g.*, a tribe (Canaanitish? Aramæan?), elements of which were taken up into some of the clans of the house of Joseph (the first Israel) in the earliest days after their arrival in W. Palestine before they crystallized into the three well-known branches (Manasseh-Machir, Ephraim, Benjamin)? Or does the name, which occurs nowhere outside of Genesis (and the equivalent 1 Ch. 7 13), simply indicate that not only Dan but once also Naphtali tried unsuccessfully to settle somewhere in the Highlands of Ephraiin before betaking itself to the extreme north? Or, once more, is this true only of Dan, the inclusion of Naphtali being then due simply to its geographical nearness to Dan in its later seat, and to its worthiness to stand by the side of the noble Rachel tribes (Judg. 5 18)? Again, is the Reuben story (Gen. 35 22 1 Ch. 5 1) to be brought into connection with the other traces of the extension of the house of Joseph (cp Reuben's interest in the fortunes of Joseph: Gen. 37 22 29: E.,) beyond Jordan (MACHIR; EPHRAIM, WOOD OF), or is it to be explained, as Stade (*Gesch.* 1 119) explains it, as a memorial of the primitive society that survived E. of the Jordan when there had been a change in W. Palestine? Or are we to give serious consideration to a combination (G. H. B. Wright) with the story of BOHAN (cp BILHAH, 2) the son of Reuben (Josh. 15 6 18 17), as an indication that Reubenite elements were once actually to be found W. of the Jordan ('in that land:' Gen. 35 22)? That there really was contact between Benjamin and the Bilhah tribe Dan was a matter of course; Ono and Lod ultimately became Benjainite (cp BENJAMIN, § 3; We. *De Gent.* 12 n. 1). It was Rachel, however, not Bilhah, that died when Ben-oni was horn.

2. In Simeon (1 Ch. 4 29). See BAALAH, 2.

H. W. H.

BILHAN (בִּלְהָן, § 77; cp BILHAH; Βαλααν [BA]).

1. A HORITE (*q.v.*), Gen. 36 27 (βαλααμ [Dsil EL]); 1 Ch. 1 42 (-αμ [BL]).

2. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. *a*) 1 Ch. 7 10 (βαλααμ [L]).

BILSHAN (בִּלְשָׁן, § 83; perhaps Bab. *Belšun*; but more probably we should read Bel-šar, a mutilated form of Bel-šar-ēzer—*i.e.*, Bab. Bel-šar-uṣur;—cp 𝔊BAL in 1 Esd.). A name in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), borne by one of the ten (Ezra), or eleven (Neh., 1 Esd.), persons who accompanied Zerubbabel from Babylon (see EZRA, ii. § 8 *e*). Ezra 2 2 (βασφαμ [B], βαλασαμ [A], -λασαν [L]) = Neh. 7 7 (βασφαν [א], βαασαν [A], βαλσ. [B], L om.)=1 Esd. 5 8 BEELSARUS (βεελσαρου [BA], βαλσαρ [L]). If Bel-gar is correct, may not this be the Sharezer of Zech. 7 2 (see SHAXEZER, 2)? This undesigned coincidence (if accepted) may have important bearings on criticism. T. X. C.

BIMHAL (בִּמְהָל), in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 [ii.]), 1 Ch. 7 33 (ιμαβαηλ [B], Βαμαηλ [A], Βααμαθ [L]).

BINDING AND LOOSING (Mt. 16 19 18 18†). The explanation given under MAGIC (§ 3 [4]) may account for the origin of the Jewish phrase 'binding (אסר) and loosing' (התיר); but in usage 'to hind' and 'to loose' mean simply 'to forbid' and 'to permit' by an indisputable authority, the words of authoritative prohibition and permission being considered to be as effectual as he spell of an enchanter (cp אָסַר, Targ. Ps. 58 5 [6]). The wise men or rabbis had, in virtue of their ordination, the power of deciding disputes relating to the Law. A practice which was permitted by them was said to be 'loosed' (מותר), and one which was forbidden was called 'bound' (אסור). Such pronouncements were made by the different schools; hence it was said, 'The school of Shammai binds; the school of Hillel looses.' Theoretically, however, they proceeded from the Sanhedrin, and there is a Talmudic statement that there were three decisions made by the lower 'house of judgment' to which the upper 'house of judgment' (*i.e.*, the heavenly one) gave its supreme sanction (*Maṣṣoth*, 23 6). Probably, therefore, Jesus adopted a current mode of speech when he said to the disciples that whatsoever they bound or loosed on earth (*i.e.*, in expounding the new Law) should be bound or loosed in heaven (Mt. 18 18). Probably, too, it is a less authentic tradition

which makes Jesus give the same promise to Peter individually (Mt. 16 19). Nowhere is it recorded that the great Teacher made Peter the president (נָשִׂיא) of his council of wise men. The words which immediately precede Mt. 16 19 f.—self-evidently taken by the editor from another context—represent Peter, not as an expounder of the new transfigured Law, but as a practical administrator (cp Is. 22 22). It is in favour of the view here adopted (viz., that the words on 'binding' and 'loosing' were addressed to the disciples in general and not to Peter individually) that in Jn. 20 23 the power to remit and to retain is granted to the disciples collectively, not to any one of them individually. Though the use of κρατεῖν in that passage has no exact Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent, the saying is not a new one, but a paraphrase of Mt. 18 18. T. K. C.

BINEA (בִּנְעָה, בִּנְעָא), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [β]), 1 Ch. 8 37 (Βαανα [B], Βααν. [AL]) = 9 43 (Βααανα [BℵL], Βαν. [A]).

BINNUI (בִּנּוּי, 'a building up'; on form cp NAMES, § 5).

1. Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 8 *c*), Neh. 7 15 (βανουι [BℵA], -ναιου [L]) = Ezra 2 10, BANI [*q.v.*, 2] (βανου [B], -ουι [A], -ναια [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 12, BANI (βανει [BA], -ναια [L]).

2. A Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 [1] *d*), Ezra 8 33 (ἀπὸ εβαννααια [B], υιος βαναια [AL]) = 1 Esd. 8 63 SABBAN, RV SABANNUS (σαβαννου [BA], υἱὸς βαναιου [L]), and probably Neh. 12 24 (MT 'the son of'; και υἱοι [BℵA], κ. οἱ υ. αὐτου [L]); so Smend, *Die Listen*, etc. Most probably the same as

3. A Levite in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 24 (βανει [BℵA], -ναϊ [L]); signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), 10 9 [10] (βαναιου [BℵAL], αβ. [ℵ^c.a]), possibly the same as the Levite Binnui in Zerubbabel's band (see EZRA, ii. § 6b) 12 8 (βανουι [BℵA], καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐιοῦ [L]). In Neh. 8 7 8, BAVAI (בַּוַּי; βεδει [B], βεζερ [ℵ], βενει [A], βαναι [L]) seems a textual error.

4. and 5. One of the b'ne Pahath-moab, Ezra 10 30 (θανουει [Bℵ], βανου[ε]ι [AL]) = 1 Esd. 9 31, BALNUUS (βαλνους [B], -ουος [A], βανουι [L]) and one of the b'ne Bani (Ezra 10 38; Βανουι [BℵA], βουνει [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 34, ELIALI; both in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end).

BIRD. References to birds generally are very frequent in OT and NT.

1. Kinds referred to. The following terms (translated in EV 'bird' or 'fowl') are used to denote the members of the family *Aves* collectively: עוֹף, *'ōph*, Eccles. 10 20 Is. 16 2 Hos. 9 11; צִפּוֹר, *ṣippōr*, Gen. 7 14 Lev. 14 6 *f.* 51 *ff.*; בַּעַל כָּנָף, *ba'al kānāph*, Prov. 1 17; and [of birds of prey] עַיִט, *'ayit*, Gen. 15 11 Is. 18 6 46 11 Jer. 12 9 Ezek. 39 4 Job 28 7 (‖ אַיָּה, *'ayyah*); πετεινά and τὰ πετεινά, Mt. 8 20 13 32 Lk. 9 58 Rom. 1 23 Jas. 3 7; τὰ πτηνά, 1 Cor. 15 39, and [of birds of prey] ὄρνεον, Rev. 18 2 19 17 21.

Birds of the smaller kinds are not so often distinguished as the larger; but special reference is made to several species, both large and small. Mention seems to be made, for example, of the BITTERN, Buzzard (see GLEDE), Blue Thrush (see SPARROW), CORMORANT, CRANE, DOVE, Egyptian Vulture (see GIER EAGLE), Griffon (see EAGLE), HAWK, HERON, HOOPOE, Sacred Ibis (see SWAN), KITE, NIGHT HAWK (?), OSPREY, OSSIFRAGE, OSTRICH, OWL, Pigeon (see DOVE), PARTRIDGE, PEACOCK, PELICAN, QUAIL, RAVEN, STORK, SWALLOW, Tern (see CUCKOW), Black Vulture (see VULTURE), and the domestic fowl (see COCK), details and discussions concerning all of which will be found in the special articles. SPARROW occurs occasionally in the EV as a translation of the word (צִפּוֹר) which denoted any small passerine bird.

2. Use. That feathered animals (בַּעַל כָּנָף) abounded in Palestine is clear from the many references to them in OT and NT, and lapse of time has produced no change in this respect (see PALESTINE). Naturally the eggs and the birds themselves were used for food (Ex. 16 12 *f.* Nu. 11 32 Job 6 6 Neh. 5 18 Ps. 78 27 Lk. 11 12 Acts 10 12 11 6; see FOWLS, §§ 4, 6, and cp FOOD, § 8); the Torah divides them into clean and unclean (Lev. 11 13 Dt. 14 20; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 9). Many contrivances for capturing birds were in common use (Ps. 91 3 124 7 Prov. 1 17 6 5 7 23 Am. 3 5 Eccles. 9 12 Jer. 5 27 Hos. 7 12 9 8 Ecclus. 11 30). The Torah protects them against cruelty (Dt. 22 6 *f.*). Sometimes the captives were tamed and treated as pets (Job 41 5 [40 29], Bar. 3 17 Ecclus. 27 19 Jas. 3 7). Only in cases of extreme poverty does the Torah allow birds to be used for sacrifice (see SACRIFICE). Naturally, common small birds, on account of their abundance, were of little value; they were probably so numerous as to prove a nuisance (Mt. 10 29 31 Lk. 12 6 *f.*; cp *Land and Book*, 43). To what extent—if any—birds were studied for omens in Israel as in Babylonia (see BABYLONIA, § 32, MAGIC, BABYLONIAN, § 3) it is difficult to determine (see Lev. 19 26 Dt. 18 10 2 K. 21 6 2 Ch. 33 6 1 K. 4 33 [5 13], and cp DIVINATION, § 2, *beg.*, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1 250 *ff.* ET).

3. Literary and popular allusions. Allusions to their habits in metaphors, similes, and proverbial expressions prove how prominent they were in the life and thought of the people (cp AGRICULTURE, § 15, and see Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Lect. vii. vol. i. ET 1787). They were evidently observed with the keenest interest as being links between earth and heaven, and regarded with a certain awe (Job 12 7 28 21 35 11 Eccles. 10 20). It was noticed how they cared for and protected their young (Dt. 32 11 Ex. 19 4 Is. 31 5 Mt. 23 37); how and where they made their nests (Ps. 104 12 17 Ezek. 31 6)—sometimes (according to a pleasing but very doubtful interpretation) in the very temple itself[1] (Ps. 84 3 [4]); in what sad plight they wandered about when cast out of the nest (Prov. 27 8 Is. 16 2 Ps. 102 7 [8]); how swiftly they flew away when scared (Hos. 9 11 Ps. 11 1); how eagerly they returned to their nest (Hos. 11 11); how free from care they were (Mt. 6 26); how regularly they migrated (Jer. 8 7 Prov. 26 2); how voracious they were (Gen. 40 17 Mt. 13 4 Mk. 4 4 Lk. 8 5); how they descended from the clouds in a bevy (Ecclus. 43 17), and with what delight they gathered in a leafy tree (Dan. 4 9 [12] Ecclus. 27 9 Mt. 13 32 Lk. 13 19); how sweetly they warbled (Eccles. 12 4 Wisd. 17 18 Cant. 2 12 [see, however, VINE] Ps. 104 12); how God recognises and protects them (Ps. 50 11 Lk. 12 24); and how they praise and reverence him (Ps. 148 10 Ezek. 38 20). Further, Israel's enemy is often pictured as a rapacious bird that sights its prey afar off and swoops down upon it (Is. 46 11 Jer. 12 9[2] Dt. 28 49 Rev. 19 17 21). Thus, 'to destroy' is to give a man's flesh to the birds of the air for meat (Gen. 40 19 Dt. 28 26 1 S. 17 44 46 1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 24 Ps. 79 2 Jer. 7 33 16 4 19 7 34 20 Ezek. 29 5). A place is desolate when its only inhabitants are the birds of the air (Jer. Ezek. 31 13 32 4 Is. 18 6), and an utter desolation when even these too have perished (Jer. 4 25 12 4 Hos. 4 3 Zeph. 1 3). The saying in Mt. 8 20, where Jesus contrasts himself with the birds which have nests, has not yet been made perfectly clear (but see SON OF MAN).

BIRSHA (בִּרְשַׁע, scarcely 'with [or, in] wickedness': the name is corrupt; cp BERA), king of Gomorrah who

[1] Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 160, and Che.'s note, *Psalms*[(1)]. The common view of the meaning is untenable on all grounds—exegetical, historical, metrical. 1. No natural exegesis can be given, if 'אֶת מִז' 'thine altars,' has any relation to the birds. 2. The sanctity of the temple proper would certainly have excluded the winged visitors; Jos. *BJ* v. 5 6 speaks of pointed spikes on the top of the (Herodian) temple to prevent birds from sitting even on the outside. This seems to have been generally overlooked. 3. The psalm consists of long verses (lines) divided by a cæsura into two unequal parts. 'Thine altars, my King and my God,' is too much to form the second and shorter portion of one of these verses. See Che. *Psalms*,[(2)] and cp Baethg. *ad loc.* who attempts an exegetical compromise.

[2] Read thus, 'Do I count my heritage a carcase torn by hyænas (הַמְּרֵפַת צָבוּעַ; 𝔊 σπήλαιον ὑαίνης = מְעָרַת צ׳)? Are vultures round about it?'

joined the league against CHEDORLAOMER (§ 2), Gen. 14 2 (Βαρσα [ADEL]; Βαλλας, Jos. *Ant.* i. 91).

BIRTHDAY (יוֹם הֻלֶּדֶת, ἡμέρα γενέσεως [ADE], γ. ἡ. [L], Gen. 40 20; γενέσια [Ti. WH], Mt. 14 6 Mk. 6 21). The only express mention of the celebration of the anniversary of birth in OT or NT is in connection with kings: Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. 40 20), when the 'chief butler' was restored to his office and the 'chief baker' hanged; Antiochus Epiphanes' birthday (2 Macc. 6 7);[1] and Herod's birthday (Mt. 14 6 Mk. 6 21), when Herodias's dancing was the occasion of the execution of John the Baptist. When it is said in Job 1 4 that Job's sons 'were wont to go and feast in the house of each one upon his day,' 'his day' denotes a weekly and not an annual feast; and in Hos. 7 5 'the day of our king' may refer to the anniversary of his succession quite as well as to a birthday. However, this silence on the subject is no warrant for us to conclude that the Israelites did not follow the general custom of observing birthdays, especially those of kings (see, for Egypt, *RP*(1) 4 77, and for Persia, Herod. 9 110). The curses invoked by Job (3 1-12) and Jeremiah (20 14-18) on the days of their birth imply that under happier conditions these days would have been remembered in more cheerful fashion.

Doubts have been raised as to whether Herod's *γενέσια* meant his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. The Mishna (*Aboda Zara*, 1 3) mentions as heathen festivals, calends, Saturnalia, *κρατήσεις*, kings' days of *γενέσια* (יום גיניסיא), and the day of birth and the day of death. It is probable that the last two mean the actual days and not the anniversaries; the *κρατήσεις* would naturally be the anniversaries of accessions and the יום גיניסיא the birthday. So Talm. Jer. *Aboda Zara*, 1 39*c* takes יום ג' as יום הלידה (birthday), but Bab. *Aboda Zara*, 10*a* understands יום ג' as anniversary of accession. *Γενέσια* is used as birthday in late Greek (in classical Greek it is anniversary of death) and never as anniversary of accession: thus the sense of birthday seems well established. Cp Schürer, *Hist.* 2 26, and the Talm. Lexx. of Levy and Jastrow on גיניסיא; also Gratz, *MGWJ* 20 230 ['71]. See also LORD'S DAY, § 2.

W. H. B.

BIRTHRIGHT (בְּכוֹרָה, Gen. 25 31; πρωτοτόκια, Heb. 12 16); see FIRSTBORN, **LAW AND** JUSTICE, § 14. On the story of Esau and Jacob see ESAU, § 2.

BIRZAITH (בִּרְזָיִת, Kr.), AV **Birzavith** (ברזות, **Kt.**; Βηζαιθ [B], Βερζαιε [A], Βαρζεθ [L], in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 31†. The name (? באר זית, 'well of the olive tree') seek to suggest a locality.

BISHLAM (בִּשְׁלָם; ἐν εἰρήνῃ [BA], ἐν εἰρήνῃ ῥεουμ Βεελτεεμ [L]), Ezra 4 7, for which 1 Esd. 2 16 has BELEMUS (Βηλεμος [BA] or Βεελσιμος [L]), the name of a Persian officer of unknown origin, who joined with others in writing a letter of complaint against the Jews. 𝔊BA takes the name as descriptive of the tranquil state of the writers of the letter (*ἐν εἰρήνῃ*); but Bishlam is clearly a proper name. It either means 'in peace,' cp BEZALEEL, BIRSHA, or, more probably, like those names, it is a corruption. The true name may be Babylonian. It may perhaps be recovered if we start from one or the other of the forms presented in the MSS of 1 Esd., where the proper names are sometimes more accurately preserved. Ball (*Var. Apocr.* ad loc.), adopting *βήλεμος*, supposes a corruption of Bab. Bel-ibus—Le., 'Bel made.' It would seem, however, that the *βεελσιμος* of 𝔊L must be more original, and this form may have arisen from Bel-šum-iškun—*i.e.*, 'Bel made a name' (Nestle, *Marg.* 23, 29).

T. K. C.

1 EV 'the day of the king's birth every month': *so* 𝔊 and Pesh., Vg. om. *κατὰ μῆνα*. Grimm suggested that 'every month' is from 1 Macc. 1 59; but it is probably genuine (see **LORD'S** DAY, § 2).

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος). The word is of rare occurrence in the NT.[1]

The elders of the church, summoned from Ephesus to Miletus to receive Paul's farewell charge (Acts 20 17), are thus addressed: 'Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you as overseers (*ὑμᾶς . . . ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους*) to feed (or rule: *ποιμαίνειν*) the church of God' (*v.* 28). It is not clear from this passage whether the word is used as **a** definite title, or merely as **a** description implying that *ἐπισκοπή*, oversight or superintendence, was a function of the presbyterate. In the address of the Epistle to the Philippians, however, we have 'bishops and deacons' formally mentioned; it is **difficult**, in **view** of the later usage of the words, to suppose that this is merely **a** general description **of** 'those who rule and those who serve.' In 1 Tim. 3 1 *ff.* the bishop and the deacon are again brought together. The qualifications of **a** bishop **are** enumerated: *δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.*, where the article is commonly regarded as generic, or at least as not implying that there was only one bishop in the Ephesian church. In Tit. 1 5 *ff.*, in connection with the duty of appointing presbyters in the towns of Crete, a similar description of **a** bishop's qualifications is given (*δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.*); but no reference is made to deacons. The only other occurrence of the word is in 1 Pet. 2 25, where it is applied to Christ himself, 'the shepherd and bishop of your souls. It is not necessary to interpret these titles as metaphors drawn from the Christian ministry.

1. Occurrence of name in NT.

We note, then, that the word is found in all cases on Greek ground, and it would seem as if those who in the Palestinian churches were called 'presbyters' were in the Greek churches spoken of at first as 'bishops' and then indifferently as 'presbyters' or as 'bishops.' This view, however, assumes that *ἐπίσκοπος* was already at this time in use as a title of office; and the assumption requires a careful examination. It will be best to begin such an examination with what is admittedly the latest portion of the NT evidence.

2. (*a*) Pastoral Epistles.

1 Tim. 3 1 *ff.* 'If a man seeketh *ἐπισκοπή* he desireth a good work. The bishop, therefore, must be without reproach,' etc. (*εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ. δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίλημπτον εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*). The whole conception of the function of an *ἐπίσκοπος*, as it is here described, suggests that the authority which he wields is independent, not merely that of a member of a governing board. To begin with, *ἐπισκοπή* does not give any idea of assessors: it is distinctly personal. It is a position of independent importance and control, such as a man may naturally desire. Secondly, the epithet 'given to hospitality' (*φιλόξενος*) suggests a personal responsibility; the Church's duty of show-ing hospitality to Christians from other parts seems naturally to centre in some one person; we could scarcely have had 'Presbyters must be given *to* hospitality' (*δεῖ οὖν πρεσβυτέρους φιλοξένους εἶναι*). In like manner, 'apt to teach' (*διδακτικός*) would scarcely be a qualification for a member of the presbyteral body as such; and the same may be said of the epithets *μὴ πάροινος, μὴ πλήκτης*, 'not passionate or ungoverned in temper.' The control of his own house, again, gives the thought of independent jurisdiction in the case to which it is made a parallel—'how shall he act as *ἐπιμελητής* of the church of God?'

The singular noun with the article may, according to Greek usage, be taken generically; but we must observe that (1) when the writer passes on to give a similar list of qualifications for a deacon the plural is used: 'Deacons in like manner . . . Women in like manner . . . Let deacons be husbands of one wife' [*διακόνους ὡσαύτως . . . γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως . . . διάκονοι ἔστωσαν μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρες* (in the last case the use of the singular with the generic article would have avoided an awkward phrase)]; (2) in Tit. 1 7, we have an exact parallel: *δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.*, where we might easily have had *δεῖ γὰρ ἐπισκόπους κ.τ.λ.*; (3) the usage of the article in the Pastoral Epistles is a further reason for hesitating to explain it here as generic, for the article is very sparingly employed, and there

1 [Analogous *to* MH חַזָּן, superintendent in the synagogue or elsewhere. See Jastrow's *Lex.*].

seems no example at all parallel to these in any of the three Epistles.

The difficulty is to some extent met by insisting on the use of ἐπίσκοπος as a descriptive epithet rather than as a formal title: 'He who exercises ἐπισκοπή.' In so far as his status in the Church is dwelt on, such a man would be spoken of most naturally as 'one of the elders'; but here the subject in hand is the function to be exercised by him individually. That function is ἐπισκοπή: in the exercise of it he is ἐπίσκοπος. The watchful oversight which is regarded as 'an excellent work' is not an eminent position, but a responsible activity. He who is to exercise it needs to have certain special qualifications. We feel the contrast when we come to διακόνους ὡσαύτως, which introduces in an ordinary way the members of a large and subordinate class.

3. (*b*) Other NT writings. The passage in Acts 20 is, as we have seen, quite indeterminate. If ἐπίσκοπος can be shown to be a title in use at the time in question, we may render the words, 'hath set you as bishops.' Otherwise we should perhaps render them, 'hath set you for oversight.' The phrase in the Epistle to the Philippians, if taken quite by itself, would, in the light of later history, be naturally rendered 'with the bishops and deacons' (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις), notwithstanding the absence of the definite article. If, however, ἐπίσκοπος be not yet found as a title, a less definite interpretation may be allowed. The decision between the two views must depend on a further consideration which shall include the use of the term διάκονος at this period [see DEACON, § 6], and the use of ἐπίσκοπος outside the NT, in other than Christian contexts, and in the earliest Christian writings.

4. Non-Christian usage. In the use of ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπισκοπεῖν, in other than Christian contexts, a great width of meaning is noticeable, due, no doubt, to the original signification which fitted the words for application to any person who exercised an office of superintendence. The commissioners who superintended Athenian colonies, various other commissioners or inspectors, magistrates who regulated the sale of provisions, and, apparently, financial officers of a temple or of a guild (Lightf. *Phil.* 95; Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches*, 37 *f.*)—all these are spoken of as ἐπίσκοποι, or are said ἐπισκοπεῖν. Nor was this the only term which had a similar largeness of reference: quite parallel is the usage of ἐπιμελεῖν and ἐπιμελητής (Hatch, see above).

In the LXX the word ἐπίσκοπος is equally wide in the persons and offices which it embraces. Taskmasters, captains or presidents, and commissioners, are in turn so entitled; and as a synonym in the last of these cases we find also ἐπίσταται (Lightf.; see above).

All this evidence points to the fact that ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπεῖν were words which naturally offered themselves as descriptions of any persons charged with responsible oversight, and were the more available in that they had no predominant association with any one class of officers in particular. The words were, as far as possible, colourless, much as our words 'preside' and 'president' are to-day.

5. Hatch's theory. Hatch's position, adopted by Harnack, in reference to ἐπίσκοποι is as follows:—The most important corporate function of the earliest Christian communities was that of providing for their poor and sick members. They were, in fact, benevolent societies, and as such they had parallels all around them in the heathen world, in the countless clubs and guilds which combined social purposes with certain religious practices. The finance officers of these heathen societies were called ἐπίσκοποι. Now, the duties which the Christian ἐπίσκοπος had to perform are described as intimately connected with the care of the poor, with hospitality to travelling brethren, and with the management of the common fund which was devoted to these and similar purposes. It is probable, therefore, that both the title and the functions of the Christian ἐπίσκοπος are directly derived from his heathen counterpart.

6. Criticism of it. The best examination of this theory is that by Loening (*Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, 21 *ff.*). After pointing out the very general signification of the word ἐπίσκοπος in Greek literature—a signification which enabled it to be applied to any person in authority for whom there was no fixed title already, and so to be used with great freedom by the LXX as a rendering for various officers mentioned in the OT—he takes up the evidence of the inscriptions on which Hatch's theory mainly rests. They fall chronologically into two classes. The first class is pre-Christian: one inscription of the Macedonian period in the island of Thera, which contains a decree ordering certain ἐπίσκοποι to receive moneys and invest them; and two inscriptions of the second century B.C., in the island of Rhodes, relating to municipal officers not further defined. Those of the second class belong to the second and the third century A.D., and are found in a district E. of the Jordan. They are ten, and refer to municipal officers. In one case the officers are charged with some responsibility for the moneys of a temple. In this district they seem to have formed a kind of municipal board, chosen from various tribes or divisions of the community. Further, in a Latin inscription of the fonrth century certain *episcopi* regulate prices in the market.

This appears to be the whole of the evidence on which the statement that ἐπίσκοποι were the finance-officers of clubs and guilds is found to rest. In Loening's opinion it points exactly in the opposite direction.

As to the other part of the argument,—viz., that the Christian ἐπίσκοπος is, as a matter of fact, a finance-officer,—that is no peculiarity of function linking itself especially to the title. To the presbyters at Jerusalem gifts are brought; and presbyters are warned not to exercise their office 'for filthy lucre' (EV; αἰσχροκερδῶς, 1 Pet. 5 2): moreover, in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (chap. 11) presbyters are charged with duties towards the poor and are warned against covetousness. The word ἐπίσκοπος in itself suggests a far wider responsibility than the mere charge of finance: it implies superintendence of persons as well as of things.

Loening even goes so far as to suggest that the word ἐπίσκοπος was chosen just because it had no fixed associations either in the Jewish or in the Greek world, and was, therefore, free to be used in a community which stood in contrast to all other communities surrounding it.

In the extreme scarcity of evidence, we may be content to say that the theory that the Christian ἐπίσκοπος derived his title and functions from those of the officers of the Greek guilds or of the Greek municipalities has not been established.

7. General conclusions. We may say, then, that the NT evidence seems to point to the existence in the apostolic age of two classes of administration—a class of rulers and a class of humbler ministrants who acted under their orders. As far as the first of these has a distinctive official title its members are called Elders; but, since their function was summed up in the general responsibility of oversight (ἐπισκοπή), they could be spoken of as 'overseers' (ἐπίσκοποι), a term which was already passing from a mere description of function into a definite title. The men of the second class aided those of the first in the humbler parts of their ministration. They were naturally described by the general designation of 'servants' (διάκονοι); but this term too is passing in the apostolic age into a recognised title. On the whole, it seems simpler to suppose that the latter stage has been reached in Phil. 1 1 and in the Pastoral Epistles; but the decision of this point is not a matter of serious importance.

In the later history, the second class retains its designation, which in some localities comes to be a title of considerable dignity. The first class, on the other hand, presently undergoes a subdivision: one member comes to stand out above his fellows, and, whilst all continue alike to be Elders, the title of ἐπίσκοπος, which in itself connotes an individual responsibility and importance, is not unnaturally appropriated as the designation of the one who has come to be the supreme officer of the community. The causes which led to a monarchical development are still wrapt in obscurity; but the appropriation of the name ἐπίσκοπος to the chief ruler is not hard to understand. We are fortunate

8. Clement of Rome.

in possessing a document of the last decade of the first century, by which we can, to some extent, test the position which we have taken up. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was occasioned by the ejection from their office of certain Elders of the church in Corinth. As the writer may quite well have had personal knowledge of one or more of the apostles, his evidence is of high importance, not only for determining the existing organisation of the church in Corinth (and probably in Rome as well) in his time, but also as indicating the belief that this organisation was instituted by the apostles themselves.

First let us consider the use of the designations in question in the most important passage.

(I 42) 'The apostles . . . appointed their first fruits (cp 1 Cor. 16 15), having tested them by the Spirit, to be *overseers and servants* (εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους) of them which should believe.' The words have clearly become titles, and their use as such is justified as being not new, hut foretold in Is.6 16. Ic is curious that διακόνους in this citation is an insertion of Clement's, and is not found in the LXX. He is clearly quoting from memory, and his memory has played him false. ($44) 'The apostles foresaw that there would he strife about the, title (or 'office')of oversight (περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς). Hence they appointed the aforesaid and provided for successors to them. It is a sin to turn such, if they have discharged their ministry blamelessly, out of their ἐπισκοπή. 'Blessed,' he goes on at once, 'are *the Elders* who have gone before,' and are safe from such treatment. In § 47 we have the offence described as a revolt 'against the Elders'; in § 54 we read 'Let the flock of Christ, he at peace along with the appointed Elders'; and in § 57, 'Do ye who began this sedition submit yourselves to the Elders.'

It is plain, then, that the persons whom the apostles 'appointed as ἐπίσκοποι,' and as their successors, are spoken of also as 'the appointed Elders.' These Elders are not to be rashly ejected from their λειτουργία or ἐπισκοπή.

The difficulty which Clement's epistle'presents in the matter of these designations belongs to the earlier chapters, before he has come to speak definitely of the Corinthian disorders: he seems to use the term 'elders' as though he referred not to an office, but only to a grade of persons dignified by that name in contrast to the young (οἱ νέοι).

In the first of the passages in question (§ 1) he. praises their former orderliness, 'submitting yourselves to your rulers (or "leaders," τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν), apd paying the due honour to the elders that were among you: and on the young ye enjoined modesty and gravity; and on the women' certain appropriate duties. Similarly, in § 21 we have, 'let us reverence our rulers (τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν), and let us honour our elders, let us instruct the young . . . let us guide our women aright.' Here we seem to have a contrast between 'rulers' and 'elders': and it has been held (*e.g.*, by Harnack) that the 'rulers' are a class of persons whose authority came from their possessing the *charisma* of teaching (cp Heb. 13 7 24), whilst the Elders are an undefined grade of senior members of the Church to whom honour is due on account of age and length of discipleship. But the word νέοι, occurring in both passages (not νεώτεροι, as elsewhere so often), is an important clue, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Clement is in fact alluding to a passage of Isaiah, which he cites with some additions in § 3: 'so,' he says, 'of old the mean rose up against the hononrahle, the young against the elder (οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους)' Is. 3 5. It would he possible to interpret 'the rulers' as the civil rulers to whom Clement several times applied the term ἡγούμενοι ($ 37); but on the whole it seems most natural to suppose that at first he is carefully avoiding definite references to the Corinthian. revolt, and only preparing the way for its direct rebuke. Thus he speaks in the most general terms of 'the rulers,' and passes rapidly away from the word 'elders,' just introducing it as a hint beforehand, but dwelling on the coot-meaning which was still strongly felt in the word, and contrasting it with οἱ νέοι in accordance with the OT passage which is in his mind.

No argument, therefore, can safely be based on the rhetorical use of the word 'elders' in the opening part of the letter. No doubt the Elders were elder men; and no doubt the revolt came from some of the younger men: this was a part of its heinousness, and the covert allusion would be understood by those to whom the letter was addressed.

The development of the monarchical episcopate lies outside the limits of the NT; but even

9. Later development.

within the Canon we find indications of a tendency which the later history enables us to interpret as moving in this direction.

We have noticed that all passages which describe the functions and responsibilities of Elders speak of them as a class and in the plural number; whilst, on the other hand, where the duties of oversight (ἐπισκοπή) are pourtrayed, the ἐπίσκοπος is spoken of as a single person, charged with responsibility—and this in one place in sharp contrast to the διάκονοι, and in the other immediately after Elders have been mentioned in the plural number. From this we may gather that, in as far as a member of the ruling class was thought of as ἐπίσκοπος, it was natural to consider him by himself as exercising an independent control and holding a position of eminent authority.

As far as terminology, then, is concerned, the way was prepared for the distinction that presently came into force.

10. 'Episcopos' easily individualised.

The word ἐπίσκοπος suggests an individual, just as the word πρεσβύτερος suggests the member of a ruling class, or the word διάκονος the member of a serving class. The class of rnlers, however, did not need two designations, and when the course of development led to a supreme officer it was easy and natural to appropriate to him the word ἐπίσκοπος, while his inferior colleagues were simply termed πρεσβύτεροι.

But this consideration does not really give us any guidance as to the causes of the change from government

11. Change foreshadowed in NT.

by a body of co-ordinate ἐπίσκοποι or πρεσβύτεροι to government by a single ἐπίσκοπος with a consultative college of πρεσβύτεροι, among whom he is *primus inter* pares. The apostolic age, however, presents us with several foreshadowings of the monarchical rule which presently became universal. In the church in Jerusalem the position of James, the Lord's brother, was one of real if undefined authority, and, though not marked by any special title, it closely resembles that of the bishop of the second century. We have the statement of Hegesippus that on the death of James his cousin Symeon was appointed by general consent to fill his place (Eus. *HE* iii. 11). Here, then, was a monarchical type of government, naturally evolved and continuously recognised; and such an example could not fail, as time went on, to exercise an influence on other communities.

In the Greek world the churches of Paul's foundation were from the first controlled by the strong hand of their founder. It is true that he urged them to corporate action of their own in the exercise of jurisdiction and discipline; but he himself commanded them with an authority beyond challenge, and his commands were obeyed. In certain cases he transferred this his apostolic authority to delegates, such as Timothy and Titus; but only, it would seem, for a period, and in order to cope with special needs. Still, in doing this, he had given a practical proof of the advantage gained by the presence in a community of one who could rule with supreme authority; and this temporary sway would doubtless help in determining the tendency of subsequent development.

These examples, however, would have been powerless

by themselves to produce so great a change, had there not been elements in the life of the communities which made for the concentration of authority in particular hands. It is often said that such an element is discoverable in the working of the presbyteral college itself.

12. Bishop not chairman. Any board which meets for the transaction of business must needs have a president. The hoder of this position would naturally acquire a large share of the authority of the board itself; in time he would tend to become a supreme officer over the whole commnnity. This suggestion is open to two serious criticisms. On the one hand, there is no ground for thinking that in parallel cases at that period such a development from oligarchical to monarchical rule came about. Presidents of this kind were often elected for a month or for a year, and in any case did not acquire an independent authority. Moreover, the term 'presbyteral college' may be challenged, if it is intended to suggest that the practical administration of the Church was carried on by means of formal meetings of the Elders as such. We have no evidence of any kind that they regularly met in this way. It is probable that they had special seats in the assembly of the community; but that they met by themselves for the transaction of business and required a chairman is a hypothesis for which no evidence has yet been given.

It is only when we turn our attention away from the administration and fix it on the common worship of the church, that we begin to get any rays of light on this problem.

13. Rather leader in worship. If we knew better the history of the eucharist, it is not unlikely that the history of the episcopate would cease to be so perplexing.. In the disorders which disgraced the Lord's Supper in Corinth, and in Paul's regulations for checking them, we hear nothing at all of any kind of presidency or leadership. In the same church before the end of the century we find elders spoken of as the leaders of the eucharistic worship and as 'offering the gifts.'

The picture which, fifty years later, Justin draws of the eucharist in Rome, shows us a single officer, spoken of simply as 'the president' (ὁ προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν), receiving and offering the eucharistic elements, and making the eucharistic prayer, to which the whole congregation responds with the AMEN (§ **3**).

14. Justin's account. Likewise, after the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets 'the president' makes an exhortation based upon what has been read. He is, moreover, the depositary of the collection made in behalf of the poor, and has a general responsibility for widows and orphans, for the sick and needy, for prisoners, and for travelling brethren from other communities (*Ap.* i. 65-67). This president is clearly the bishop, though Justin's language does not help us to decide whether he was at that time known in Rome by the title ἐπίσκοπος or not. If he was, it by no means follows that Justin would have said so. He is writing for heathen readers, and he avoids technical terms; or, if he finds it convenient to use them, he explains them. Thus, in speaking of the deacons, he describes them as 'those who with us are called διάκονοι' (οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι); and his usual term for the Gospels is 'the memoirs of the apostles,' to. which in one place he adds 'which are called gospels' (ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια). We can argue nothing from the absence of the designation 'bishop': had he cared to introduce it, he would no doubt have done so by the phrase 'he who with us is called ἐπίσκοπος' (ὁ καλούμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίσκοπος). But the person is there, if the name is not; and we see that important collateral functions belong to the officer who presides at the eucharistic service. He appears as at once the instructor and the almoner of the whole community.

It is a long step, however, from Clement to Justin, and it is of some importance to us that we should have evidence of a like development in other parts of the Church. Two passages may be cited which point in the same direction for the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

15. Eastern Church. *1*. In the *Didachè* (chap. 10 *f.*) the prophets are spoken of as holding a position of special importance in reference to the eucharist: they are not bonnd by the prescribed formulie of thanksgivings, but may 'give thanks as they will.' This implies that, if present, they naturally take a prominent part in the service. They may order an *agapé* to be held (ὁρίζειν τράπεζαν); and to them the first fruits are to be given, 'for they are your chief-priests' (chap. 13). The same document declares, however, that the ministry (λειτουργία) of the prophets and teachers was likewise exercised by the bishops and deacons (chap. 15). It is safe to suppose that if no prophet were present the conduct of the service would be in the hands of the permanent local ministry, although in this case there would be no exemption from the duty of using the prescribed formulie.

2. The Ignatian Epistles, as is well known, portray the completed development of the three orders for certain Asiatic churches at a comparatively early period. It is noteworthy that the one bishop is expressly connected with the one eucharist (for references, see EUCHARIST). No eucharist is to be held without the bishop, or some person deputed by him to conduct it. There is 'One bishop, one altar, one eucharist' (εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἓν θυσιαστήριον, μία εὐχαριστία).

We may feel confident, then, that in the development of the eucharistic service we have an element—perhaps the most important element—of the development of the monarchical episcopate.

As soon as this monarchical rule had been established in a church various sacred parallels which would be taken as confirmatory of the divine order of the institution, would be observed.

16. Final stage. The bishop and his presbyters might be compared with Christ and his apostles. Or again, the three orders of the Christian Church—bishop, presbyters, and deacons—would find a ready analogy in the high priest, priests, and Levites of the Jewish ritual. Such parallels would serve to confirm the validity of the institution, and would facilitate its adoption in other localities.

Meanwhile, the extraordinary ministry of apostles and prophets had passed or was rapidly passing away. Some of the functions which they had exercised were essential in the Church; and these devolved as a heritage upon the permanent ministry. The prestige which had attached to their exercise passed over in the main to the chief officers of the community, who thus came to be regarded, with a large measure of truth, as the successors of the apostles, wielding apostolic authority as the rulers of the Church and the defenders of the Christian faith. J. A. R.

BISON (דִּישֹׁן, *dīšōn*), Dt. 14 5† AVmg.; RV has PYCARG (*q.v.*).

BIT (מֶתֶג), Ps. 32 9 EV. See BRIDLE, 3

BITHIAH (בִּתְיָה; ΓΕΛΙΑ [B], ΒΕΘΘΙΑ [A], ΦΑΘΘΟΥΙΑ [L]), 'daughter of Pharaoh,' and wife of Mered ben Ezrah, in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 18). On the assumption that 'Pharaoh' (פַּרְעֹה) is correctly read, Bithiah (which might be explained 'daughter—*i.e.*, worshipper—of Yahwè' [Olsh. § 277 *b*]) might be a Hebraised form of an Egyptian name such as Bint-Anta, 'daughter of Anta' ('Anath), to indicate that the bearer of the name had entered the Israelitish community.

This, however, does not accord with the view implied in the vowels of the name of Bithiah's husband. Mered apparently means 'rebellion,' and suggests a warning against the wickedness of taking foreign wives (see Ezra 9 1, and cp 2 Ch. 24 26). It would he inconsistent with this that Mered's wife should bear the honourable

name 'daughter of Yahwè' : we should expect to find the old heathen name retained. Perhaps, then, Bithiah is not the right name; 𝔊^B's γελια suggests to Kittel עליה, and 𝔊^L's φαθθουια may conceivably be based on בתויה, which in turn may have sprung from בתולת, producing a description of Mered's non-Jewish wife as 'a young Egyptian princess' (Mered's other wife 'the Jewess' [JEHUDIJAH (*q.v.*)] is not named). However, the corruption is antecedent to 𝔊, and the whole story (half-told, half-implied, by the text as it now stands) is imaginary. The idea of the double marriage of Mered had not occurred to the original compiler; the true text conveys no warning against mixed marriages. Four at least out of the five names, Mered, Bithiah, Pharaoh, Jehudijah, and Hodiah, are corrupt; perhaps indeed all five are. Mered, or, more strictly, M-R-D, has probably come from M-R-TH, which is an incorrect form of R-M-TH—*i.e.*, Ramoth—or rather of Jarmuth (see MERED). 'Bithiah' is not improbably a corruption of 'Bealiah' (בְּעַלְיָה, 1 Ch. 12 5 [Gi. **Ba.** 6]). Pharaoh should rather be פִּרְעָה, a clan name (cp PIRATHON). Ha-Jehudijah (RV^mg.) and Hodiah are plainly the same name (in *v.* 19 read אִשְׁתּוֹ, 'his wife'). Accepting this view, we have two accounts of the family of Mered. It is not quite certain, however, that the person miscalled Mered is represented as having two wives. Hodiah may have been deliberately substituted for Bealiah, from a dislike to the first element in that name.

We are now rid of the only case in the OT of a name compounded with Jah (יה)—of such names there are 157—being borne by a foreigner (cp Gray, *HPN* 158). Next, another mistake has to be noted. It is plain that 1 Ch. 4 17 as it stands is not right. The remedy is (with Berth. and Kitt.) to transpose *v.* 18*b* to the middle of *v.* 17, inserting of course וַתֵּלֶד after ותהר. This gives us, as the children of Bithiah or Realiah, Miriam (?), Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshtemoa. Eshtemoa also occurs (together with Keilah) in the list of the children of Hodiah (*v.* 19), while Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are connected with Mered through Hodiah's double, Ha-Jehudijah—an important notice (see MERED). It is perhaps sad to have lost what was supposed to be an early testimony to the presence of an Egyptian element at and about Eshtemoa, as contrasted with the more purely Jewish character of Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah; but we gain an attestation of the traditional importance of Jarmuth. It may be added that in Jewish legend Bithiah becomes the foster-mother of Moses (*Vayyikra, R.*, par. 1). T. K. C.

BITHRON (הַבִּתְרוֹן, ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΙΝΟΥΣΑΝ [BAL], ܠܒܝܬ ܚܘܪܘܢ, *BETH-HORON*) '*the groove*' or 'cleft' *par excellence* situated between the Jordan and Mahanaim (2 S. 2 29†), and possibly to be identified with the *W. 'Ajlūn*, along which, though at a later time, ran a Roman road from 'Ajlūn to Mahanaim (Buhl, *Pal.* 121); see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF. For the sense of Bithron cp 𝔊's rendering of בתר in Cant. 2 17 (ὄρη κοιλωμάτων) (like κοιλάς in 𝔊 for עמק). The reading Bithron is not certain, and the Vss. give little help,[1] although Vg. (cp also Aq.'s βεθωρων) suggests that there was another Beth-horon E. of Jordan (see HORONAIM). Thenius's conjecture, BETH-HARAM, is improbable.

BITHYNIA (ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑ [Ti. WH]), the district round the central Sangarius (*Sakarîa*) in the NW. corner of Asia Minor, extending from the mouth of the Rhyndacus (*Edrenos Chai*) eastwards to that of the Sangarius.

1. Geography.

The boundary between Bithynia and the province of Asia coincided, not, as might have been expected with the line of the Rhyndacus, but with that of the range of the Mysian Olympus (*Keshish Dagh*) lying N. of the river (Pliny, *HN* 5 142). The eastern frontier is often made to coincide with the Billaios or with the Parthenios, or even to extend beyond the latter river, in spite of Strabo's statement that the *mouth* of the Sangarius marked the boundary (543, τὴν Βιθυνίαν ὁρίζει πρὸς ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς). Inland, it ran out far E. of the river; but the line is indeterminate. According to Pliny (*HN* 5 149), the Hieros or Siberis separated Bithynia from the province Galatia; but the boundary fell some 12 m. E. of that stream (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 195), whence it ran W. between the Sangarius and its tributary, the Tembris.

2. History.

The will of Nicomedes III., the last of its kings, left Bithynia to the Romans in 74 B.C.; but it was not until 64 B.C., when the sultan of Pontus had been finally expelled from Asia, that Pompeius could undertake the organisation of the province (cp Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 79). With it was now combined the whole of the kingdom of Pontus, with the exception of those districts towards the E., as well as those in the interior (Paphlagonia), which were assigned to native dynasts in recognition of their services to Rome (Str. 541. See Niese in *Hermes*, 13 39, and *Rhein Mus.* 38 567 ['83]). Ămīsos, which lay immediately E. of the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), was the most easterly community of that part of Pontus which was combined with the old kingdom of Nicomēdes to form the Roman province.

This dual origin of the province was recognised in its official title, ***Pontus et** Bithynia* (so generally in inscriptions, both Lat. and Gr.; cp Appian, *Mithr.* 121, *CIG* 3532 3548, *CIL* 5 5262). The reverse order is perhaps upon the whole later, encouraged by the gradual growth in importance of the western section. Either name, apparently, might be used to denote the entire province (cp Tac. *Ann.* 12 21 with Dio Cas. 60 33; *CIG* 2590, *Bull. Hell.* 11 212). In administration also the two parts retained a certain degree of formal independence, each having its own metropolis and Diet (*concilium*).

3. Post-Apostolic.

In the distribution of provinces by Augnstus in 27 B.C. Pontus-Bithynia remained senatorial—*i.e.*, its governors, who were of Prætorian rank, bore the title 'proconsul' (Str. 840, Tac. *Ann.* 1 74 16 18). The official residence was Nicomedeia. Under the ineffective supervision of the Senate the province gradually became disorganised: its finances fell into disorder, and unregulated *collegia* gave birth to turbulence and faction. In order to carry out the necessary reforms, the younger Pliny was sent into the province in 112 A.D. His importance arises from his official contact with Christianity (*Epp. ad Trai.* 96 and 97. See Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence*, 51 *f.*, Rams. *Church*, 196 *f.*, and cp CHRISTIAN, § 63).

In the early period of post-apostolic history Bithynia is illustrious; but it has little connection with the apostles themselves. The salutation of 1 Pet. 1 1, where Pontus and Bithynia are mentioned separately, bears witness to the rapid evangelisation of the province. Before 112 A.D. Christianity had made such progress in Bithynia that pagan ritual was interrnpted and the temples in great part deserted (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 96). We get a hint that there, as in Ephesus, trade interests were at the bottom of the attack then made upon the Christians. The *contagio istius superstitionis* (*superstitio prava immodica*), as Pliny calls the faith, would most easily enter the province by way of Amisus, along the route leading from the Cilician Gates by Tyăna and Cæsarea Mazăca in Cappadocia. Ramsay (*Church*, 225) conjectures from Pliny's letter that its introduction must fall about 65-75 A.D.

Amisus is now *Samsūn*. Even in Strabo's time it was gradually displacing Sĭnōpē (*Sinub*) as the great harbour on the north coast. The route from Cæsarea Mazăca northwards *via* **Aqua:** Saravenæ, Euagina, and Ămăseia, to Amisus, is even to-day 'the only road practicable for arabas, and must always have been a great trade-route' (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM*, 268).

4. Acts 16 7.

The interpretation of the word Bithynia in Acts 16 7 is connected with the question concerning the Galatian churches (see GALATIA). On the N. Galatian theory, the object of Paul's vain attempt to enter Bithynia must have been to reach either Amisus or Amastris; for a design of preaching in the barbarous interior is improbable. The direct route to Amastris went, it is true, by way of Ancyra in Galatia;

[1] 𝔊 is unintelligible and, to judge from its similarity to the Heb. (cp We. Dr. *ad loc.*), has arisen perhaps from a transliteration.

but on the other hand no such route could have brought the apostle 'over against Mysia' (so RV; κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν). Further, both in Roman and in ordinary usage Amastris, and still more Amisus, was a city of Pontus, not of Bithynia; and only the word Pontus could have been allowable as a single term to express the dual province to which it belonged (as is clear from Str. 541 compared with **543**, in speaking of Heraclea). The expression 'to go into Bithynia' can only be taken to imply W. Bithynia—*i.e.*, the district round Nicæa and Nicomedeia, where the wealth and administrative machinery of the province were centred. Dorylaion (*Eski-shehr*), only a few miles S. of the Bithynian frontier, was the point to which all the roads from the south converged; Paul and his companions must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood when they were suddenly diverted westwards (Acts 16 7). W. J. W.

BITTER HERBS, BITTERNESS (מְרֹרִים; πικρίδες,[1] *lactucæ agrestes*, Ex. 12 8 Nu. 9 11; πικρία, *amaritudines*, Lam. 3 15; in Mishna also in sing.) are twice mentioned along with מַצּוֹת as the accompaniment of the paschal feast. Probably such herbs—whether separately or mixed—as lettuce (*Lactuca Scariola*, var. *sativa*), chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*), and endive (*Cichorium Endivia*) are meant. Doubtless they originally came into use simply as a relish or salad,[2] though the prescription of them in the Law may have to do with the atoning significance of the Passover; their association with the sufferings of the people in Egypt is probably a later new (Nowack, *HA* 2 173). See, further, PASSOVER.

'Bitter herbs,' rather than 'bitterness' (𝔊, EV), seems to he the proper rendering in Lam.315, where מְרֹרִים answers to לַעֲנָה, 'wormwood,' in the parallel clause. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BITTERN, RV **Porcupine** (קִפּוֹד, εχινος,[3] *ericius*; Is. 14 23 34 11 Zeph. 2 14†). The identity of this animal (Heb. *ḳippōd*) is far from certain: opinions of great variety have been held.

1. Philology.

The ancient versions unanimously render 'Hedgehog' (or 'Porcupine'—the two were scarcely distinguished), and this is in general supported by Jewish tradition, though Rashi thinks that in Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14 a bird is meant, and D. Ḳimḥi interprets 'Tortoise'[4] in all three passages (see their commentaries *in locc.*). Of modern Bibles Wycliffe's has in all three places 'Urchin,' and so Luther (followed as usual by the Dutch), 'Igel.' Junius and Tremellius in their Latin OT **render** *anataria* ('duck-eagle'); Coverdale, followed by the Great Bible, bas 'Otter' in Is. 14 23 and 'Stork' in Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14, while the Geneva Bible has in Isaiah 'Hedgehog' (14 23 mg. or 'tortoise'), and in Zephaniah 'Owl' (mg. or 'hedgehog'). The French Protestant version seems alone to have anticipated **AV** in the rendering 'butor' (mg. ou 'bièvre'). The Roman Catholic Bibles follow the Vulgate.[5]

The etymology of the Hebrew word is not, however, unchtain.

It is derived from a verb which in Assyrian means 'to plot,' transitively (Sargon, *KIB* 2 66 *f.*), and in Arabic (1) 'to inflict a blow on the neck of another'; (2) 'to have a thick or loose neck.' The original sense is perhaps better seen in Syriac, where the same verb means 'to gather into a heap or ball (trans. or intrans.): the sense of drawing together also underlies the Assyrian use (cp 'intrigue,' *intricare*). The verb occurs but once in OT Hebrew (in Piel form), Is. 38 12—'I have *rolled up* (or possibly 'shortened,' see Dillmann *ad loc.*) like a weaver my life,'—a simile referring to the treatment of the finished web:[1] the use of the noun קְפָדָה in Ezek. 7 25 accords well enough with this derivation.

1 πικρίς is, according to Dioscorides (2 159), the wild variety of σέρις (chicory or endive): Pliny (xix. 838) mentions it as the bitterest sort of *lactuca* (see the reff. in Di. on Ex. 12 8, and in Nowack, *HA* 2 173): *Picris echioides* is probably intended by both. It does not of course follow that the meaning of מְרֹרִים is identical with that of πικρίδες.

2 Vegetable food with meat is a dietetic necessity, and would naturally be eaten raw until it was discovered that certain kinds were best cooked. It is a matter for curious inquiry why so many salad herbs were bitter, at any rate in their feral form. Dandelion is a striking example.

3 Also used to render תַּן, Is. 13 22, and קִפּוֹז, Is. 34 15.

4 Which he wrongly supposes to he the meaning of Ar. *ḳunfudh*.

5 Explanations of these various renderings will he found in Fuller's *Miscellanea Sacra*, 1 18; Bochart's *Hieroz.* 3 36.

Ḳippōd is equivalent in form to Aram. *ḳuppĕdhā*, Ar. *ḳunfudh*;[2] and that these are the words for 'hedgehog' in their respective languages is made clear for Ar. (*e.g.*) by Damiri's account (*Ḥayāt al-Ḥaiwān*, Būlāḳ edition, ii. 219) and for Aram. by the Syr. *Physiologus* [Lands *Anecdota Syriaca*, 4 42 *f.*).[3] The instances of קִפּוֹד, קוּפְּדָא, in late Heb. and Aram. prove the same for post-biblical Jewish usage (see Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 100).

Whilst the philological evidence is thus entirely in favour of the rendering 'hedgehog' or 'porcupine,' it must be admitted that, zoologically, there are considerable difficulties. The animal is always spoken of in connection with desolation, and once in relation to pools of water: and, whilst both these conditions would be natural in the habitat of the Bittern, they have no particular association with either the Hedgehog or the Porcupine. Again, in Is. 3411, the קִפּוֹד is mentioned among birds; and in Zeph. 214 it is prophesied that the Pelican and the *ḳippōd* shall lodge together in the capitals of ruined Nineveh, while 'a voice' (if the text may be trusted) shall sing in the windows. The answers made by Bochart to these objections—that the Porcupine or Hedgehog was regarded as an unfriendly, desert-loving animal on account of its formidable equipments; that we can find parallels to the mention of a beast among birds in such enumerations as Lucian's 'large oxen, and horses, and eagles, and bears, and lions'; and that the capitals on which the animal is to sit may be those of fallen columns—are ingenious, but perhaps scarcely satisfying. It has been suggested that the translation 'bittern' may be reconciled with the etymology by considering the fact that this bird has the power of *drawing in* its long neck so that its head almost rests upon its breast.[4] Still, it, is not easy to set aside the argument derived from the meaning **of** the word in the cognate languages.

2. Zoology.

The Bittern, *Botaurus stellaris*, is found in marshy and reedy places throughout Europe, Asia (including India), and Africa. Canon Tristram records its occurrence in the marshes of Ḥūleh. It is a nocturnal bird of considerable size, and is remarkahle for its loud booming note. Formerly a common bird in suitable localities in Britain, it is now but a winter visitor. It is grouped with the Herons in the family Ardeidæ. (Cp also CORMORANT and PELICAN.)

For Is. 34 11 (יַנְשׁוֹף; RVmg. 'bittern') see OWL, § 2 (4)

N. M.—A. E. S.

BITTERNESS, WATER OF (מֵי הַמָּרִים), Nu. 5 18 RV, AV 'bitter water.' See JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF.

BITUMEN, the proper rendering (1) of חֵמָר,[5] as RVmg. recognises (ασφαλτος; *bitumen;* EV has

1 This evidence seems enough to show that the original sense was 'to contract or 'cause contraction by striking,' not to 'cut; and that those were misled who, like Fuller and nearly all the older scholars, explained the name of the animal from the latter sense. In post-biblical Hebrew and **W.** Aramaic the sense of cutting is fairly common; but this may be explained partly perhaps from a misinterpretation of קִפַּדְתִּי in Is. **38 12**, and partly from association with Gr. κόπτω and its derivatives: cp Syr. *Ḳupdā* (N.S. *ḳūptā*), 'a piece of flesh'—late Gr. κοπάδιον.

2 So Æthiopic *kenfez.* It seems more probable that the Arabic word is a loan-word from Aramaic, than that קִפּוֹד is horrowed. Fränkel, however (*Aram. Fremdw.* xiv.), holds that the latter is the case.

3 Cp, for Syriac the other references cited **by P.** Smith. *Kuppĕdhā* appears'to he used for the 'owl' in *Kal. w. Dim.* (367).

4 Cp Brehm's *Thierleben* (Leipsic '79) 6388. 'When it (the Bittern) rests and is at ease, it holds the body erect in a somewhat forward position and draws in its long neck to such an extent that its head rests upon its neck.'

5 Ar. *homar.* Perhaps with reference to the reddish colour occasionally observed? (Diosc. 1 99).

slime') in Gen. 11 3 14 10 Ex. 2 3†; but also (2) of כֹּפֶר, which, like its Aram. cognate, is an Ass. loan-word (EV PITCH) in Gen. 6 14†, where its occurrence furnishes one of the proofs of the Babylonian origin of the Deluge-Story (see DELUGE, § 13). In the Bab. Deluge-Story six '*šars*' of *kupru* (כֹּפֶר, 'bitumen') and three of *iddu*[1] (naphtha: Jensen) *are* poured upon the outer and inner sides of the ship, respectively. *Iddu*, 'naphtha,' is the word used in the legendary account of the infancy of Sargon I. (3 R. 458*a*; *RP*(1) 5 56):—'she placed me in a basket of reeds, with *iddu* my door 'she shut'; in the similar story of Moses the words חֵמָר, 'bitumen,' and זֶפֶת, PITCH (*q.v.*), are combined (Ex. 2 3 ἄσφαλτος πισσα [B^a?b], but ἀσφαλτόπισσα [B*AF]). The origin of bitumen, or asphalt, and naphtha need not delay us long. Together with petroleum and mineral tax, they form a series of substances which are the result of certain changes in organised matter. These substances merge into each other by insensible degrees, and it is impossible to say at what point mineral tar ends and asphalt begins.

Naphtha, which is the first of the series, is in some places found flowing out of the earth as a clear limpid, and colourless liquid. As such it is a mixture of hydrocarbons, some of which are very volatile and evaporate on exposure; it takes up oxygen from the air, becomes brown and thick, and in this state it is called petroleum. A continuation of the same process of evaporation and oxidation gradually transforms the material into mineral tar, and still later into solid glassy asphalt.

Asphaltic deposits are widely diffused throughout the world, more especially in tropical and sub-tropical regions—for example in the basin of the DEAD SEA (*q.v.*, § 6). The asphalt of the Dead Sea (which was very well known to the ancients) is not at present of commercial importance; but the sources of the supply of ancient Babylon, the bitumen springs of Hit (the Is of Herod. 1 179), are still used. At this very old city on the Euphrates the shipwrights adhere to the ancient fashion of boat-building. Tamarisk and mulberry branches form the substratum, which is covered with mats and thickly besmeared with bitumen (cp Ex. 2 3).[2] Bitumen was much used in architecture (see Gen. 11 3). Unburned brick protected by a plaster of bitumen proved the most indestructible of materials (see ASSYRIA, § 6, BABYLONIA, § 15, and cp Peters, *Nippur*, 2 162). Bitumen was used in ancient times as a fuel (Verg. *Ecl.* 8 83), for medicinal purposes (Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 4) and for embalming (*see* EMBALMING).

BIZJOTHJAH, RV **Biziothiah** (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה), among the cities of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. 15 28). 𝔊^BA (καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν κ. αἱ ἐπαύλεις ad. [L om.]) enables us to restore thus—וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ ('and her villages'). *See* We. *CH* 132, and Hollenberg, *Alex. Uebers. d. B. Jos.* ('76), 14.

BIZTHA (בִּזְּתָא [Bä., Ginsb. for common 'בִּזְ], ΜΑΖΑΝ [B‎א*L^β], ΒΑΖ. [א^c.a], -ΖΕΑ [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10). If any reliance could be put on the reading of the Vss., one might, with Marq. (*Fund.* 71), compare μαζαν with O. Pers. *mazdāna—i.e.*, מזדן, or βαζαν, with βαζανης, the name of a eunuch of Darius I.

BLACK (חוּם, שָׁחֹר, קָדַר, חָשַׁךְ) and **BLACKISH** (קֹדֵר) Job 6 16; *see* COLOURS, § 8. **BLACKNESS**; for Prov. 7 9 RV and Joel 2 6 Nah. 2 10, see COLOURS, § 17; for Job 3 5 *ib.* § 8 n., for Is. 50 3 *ib.* § 8.

BLAINS (אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת), Ex. 9 9 *f.*†. See BOIL, § 3.

BLASPHEMY (נְאָצָה 2 K. 19 3 Is. 37 3; נֶאָצוֹת Neh. 9 18 26; 'נָאַ Ezek. 35 12; ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΙΑ Tob. 1 18 1 Macc. 2 6 Mt. 12 31 26 65). The word

1. The word. so translated is derived from a root (נאץ) meaning literally 'to scorn or reject' (see 2 S. 12 14 Ps. 74 10 18 Is. 52 5). In Hebrew, therefore, it can naturally be used to describe an attitude of hostility towards God or man, things holy or things profan (Jer. 33 24 Is. 60 14 1 S. 2 17).

'Blaspheme' (cp the verb 'to blame,' Romanic *blasimare*, L. *blasphēmāre*, and see Murray, *s.v.*), however, occurs in the EV as a rendering also of the following words: בֵּרַךְ 1 K. 21 10 13 AV (RV 'curse'[1] RVmg. 'renounce'; cp Dav. on Job 1 5); גִּדֵּף 2 K. 19 6 22 EV = Is. 37 6 23 EV, Ezek. 20 27 EV, Nu. 15 30 RV (AV 'reproach'), Ps. 44 16 [17] EV; נקב (אֶת־הַשֵּׁם) Lev. 24 11 ('שֵׁם) *v.* 16 EV, and the Gk. βλασφημεῖν 2 Macc. 10 34 (not V) 12 14 Mt. 27 39 Mk. 3 28 (followed by τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ), Rev. 13 6, 1 Pet. 4 14.

In 1 Macc. 7 38 'blasphemies' is the rendering of δυσφημίαι; in *v.* 41 'to blaspheme' represent: the related verb δυσφημεῖν; the object of the blasphemies is the temple, It is important to determine the sense of βλασφημεῖν accurately, because the sense of 'to blaspheme' in EV follows this exactly. In a word, the conception of 'blasphemy' in current English is narrower than the conception that we find in this supposed pattern of English speech, which includes all modes of reviling or calumniating God or man (see 𝔊 on 2 K. 19 6 [Heb. גִּדְּפוּ] 19 4 [Heb. הוֹכִיחַ] and Is. 52 5 [Heb. מנאץ uncertain conj.], and cp Acts 13 45 18 6 Jude 9 with Lk. 5 21 Jn. 10 36).

Among the Hebrews (whose view, it is needless *to* say, profoundly affected our own common law)

2. OT sentiment. blasphemy or the expression of unjust, derogatory opinions regarding God or his government of the world was made *a* capital offence—(Lev. 24 11; cp 1 K. 21 13, and *see* Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 6); the blasphemer must be 'cut off' from his people (Lev. 24 15 P; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 13). It was forbidden *to* use the name of God lightly (חִנָּם Dt. 5 11), whether to ask a blessing or to invoke a curse (cp Ex. 20 7, and see BLESSING AND CURSING, § 1, and Schultz, *OT Theol.* 2 122 *ff.* [ET]). Whenever Israel is brought to shame Gods name is scoffed at by the heathen (Ps. 74 10 18). At a later date it was held to be a mark of profanity even to pronounce the real name of the God of Israel (see Lev. 24 11 and cp NAMES, § 109). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8 6), and the Rabbis interpret Ex. 22 28 as a prohibition of blaspheming 'strange gods'; but the interpretation, however much in the interests of the Jews themselves, implies a misunderstanding of the use of *ĕlōhīm* (see Schultz, 2 127). It was on a charge

3. NT. of blasphemy—claiming to be the Christ, the Son of God—that Jesus was found worthy of death (Mk. 14 61-64 Mt. 26 65; cp Jn. 10 33), and for blasphemons words against 'the holy place and the law' Stephen was condemned to be stoned (Acts 6 13 7 56 *ff.*). See STEPHEN. By blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Mk. 3 29, Mt. 12 32, was meant originally a definite offence of the scribes and Pharisees, who had ascribed Jesus' cures of demoniacs to a power derived from the prince of the demons. This was blasphemy against the divine power which had come upon Jesus at his baptism (Mk. 1 10 Mt. 3 16 Lk. 3 22). In Mt. 12 32, however, a later interpretation is given, which implies that the disciples of Jesus had thoroughly absorbed the idea of the indwelling Spirit. The Holy Spirit is put in antithesis to the 'Son of Man.' One who fails to pierce below the humble exterior of Jesus may be forgiven. One who not merely rejects, but openly disparages, that great gift which 'the Heavenly Father will give to those who ask him' (Lk. 11 13) cannot be forgiven: the inward impediment in the man himself is too strong. The idea of the original distinction was suggested by that in the Law (Num. 15 27-31). A parallel to it will be found in the Mishna (Sanhedr. 10 1)—'He who says that the Law is not from Heaven has no part in the world to come' (עוֹלָם הבא). The later interpretation, however, has no parallel, and is a

[1] Perhaps connected with *ḫamtu*, 'burning, fiery' (Halévy).
[2] See the illustration called 'A Noachian Boatyard at Hit,' Peter., *Nippur*, 2 162.

[1] This rendering of בֵּרַךְ is very doubtful: but it is quite possible that in passages like Job 1 5 1 K. 21 10 13 a later editor substituted בֵּרַךְ for קלל or נאץ. In Ps. 10 3 we may even have side by side the correction בֵּרַךְ and the original reading נִאֵץ.

product of the Spirit of Christ working in the hearts **of** the first disciples.

BLASTING (שִׁדָּפוֹן; 𝔊^BAFL ανεμοφθορια [Dt. 28 22 2 Ch. 6 28], εμπυρισμος [1 K. 8 37]; 𝔊^BAQ πυρωσις [Am. 4 9]; 𝔊^Bℵcb QΓ, αφορια, 𝔊^A αφθο. 𝔊^ℵ* *απο.* [Hag. 2 17]) is, as we learn from Gen. 41, a term specially applied to the blighting effect of wind upon corn. The root in Arabic means blackness; and the Heb. word thus describes a blackening (almost burning) process which is regarded as due to a severe wind —a sense which is expressed by the various renderings of 𝔊. The word is in each passage coupled with יֵרָקוֹן 'mildew.' Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether wind is in itself sufficient to account for such a blackening. In the British Islands wheat when young assumes a yellow colour from cold, a well-known physiological effect. Under a burning drying wind, it might turn brown, but scarcely *black.* Further, it must be noted that in Gen. 41 6 the corn was in ear; it had made its growth, but the ears were *thin—i.e.,* diseased. It seems probable, then, that the effect conceived in the dream was that produced by 'corn smut,' *Ustilago Carbo;* and that this is the real meaning of שִׁדָּפוֹן. 'Mildew' is the other common disease of corn, *Puccinia graminis.*

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BLASTUS (Βλαστος [Ti. WH]), the chamberlain (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος, *præfectus cubiculi*) of King Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12 20).

BLESSINGS **and CURSINGS** (בֵּרַךְ, to bless—a denominative from בֶּרֶךְ, the knee, with the lower part of the leg; perhaps 'to cause to make progress,'—and אָרַר, to curse [cp Ass. *arāru* (1) 'to curse,' *arāru* (2) 'to bind'], and their derivatives מְאֵרָה, בְּרָכָה, in parallelism, chiefly in poetic and legal sources of JED 'and later imitations; cp Gen. 27 29 Dt. 11 26 Josh. 8 34 etc.).

𝔊 represents ברך by εὐλογεῖν, ברכה by εὐλογία (also NT words). In Hebrew for 'cursing' we find also *(a)* קלל, קְלָלָה (prop. to belittle?) frequently. *(b)* אלה, verb and noun, cp שְׁבֻעַת אָלָה 'oath of cursing' Nu. 5 21 (RVmg. 'adjuration'), rendered 'execration,' Jer. 42 18 44 22, and RV only Jer. 29 18; its derivative תַּאֲלָה occurs in Lam. 3 65†. (c) הֶחֱרִים, חֵרֶם, see BAN. *(d)* קָבַב only in the Balaam stories (Nu. 22 11 23 8 24 10) and possibly to be connected with נקב (prop. 'to pierce') rendered in Lev. 24 11 16 'blaspheme.' From the Jewish tradition which explained it to mean 'pronounce, speak aloud' arose the deep rooted belief that the divine name **was** not to be uttered under any circumstance (see NAMES, § 109 n.), IDOLATRY, § 8. *(e)* שְׁבוּעָה, Is. 65 15, EV 'curse,' properly 'oath' as in RVmg.; see OATH and cp COVENANT, § 5.

The NT words are *(a)* ἀναθεματίζω Mk. 14 71 (in 𝔊 for החרים, חרם); καταναθεμα[τιζω], Mt. 26 74 Rev. 22 3; see BAN. *(b)* καταρά[ομαι] Rom. 12 14 Jam. 3 9 (in 𝔊 for קלל, ארר), also κατάρα Gal. 3 10 13 and κατάθεμα (RVmg. 'anything accursed'), Rev. 22 3; cp also ἐπικατάρατος 'under a curse,' Gal. 3 10. (c) κακολογεῖν Mt. 15 4 Mk. 7 10, RV 'speak evil of' (in 𝔊 for קלל) see OATH.

In the primitive sense of the word, a blessing or a curse was a spell, pronounced by 'holy' persons, and containing a divine name, or divine names, which drew down the divine favour or disfavour (*i.e.,* prosperity or adversity), as the case might require, on certain other persons. It was a consequence of the hardness of life that curses were more frequently in demand than blessings. Thus *(a)* the breaking out of hostilities between states naturally led to the solemn utterance of formulæ of cursing against the enemy. These invocations would be uttered at the opening of a campaign, and especially when the warriors were on the point of advancing against the foe. Goliath, we are told 'cursed David by his gods' (1 S. 17 43). The battle shout certainly had a religious character; and, if it did not always devote the enemy to destruction, at any rate it invoked a blessing on the national side. Cp Ps. 68 1- and the story of BALAAM [*q.v.*].[1] *(b)* The laws too had sometimes an increased sanction through the cursing formulæ attached. Thus *KB* iv. mentions a statute respecting the maintenance of boundaries, which is enforced by a curse on any one who should violate it. To this category of curses belong those in Dt. 28.

It is true that a series of blessings is attached to the series of cursings. Moses, from his close connection with the Deity, had a special power of blessing and cursing. After him the priests had a similar power, which they exerted in the interests of the faithful community (cp URIM AND THUMMIM, § 6). The uplifted hands of the priest drew down (as it were) a blessing on Israel (cp Lev. 9 22 Nu. 6 23-27) and a curse on Israel's enemies. So potent, indeed, were the blessings and the curses of the reputed founder of Israel that they could be said to lie on the two sacred mountains which enclose the original centre of the people—the valley of Shechem—ready to descend, as the case might be, with rewards or punishments (Dt. 11 29).[1]

Within the family it was the father who (according to primitive ideas not unconnected with the worship of ancestors) had the mystic privilege of determining the weal or woe of his children (Gen. 9 25 *ff.*), and more especially when his days were manifestly numbered (see ESAU, § 2, ISAAC, § 5, JACOB). Nor does it appear that the early Israelites limited this power by moral considerations (see Gen. 27 35). Obviously, however, such a limitation was a necessary consequence of a pure monotheism. The post-exilic writers declare that only the offspring of the righteous can be blessed (Ps. 37 26), and that the observance of God's laws ensures his favour without the aid of priests or enchanters. Fear not, then, said the later sages to their pupils, if thine enemy curses thee: 'the curse causeless shall not come' (Prov. 26 2).

Still, even in post-exilic time we sometimes find a strange half-consciousness that curses *had* an inherent power. It was worth while to curse a bad man, to ensure his full punishment—such is the idea of Ps. 109—a strange survival of primitive superstition.

In the discourses of Jesus we find blessings and curses. They are, however, simply authoritative declarations of the eternal connection between right-doing and happiness. wrong-doing and misery (*e.g.*, in the case of Judas).

Parallels to the Israelitish view of blessings and cursings outside of the Semitic peoples hardly need to be quoted. The objective existence of both, but especially of curses, was strongly felt by the Assyrians and Babylonians, as the magical texts show. The Arabian beliefs on the subject are also very suggestive, as Goldziher has pointed out. See MAGIC, § 2 n., and on the 'curse-bringing water' (Nu. 5 18 *ff.*) see JEALOUSY, WATER OF.

T. K. C.

BLINDNESS (סַנְוֵרִים, Gen. 19 11 2 K. 6 18; עִוָּרוֹן, Dt. 28 28 Zech. 12 4). See EYE, DISEASES, and MEDICINE.

BLOOD. For blood in law and ritual, see SACRIFICE; PASSOVER; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 *ff.*; COVENANT, § 5 *f.*; KINSHIP, § 1 *f.*; and FOOD, § 9. For 'avenger of blood' (גֹּאֵל הַדָּם; Dt. 19 6), see GOEL. For 'issue of blood' (ῥύσις αἵματος; Mk. 5 25), see DISEASE, MEDICINE.

BLOOD, Field of (αγρος αιματος), Mt. 27 8. See ACELDAMA.

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת), Ex. 25 4, etc., a variety of Purple. See COLOURS, §§ 13, 15.

'Blue' is employed in EV of Esth. 1 6 to distinguish certain kinds of stones. Thus for שֵׁשׁ we have AV 'blue marble,' AVmg.

[1] Nu. 22 6 shows that Balak, according to the narrator, was about to fight with the Israelites.

[1] The blessing and the curse referred to were those attaching to the fulfilment and the non-fulfilment of the commands of the Law. They were 'laid before' Israel by Moses, and were to be 'laid' by them on their arrival in the promised land, probably by solemn proclamation, on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal respectively. In Dt. 27 12 *f.* we have a later writer's interpretation of this command. See **Kue.** *ThT*, 1878, pp. 297 *ff.*

'marble' RV 'white marble': and for סֹחֶרֶת EVmg. 'stone of blue 'colour,' EV 'black marble.' See, however, MARBLE, and cp COLOURS, § 16.

For 'blueness' in Prov. 20 30t AV (חַבֻּרוֹת פֶּצַע, 'blueness *of* wound') RV has, better, 'stripes that wound.'

BOANERGES (Βοανηργες [Ti. Treg. W H following ℵABC, etc.; Βοαναρ. [Δ*], T R Βοανερ.), a name given, according to Mk. 3 17,[1] to James [I] and John the sons of Zebedee. The reading of ℵ, etc., points to *βοανη ργες* as the accepted analysis of the name, and the evangelist explains it by *υἱοὶ βροντῆς*, 'sons of thunder.' Each element, however, presents some difficulty.

1. The difficulty in taking Boane- to be בְּנֵי, *b'nē*, 'sons of,' is to account for *οα*=*shewā*.

Attempts to explain it as a phonetic 'corruption' have been unsatisfactory. There does not appear to he any historical foundation[2] for Bretschneider's explanation[3] of *οα* as a corrupt pronunciation of a provincial (Galilean) a, *or* for Hugh Broughton's statement4 *(Works*, 620) that the Jews pronounced *shewā* **as *oa*.**

It is more plausible to regard the corruption as textual. Since *shewā*=*α* is natural enough (cp *βανη-βαρακ*, Josh. 19 45 [A]), and *shewā*=*o* is not unknown (cp *e.g.* *ιεροβοαμ*), *oa* might be a conflate reading.[5] Dalman *(Gram.* 122, n. 2)[6] supposed the transposition of an *o* which originally stood after *p* (see below). He now prefers to regard either *o* or a as a gloss (*Worte Jesu*, 39, n. 4). In some such way the double vowel must have arisen; it is strange that the MSS[7] have not preserved any trace of variation in the first syllable.

The orthography, therefore, cannot he explained quite satisfactorily. We may be reasonably certain, however, about the signification.

a. This cannot be said of the second element in the word. The evangelist (or a scholiast) understood *ργες* to mean *βροντή*, 'thunder'; but we do not know what Semitic word it was supposed to represent, nor can we say whether the interpretation was an original hypothesis or a really current belief.

(a) In the Syriac versions (Pesb. and Sin.) *ργες* appears as רְגֵשׁ. That may, however, be nothing more than a transliteration. Only in Arabic does רגש mean 'thunder.' If it occurs in the OT at all[8] it probably means 'throng. In Aram. it means 'tumult,' 'rushing,' etc. If *ργες* is רגש, therefore, it can hardly mean 'thunder.'[9]

Jerome, indeed, conscious of this, declares (*Comm. ad Dan.* 1 7) that the true reading is *(emendatius legitur) benereem* (var. *banerœm*, *banarehem*)—*i.e.*, sons of *r'ēm*, רעים (cp. Ex. 19 16 Pseudo-Jon.)—and this reading he quietly assumes in his *Lid. de nomm. Heb.* under 'John.' That he ignores it in the Comm. on Mk., however, probably shows that it is a mere hypothetical emendation[10] not a variant reading (cp BARTIMÆUS, § 2). Apparently: therefore, we must adhere to *ργες*.

(*β*) The second letter of *ργες*, however, might represent not ג hut y, as in *ρεγμα*=רעמא; but רעש is no nearer *βροντή* than רגש. Besides, y becomes *γ*, as a rule, only when it is represented in Arabic by ġ, not by '; but although there is in Ar. a word ***raġasa***, the phonetic equivalent of which in Hebrew would be רעש, *ra'aša* (not *raġasa*) agrees most closely with רעש in meaning, and a רעש=***ra'aša*** would not **as a** *rule* appear as ***ργες***.

The common word for 'thunder' in Hebrew and Aramaic would not conflict with this phonetic principle; the nearest word in Arabic to Hebrew *ra'am* is ***raġama***. Drusius (*Ad voces NT Comm. prior* 39 [1616]) therefore and Glassius (*Phil. Sacra*, [1625]) revived the theory of Jerome that *ργες* should be *ργεμ*, regarding the *s* as merely a Greek termination substituted for a final consonant, dropped as, *e.g.*, in Gehenna. No doubt -*ες* would be rather a strange termination for a man's name': but Boanerges is not a man's name: it is the name of two men. Indeed Suidas gives the name as *βοανεργεις* (as if the dural of *βοανεργης*). Beza, on the other hand (*Adnotationes majores, ad loc.* [1594]), tried to improve on Drusius by suggesting that a mistake had occurred in a Semitic text: רעם was misread רעש. It is difficult to see how this could be. A Semitic text containing the name בנירעם would not need to give an explanation of the name (cp col. 490, n. 1). On the other hand, a Greek translator could not have given the supposed correct translation if he had misread the word.[1]

(*γ*) There remains the possibility that *s*=ז (see *e.g.* ANAZ, BOAZ). Kautzsch (*l.c.*) suggests that *ργες* may represent רְגַז[2] (רְגִיז), 'anger' (cp Dan. 3 13 and, as used of thunder, the Ar. *irtajaza 'r-ra'du*); and this solution is adopted by Dalman (*l.c.*), who further accounts for the translation *βροντή* by comparing Job 37 2, רֹגֶז קֹלוֹ, used of thunder[3] ([illegible]).

The historical origin of the name not being known (cp JAMES, i. § 1), we cannot determine the second Semitic element with certainty. There is no evidence that 'Boanerges' can ever have meant strictly 'sons of thunder.' On the other hand, what is said in the Gospels of the sons of Zebedee gives a certain appropriateness to such a title as בני רגז, taken in the sense of 'angry,' 'soon angered' (or the like). H. W. H.

BOAR (חֲזִיר, ϲυϲ), Ps. 80 13 [14]. See SWINE (end).

BOAZ. 1. (בֹּעַז hardly, 'quickness' [BDB *Lex.*]; **Ass.** *piazu* or *biazu* means a wild boar or the like; but see JACHIN AND BOAZ; Βοοϲ [BA], -οοζ A and L in Ru. 2 15 4 8 1 Ch. 2 11 *f.*) of Bethlehem, kinsman of Naomi and husband of RUTH [*q.v.*]. According to the post-exilic genealogy, Ru. 4 18 *ff.* (cp 1 Ch. 2 11 *ff.*), he was the son of SALMON or SALMAH, and the ancestor of DAVID (§ 1, n. *a*). See RUTH, BUZITE.

2. The name of one of the two pillars set up before Solomon's temple (1 K. 7 21 = 2 Ch. 3 17). See JACHIN AND BOAZ.

BOCCAS (Βοκκα [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezra 7 4, BUKKI, 1.

BOCHERU (בֹּכְרוּ, § 61; for the ending -u, cp JETHRO and see GESHEM), a son of Azrikam, Saul's descendant (1 Ch. 8 38 = 9 44). 𝔊BℵAL, however, punctuated and read—doubtless correctly—'Azrikam his firstborn' (*πρωτότοκος αὐτοῦ* : בְּכֹרוֹ).

𝔊L makes up the six sons of Azel by enumerating *σ[α]ρια* in the fifth place, besides *αζαριας* in the third.

BOCHIM (בֹּכִים, § 103, 'weepers,' κλαυθμωνοϲ [BAL]), the name of a place near Gilgal, where the b'ne Israel sacrificed after the visit of the angel of Yahwè (Judg. 2 1*a* הַבֹּכִים; 5*a* κλαυθμωνεϲ [B]), and also probably of a place in Judah (Mic. 1 10 emended text; see below). The name of the former place is interpreted 'Weepers'; but the passage which refers to this (*vv.* 1*b*-5*a*) is an insertion (see JUDGES, § 4) based upon 1*a*, where we may expect to find the older and more generally used name of the place. Here, however, 𝔊 combining two readings gives *ἐπὶ τὸν κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ βαιθηλ* (on the corrupt *καὶ [ἐπὶ] τὸν οἶκον ισραηλ*, see Moore *ad loc.*), and the latter, which suits the context well, is accepted as correct by most critics (Bu. *Ri. Sam.* 20 *ff.*, We., Mey., Kue., Bu., Kitt.). We must therefore correct Bochim in 1*a* to 'Bethel.' The explanation of 'Bochim' in *v.* 5*a* suggests a doubt as to the correctness of the present form, which may have been changed to agree with a more than half sportive derivation from בכה, 'to weep.' The correct pronunciation must have been Bĕkā'īm (בְּכָים, בְּכָאִים)—*i.e.*, 'Baca-trees' (see MULBERRY). These trees were probably abundant near Bethel, and it is possible that the 'Tree of Weeping' (ALLON BACUTH) grew near them. The play on the name would, at any rate, be familiar to the ancient Israelites, and may have led to a variety in the pronunciation of the name (cp Mareshah, Moresheth).

[1] There is no hint of such a name anywhere else in the NT (cp, however, ‖ Lk. 6 14 [D]); but too much must not be made of that. Glassius pointed out that Boanerges is professedly a name shared by two men (more conveniently called 'the sons of Zebedee'), one of whom met an early death (Acts 12).

[2] Cp the strong language of Kautzsch, ***Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*** 9.

[3] *NT Lex.*, *s.v.*

[4] Adopted by Lightf. (*Hor. Heb.* ***ad*** *loc.*), who instances *Μοασαδα* (Strabo, 764) for מְצָדָא.

[5] So (practically) Glassius (d. 1656).

[6] So now Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache.*

[7] See below (*β*).

[8] MT has רגש in Ps. 55 15 and רגשה in 64 3 (cp רגשו in 2 1): but in each case it has been questioned whether the text is correct. See Che. *Ps.*(2).

[9] There is no reason to suppose that in the passage cited by Lightfoot (*Megillah* B. 29*a*, mid.) the word means 'thunder.

[10] A corruption of רעם into רעש (see *β*) would be easy.

[1] Of course a gloss embodying a true tradition may have made its way into a translation of a faulty MS.

[2] J. F. K. Gurlitt had considered this word in his careful discussion in *St. Kr.* (1829, pp. 715-738).

[3] So now also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 51 *f.*

There is an early testimony to the form Bochim in Mic. 1 10, if בכו אל־תבכו (EV 'weep not at all') may be emended into בבכים תבכו (𝔊^Qmg. [EV] βαχειμ), 'in Bochim (Bĕkā'īm) weep' (Elhorst, We., Now., Che., omitting the intrusive אל, 'not'; cp Che. *JQR*, July 1898). No locality called Bekaim near Micah's native town is known to us. This causes no difficulty. There may have been many places where Baca-trees grew. The alternative correction, 'In Acco weep not' (Reland, Hitzig, etc.), is geographically inadmissible. We cannot well suppose a Philistine city of that name (G. A. Smith), nor does Micah concern himself with Philistia (cp GILOH).

BOHAN, THE STONE OF (אֶבֶן בֹּהַן, Βαιων [BA]), an unknown point on the honndary between Judah and BENJAMIN (§ 3), Josh. 15 6 (Βεων [L]), 18 17 (Βααμ [A], -ν [L]). Bohan is called in both places the son (sometimes sons [𝔊^BL in 18 17]) of REUBEN; possibly, however, the stone or rock was a well-known landmark, thus designated on account of its supposed resemblance to a thumb (בהן).

BOIL, BOIL (Botch)[1] **of Egypt.** The Heb. word שְׁחִין, *šĕḥīn* (lit. 'an inflammation. from a root found in Syr. and Ar., meaning 'to be hot') for the 'boil' in the sixth plague of Egypt, and the 'botch of Egypt' in Dt. 28 27, is applied again to the 'boil' of Hezekiah and to some diagnostic sign that occurred in one or more of the various contagious and mostly parasite skin-affections included under the common name of צָרַעַת (*see* LEPROSY) in Lev. 13 18 *f.* 20 23—the variety called 'burning boil'[2] (really a pleonasm) being clean, and the variety of boil which gave place to a white or bright spot being unclean. The reference is almost certainly to local or limited spots of inflammation, although it is hardly possible to give a modern name to them or to identify them.

1. OT names and reff.

In Dt. 28 35 and Job 2 7[3] the same word is applied to a skin-disease 'from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head'; but probably it is so used without any precise nosological intention, and merely to express a peculiarly loathsome affliction.

It is only the boil disease specially associated with Egypt that is here considered.

There occur four other references to diseases specially Egyptian but not called *šĕḥīn*. Two of these (Dt. 7 15 and 28 60, [מַדְוֵי] מַדְוֵה מִצְרַיִם, 'the evil diseases of Egypt,' and 'all the diseases of Egypt') are in admonitory passages written in a popular style. In the third (Zech. 14 18) a plague is to smite the Egyptians if they do not comd up to keep the Feast of Booths. It is the same affliction that is to befall the other peoples who neglect this ordinance, and there is nothing, as the text now stands,[4] to indicate that the writer is linking of the 'botch of Egypt.' The reference in the fourth (Am. 4 10), however, may possibly be to some actual epidemic in the history of the northern kingdom. The 'pestilence in the manner of Egypt' may well be equivalent to the שחין or 'botch' of Dt. 28 27, which should mean some specific disease, such as the 'emerods' (KV 'tumours'; or plague-boils) of 1 S. 5 6, with which it is coupled, certainly means. As the sixth plague is specially called one of 'boils and blains,' this also may be taken to stand for some definite boil-disease of Egypt.

2. Shĕḥīn of Egypt.

We must now consider which of the boil diseases of Egypt is meant by *šĕḥīn*. It is stated that the boil accompanied by blains broke forth upon both man and beast. This, if nosologically meant, would exclude bubo plague, as being unknown in cattle. On the other hand, anthrax, which might be correctly described as the boil of cattle, is equally excluded, inasmuch as in man it is never epidemic, but only sporadic. If we might suppose the narrative, or (as the critics say) the interwoven narratives, of the plagues to be based on a simpler narrative, or simpler narratives, which would bear to be treated as matter-of-fact description, we might expect that in the original narrative the sixth plague represented the plague proper (bubo plague), which is confined to man, whilst the fifth stood for epizootic disease in general.[1]

Certainly the special association of bubo plague with ancient Egypt is historically correct, so that the word 'botch' in the AV is a happy choice (cp § 1, n. 1). Besides the constructive evidence as to the disaster which is said to have befallen Sennacherib's army before Pelusinm (see PESTILENCE, and, on the historical points, HEZEKIAH, 1), there is, indeed, no extra-biblical testimony to bubo plague in Egypt earlier than about 300 B.C., and even this testimony has been only indirectly preserved.

Oribasius, who was physician to the Emperor Julian, cites a passage from Rufus of Ephesus, a physician in the time of Trajan, wherein he describes bubo plague with singular clearness; it is indeed rare as Daremberg remarks, to find in ancient authors such positive darks of the identity of a pestilential type. Rufus says that the disease was most common, and very mortal, in Libya, Egypt, and Syiia. He adds that Dioscorides and Poseidonios had enlarged upon pestilential buboes in writing upon the pestilence which in their time ravaged Libya—supposed to have been the same great epidemic, about 127 B.C., which is mentioned by Livy, Julius Obsequens, and Orosius. Rufus further says that the pupils of one Dionysius, ὁ κυρτός, make mention of these pestilential buboes. An ancient Greek gloss to the Vatican codex of Oribasius explains that Dionysius with the above surname ('Hunchback') conies into the biographies of Hermippus. This would fix his date prior to 280 B.C.

Whilst the botch of Egypt cannot, upon independent testimony, be traced farther back than 300 B.C., it is highly improbable that it was first seen then. As Lorinser points out, the endemic inflnences favouring plague in Egypt, depending upon the peculiar alternations of wet and dry soil (caused by the periodic rise and fall of the Nile), were there long before.

Pariset (*Causes de la Peste*, etc., Paris, 1837) has argued with great cogency that the elaborate pains taken in the best period of ancient Egypt to preserve the soil from putrefying animal matters, human and other, were inspired by the risk of plague, and must have been in a high degree effective. It is clear, however, that any failure of the sanitary code would give plague its opportunity, the pressure of population and the climate or hydrology being constant, and that such failure may reasonably be assumed at first as an occasional thing, and then—from the time that the ancient civilisation, with sanitation (enforced by religious sanctions) a principal part of it, began to decay under the influence of Persian, Greek, and Roman conquests—as permanent.

1 Botch is a name commonly, and with the definite article distinctively, given to plague in the Elizabethan and the Stuart periods. In the Edinburgh treatise on plague by Dr. Gilbert Skene (1568) it occurs in the form of 'boiche.' In the *Vision of Piers Ploughman* the spelling is *boche*, and the meaning specific or generic ('byles and boches and brennyngagues'). The most probable etymology is Fr. *poche*, meaning pocket, poke, pock (cp also It. *bozza*, a bubble), and applied in the plural, *les poches*, like the Spanish *las bubas*, to epidemics of camp sickness, about A.D. 1528, which seem to have been typhus, but may have included bubonic cases, or perhaps cases of true plague. The translators of the AV seem to have meant by 'botch' the familiar bubo plague of their time. Milton also may use the word in its exact sense of bubo plague, where he says of the sixth plague of Egypt: 'botches and blains must all his flesh emboss' (*PL* 12 180). With the disappearance of plague from Britain after 1666, the word lost its technical meaning.

2 Rather, 'scar of the boil,' צָרֶבֶת הַשְּׁחִין (*v.* 23; cp RV).

3 [As Budde points out, the expressions in Dt. *l.c.* are borrowed from the Prologue to Job. That section of the book appears to be based on a folk-tale; the designation which it gives to Job's malady is, therefore, general, not technical. We must remember, however, that in Lev. 13 18 *ff.* the שחין is the forerunner of leprosy, and that in the speeches of Job the symptoms of his malady, though poetically expressed, point (as most scholars admit) to leprosy in its worst form. See LEPROSY.

4 [The text is disfigured by two errors due to dittography. One is the word 'not' before 'upon them,' repeated from *v.* 17; the other is 'the nations that go not up to keep the Feast of Booths,' repeated from *v.* 19. 𝔊 has simply καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους, without the negative particle, but 'it has the second insertion. A critical edition should give the text thus: 'And if the Egyptian people go not up nor come, upon them will the stroke come with which Yahwk will strike. . . .' The close of the sentence may early have become effaced. The plague intended was, at any rate, not that of the other nations. which was want of rain.]

1 The qualification ('in general') is designed. What is said of the 'murrain' upon the horses, camels, asses, oxen, and sheep is expressed in a sense too comprehensive for any single epizootic malady (*e.g.*, anthrax is a disease that oxen and sheep suffer from in common, but not horses, nor, so far as is known, asses and camels).

That the sanitary precautions did utterly break down under Mohammedan conquest, and that bubo plague did become for fourteen centuries the standing pestilence of Egypt, we know as matter of fact. We know also that it was from Pelusium that the great' plague of Justinian's reign (542 A.D.) started—to overrun the whole known world. It is probable, further, that the pestilence in Lower Egypt 'at the time of the massacre of Christians in the episcopate' of Cyprian included bubo plague. The valuable testimony preserved by Oribasins as to Egyptian, Libyan, and Syrian pestilential buboes, as early as 300 B.C., has been already cited. If beyond that date we are left to conjecture, there is still a high probability that the plague was known in 'Egypt at a much earlier date.

This historical bubo plague of Egypt answers best to the sixth plague. The boil breaks out in the manner of the plague bubo, which may be single or multiple. Its situations are the armpits, groins, and the sides of the neck; and it consists of one (or of a packet) of the natural lymphatic or absorbent glands of those regions enlarged to the size of a hen's (or even a turkey's) egg, often of a livid colour, hard, tense, painful, and attended with inflammatory swelling of the skin for some distance around it. Just as in Asiatic cholera and yellow fever there are 'explosive' attacks so suddenly fatal that the distinctive symptoms have hardly time to develop, so there may be death from plague without the bubo or the botch. Still, the latter is the distinctive mark of plagne, the same in all countries and in all periods of history.

3. Nature of disease.

Other signs of plague were livid or red hæmorrhagic spots of the skin (called 'the tokens' in English epidemics), large carbuncles (especially on the fleshy parts), and blains (אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת), which were really smaller carbuncular formations or cores with a collection of fluid on their summits. Besides the pain of the hard and tense buboes, there were often delirium, gentle or raving, vomiting, quivering of muscles (affecting gait and speech), and many other symptoms as if from a deadly poison. About three days was perhaps the average duration of fatal cases.

Usually half the attacks were mortal. In the beginning of the epidemic there would be but few recoveries, while at the end of it as many as four out of five might recover. Recovery was most likely when the buboes broke and ran; sometimes the suppuration, especially in the groin, would continue for months, the victims being able to go limping in the streets. In the history of plague in London, which is continuous from the Black Death of 1348 to 1666, the great epidemics came at intervals, and, in those for which we have the statistics, carried off from a fifth to a sixth of the population, including but few of the richer class. With a population of nearly half a million in 1665, the highest mortality from plague was 7165 in the week 12th-19th September. Sometimes for a succession of years' the deaths from plague kept at a high annual level, especially during the summer and autumn months. During the whole three centuries of plague in London there were few years which did not have some deaths in the warmer months. From what is known of the mediaeval history of plague in Cairo (from Arabic annals; cp von Kremer in *SWAW*, Phil. Hist. Class. Bd. xcvi.), and of its modern history (cp Pruner, *Krank. des Orients),* it appears to have come, as in London, in terrific outbursts at intervals of years, and to have been at a low level or apparently extinct in the years between.

4. Mortality.

The plagoe season in Egypt; within the period of exact records, has begun as early as September and as late as January, has reached its height in March and April, and has ended with great regularity, almost suddenly, about St. John's day (24th June), the height of the epidemic corresponding with the. lowest level of the Nile. There bas been no plague since 1844. The last great epidemic was that of 1835, described hy Kinglake in 'Eothen.' C. C.

BOILS, PLAGUE (עֳפָלִים), Deut. 28 27 RV^mg. See EMERODS.

BOILING PLACES (מְבַשְּׁלוֹת), Ezek. 46 23, EV; and BOILING HOUSES (בֵּית הַמְּבַשְּׁלִים), *v.* 24, RV. See COOKING, § 1.

BOLLED (*i.e.*, 'swollen,'. see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; RV^mg. 'in flower'; גִּבְעֹל, CΠΕΡΜΑΤΙΖΟΝ [BAL]: Ex. 9 31†). The Hebrew word occurs only once, but s evidently (see Ges. *Thes.*, Levy, *Targ. Wb.* 1 421, *NHWB* 1296) connected with גָּבִיעַ, 'cup'; and the Mishnic usage (Ges. *l.c.*) is in favour of its referring to the flower-cup (perhaps as a closed bud), rather than (as 𝔊 supposed) to the formation of the seed-pods (see, however, Tristram, *NHB*(3) 445).

BOLSTER (מְרַאֲשֹׁת), 1 S. 19 13 267. See BED, $4 *(u)*.

BONDAGE (עֲבֹדָה, ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ), Ex. 1 14 Rom. 8 15, etc., and BONDMAN (עֶבֶד, ΔΟΥΛΟC), Dt. 15 15 Rom. 6 16, etc. See SLAVERY.

BONNET. For מִגְבָּעָה, *migbā'āh*, Ex. 28 40, etc. (RV 'headtire'), see MITRE, § 1 (1); for פְּאֵר, *pĕ'ēr*, Is. 3 20 (RV 'headtire'), Ezek. 44 18 (RV 'tire'), see TURBAN, § 2.

BOOK (סֵפֶר, Gen. 5 1 etc.; ΒΙΒΛΟC, Lk. 3 4 etc., ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, Lk. 4 17 etc.). See WRITING, § 3, end; HISTORICAL LIT., §§ 3, 5, 16; CANON, §§ 1-4, 20.

BOOK OF LIFE ([Η]ΒΙΒΛΟC [THC] ZωHC), Philip. 4 3 Rev. 3 5. Cp Ex. 32 32 Is. 4 3, and see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14.

BOOT (סְאוֹן), Is. 9 5 [4]†, RV^mg. See SHOES, § 3.

BOOTHS (סֻכּוֹת), Lev. 23 42 *f.* See TABERNACLE, PAVILION, 1, SUCCOTH, and cp TENT, § 1, and CATTLE, §§ 1, 5.

BOOTY (בַּז, etc.), Jer. 49 32, etc. See SPOIL.

BOOZ (ΒΟΕC [Ti. WH], Mt. 1 5, ΒΟΟC [Ti. WH], Lk. 3 32). RV has BOAZ.

BOR-ASHAN (בּוֹר־עָשָׁן; ΒωΡΑCΑΝ [A], ΒΗΡCΑΒΕΕ [BL]; Vg. *lacu Asan*; Pesh. *bīr'ašan*), the true MT reading (Gi. Bä.) in 1 S. 30 30, where many printed edd. have כּוֹר־עָשָׁן (AV CHOR-ASHAN, RV COR-ASHAN). Probably the same as ASHAN (*q.v.*).

BORDER. For מסגרת, *misgereth* (*a*) in Ex. 25 25 27 (*στεφάνη*), 37 12 14 (𝔊 om.), in P's description of the 'table,' see ALTAR, § 10; (*b*) in 1 K. 7 28 *f.* 31 *f.* 35 *f.* 2 K. 16 17 in description of the lavbr bases (*σύνκλεισμα*; in 7 28 *συνκλειστόν*; in 7 29 *σύγκλιμα* [A]; in 7 31 *f.* *διάπηγα* [A; om. BL]; EV^mg. 'panels'), see LAVER, § 1; for כָּנָף, *kānāph* (*κράσπεδον*) in Nu. 15 38 (RV^mg. 'corner' [of garment]), see FRINGES; for *κράσπεδον*, Mt. 9 20 14 36 RV, see FRINGES.

BORITH (*BORITH*), 4 Esd. 1 2. See BUKKI, 1.

BORROW (שָׁאַל, Ex. 3 22; ΔΑΝΙCΑCΘΑΙ, Mt. 5 42), and **LEND** (הִלְוָה, Ex. 22 24 [25]; ΔΑΝΙΖΕΙΝ, Lk. 6 34). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, TRADE AND COMMERCE.

BOSCATH (בָּצְקַת), 2 K. 22 1 AV; RV BOZKATH.

BOSOR (ΒΟCΟΡ [Ti.]), 2 Pet. 2 15 AV, RV BEOR (*q.v.*, 2).

BOSOR (ΒΟCCΟΡ [A], -ΟCΟ. [ℵV*], -CCωΡ [V^a], and in *v.* 36 -ΟCΟ. [A; cp Is. 34 6 63 1, in 𝔊]), a town of Galaaditis, taken by Judas the Maccabee in 164 B.C. (1 Macc. 5 26 36), is identified by some with BEZER (*q.v.*, i.) in Moab. Galaaditis, however, was the name of the country N. of Moab (GASm. *HG* 549, n. 5), and the campaign in which Judas took Bosor was waged in the latitude of the Yarmūk. If Bosora (*q.v.*) be the present Buṣrā, Bosor may be the present *Buṣr-el-Ḥarīrī*, in the SE. corner of the Lejā, which the Arabian geographer Yāḳūt in 1225 A.D. (1621) still calk only Busr *[sic]*. The passage in which it is mentioned is obscure; *vv.* 26 *f.* are probably corrupt. (Cp We.

IJG(3) 212, n. 1). Herod the Great, in order to keep the Lejā in his power (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 2), fortified a village called Bathyra, and this may have been the same as Bosor (cp GASm. *HG* 618). *G.* A. S.

BOSORA (Βοσσορα [A], -οσο. [ℵ], -οσορρα [V; cp 𝔊 1 Ch. 1 44], 1 Macc. 5 26; Jos. Βοσορα [*Ant.* xii. 8 3]), in Gilead, held by some to be the Bozrah in Moab spoken of in Jer. 4824, must have lain farther N. (see BOSOR, ii.). Hence many (Ewald; *PEF* Map; etc.) more plausibly take it to have been Bostra, the capital of the Roman province of Arabia, modern *Buṣrā*, 22 m. SE. of Edrei (cp Porter, *Five years*(2), 12; Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, 53, 58; Rey, *Dans le Haouran Atlas;* Buhl, *Pal.* 251). See, however, Bathyra under BOSOR, ii. G. A. S.

BOSS (גַּב, text doubtful), Job 15 26. See SHIELD.

BOTCH (שְׁחִין), Dt. 28 27 35 AV; RV BOIL (*q.v.*, § 2 *f.*).

BOTTLE. The statement that 'what we call bottles were unknown to the Hebrews' (Riehm, *HWB*(2), art. 'Flasche') needs qualification. It has long been known that the Egyptians manufactured glass from an early period. The Phœnicians and the Assyrians were well acquainted with glass (see the relative volumes of Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc.), that manufactured by the former being of special repute in antiquity (see GLASS). It is impossible, therefore, that among the imports from Phœnicia, glass bottles should have had no place. They must always, however, have been a luxury of the rich (cp Job 28 17 [RV]).

The 'bottles' of Scripture fall into two 'very different classes: (1) leather skins for holding and carrying water, wine, and other liquids, and (2) earthenware jars for the same and other purposes.

For the Hebrews in the nomadic stage of civilisation, as for the Bedouin of the present day, the skins of

1. Skins as bottles. beasts of their flocks supplied the readiest and most efficient means of storing and transporting the necessary supply of water in the camp and on the march. This method was found so simple and so satisfactory that it was retained in a more settled state of society, and, indeed, has prevailed throughout the East until the present day. The writers of classical antiquity, from Homer downwards, contain many references to this use of the skins of domestic animals. The skins used by the Hebrews for this purpose, as in modern Syria and Arabia, were chiefly skins of the goat and of the sheep. When a smaller size than ordinary was required, the skin of a lamb or of a kid sufficed; for larger quantities there was the skin of the ox,[1] and, perhaps, of the camel (Herod. 39). Among the Hebrews the pig-skin was, of course, excluded.

The method of preparation varied in complexity and efficiency according as the peasant prepared his own skins (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1227) or employed a professional tanner. The head and the lower part of the legs are cut off (such is the method at the present day), and the animal is skinned from the neck downwards, somewhat as one removes a tight-fitting glove, care being taken that no incision is made in the skin of the carcase. When the tanning process is completed (cp Tristram, *NHB*(6) 92, Robinson, *BR*(1) 2 440), all other apertures having previously been closed, the neck is fitted with a leather thong, by means of which the skin is opened and closed (cp LEATHER).

In the OT we find such skin bottles designated by a variety of names.

Such are *(a)* חֵמֶת, *ḥēmeth* (ἀσκός [ADL]), the water-skin (probably of a kid) which Abraham put upon Hagar's shoulder (Gen. 21 14 *ff.*†). The Bedouin name is *girby—i.e.*, *kirbatun* (Doughty, *op. cit. index).* In Hos. 7 5 (RV 'heat'), and in Hab. 2 15 (RV 'venom,' mg. 'fury'), the RV more advisedly finds another word of similar sound (חֵמָה). (*b*) נֹאד, *nōdh*, like the *semīly* (*samīlatun*) of the modern Bedouin, is the milk-skin of the nomad Jael (Judg. 4 19; cp Doughty *op. cit. passim).* It also occurs frequently as a wine-skin—Josh. 9 4 13 1 S. 16 20, etc. As a water-skin it is used metaphorically in Ps. 56 8 [9] ('put my tears into thy bottle'), where there is no reference to the much later 'tear-bottles,' so called, and where the text is doubted (see 𝔊). The exact sense of Ps. 119 83, where the poet likens himself to a 'bottle (RVmg. "wine-skin") in the smoke,' is doubtful (see the comm. *in loc.*). (c) נֵבֶל, *nēbhel*, and נֶבֶל, *nebhel*, also frequently of the ordinary wine-skin (ἀσκός [BAL]), 1 S. 10 3, etc. (*d*) אוֹב, *'ōbh*, has the same signification in Job 32 19, where we read of 'new bottles . . . ready to burst.' Budde ('96) renders 'skins with new (wine),' which gives us an OT parallel to the familiar passage in the NT (Mt. 9 17 = Mk. 2 22 = Lk. 5 37 *f.*)—'Neither do men put new wine into old wine-skins,' etc.—where the RV has rightly discarded the misleading rendering 'bottles. In Judith 10 5 we have the curious word ἀσκοπυτίνη [BA],—RV 'a leathern bottle' of wine.

Vessels of earthenware also are mentioned in the OT as receptacles for wine. Such was *(a)* the בַּקְבֻּק, Jer.

2. Earthenware bottles. 19 1 10 (𝔊BNAQ, βικός), made by the potter, perhaps with a narrow neck which caused a gurgling sound (Ar. *baḳbaḳatun*) when the jar was being emptied. It was also used to hold honey, 1 K. 14 3 (στάμνος [AL; om. B]; EV CRUSE [*q.v.*, 2]). (*b*) The name נֶבֶל was also given to wine-jars or *ampullæ* of earthenware, as is clear from Is. 30 14 (EV '[potters'] vessel'; AVmg. 'bottle of potters'), and Lam. 4 2 (EV 'pitcher'). In both these passages 𝔊 has ἄγγιον. We have no indication of the size or even of the shape of the earthen *nēbhel* (see POTTERY; also CRUSE). A. R. S. K.

BOW (קֶשֶׁת), Gen. 27 3, **Bowstrings** (מֵיתָרִים), Ps. 21 12, RV. See WEAPONS.

BOWL. The various Hebrew and Greek words will be dealt with in the articles mentioned below.

1. גָּבִיעַ, *gābīa'*, Ex. 25 31. See CUP, MEALS, § 12.

2. גֻּלָּה, *gullāh*, the bowl or reservoir of a lamp, Zech. 4 2 *f.* (λαμπάδιον); see CANDLESTICK, § 2. Used in a simile in Eccles. 12 6 (τὸ ἀνθέμιον). The globe-shaped bowls or capitals of the twin pillars of JACHIN AND BOAZ (1 K. 7 41 *f.*, τὰ στρεπτά [as though גְּדִלִים? see FRINGES] ‖ 2 Ch. 4 12 *f.*, AV 'pommels,' γωλαθ [BA], βάσεις [L]). See PILLAR.

3. כְּפוֹר, *kephōr*, 1 Ch. 28 17, etc., RV. See BASON, 2.

4. מִזְרָק, *mizrāḳ*, Ex. 27 3. See BASON, 3.

5. מְנַקִּיּוֹת, *menaḳḳiyyōth*, κύαθος [BAFL], used in temple ritual especially upon the table of shew-bread, Ex. 25 29 37 16 Nu. 4 7 Jer. 52 19 (where AV 'cups').

6. סַף, *haph*, 1 K. 7 50; see BASON, 4.

7. סֵפֶל, *sēphel*, a larger bowl or bason, probably of wood, Jud. 5 25 6 38 (λεκάνη [BAL]; in 5 25 λακ. [AL]); cp Pal.-Syr. ܣܦܠܐ.

8. σκάφη, Bel, 33, a vessel for holding food (in Acts 27 16 30 32, a boat).

9. φιάλη, Rev. 5 8 15 7, etc. (AV 'vial'). In OT it represents מִזְרָק; see BASON, 3; MEALS, § 12, and cp generally BASON, CUP, GOBLET, POTTERY.

BOX, synonymous in AV with jar or cruise, not a case of wood or metal.[1]

1. פַּךְ, *pakh* (2 K. 9 1 3; RV and in 1 S. 10 1, AV 'vial'; 𝔊BAL φακός). Shape and material are both uncertain.

2. For the 'alabaster box' (ἡ ἀλάβαστρος) of Mk. 14 3, etc. AV (RV 'alabaster cruse') see CRUSE, 4, ALABASTER.

3. In RVmg. of Jn. 12 6 13 29, where EV has BAG; 'box' is suggested as an alternative rendering of γλωσσόκομον, which originally and etymologically signified a case in which the mouth-pieces (γλῶσσαι) of wind instruments were kept. Later it assumed a more general significance and denoted any similarly shaped box or case. 𝔊BAL employs it to indicate the chest (אֲרוֹן) set up by Josiah in the Temple (2 Ch. 24 8 *ff.*), whilst Josephus uses it of the 'coffer' (אַרְגָּז 1 S. 6 8 *ff.* EV; see COFFER), or small chest, in which the Philistine princes deposited the golden mice. In the Mishna it is used to signify a case for books (גלוסקמא in Lexx.) and even a coffin (cp the parallel use of *loculus*); in the latter sense also in Aquila (Gen. 50 26, of Joseph's mummy-case; see COFFIN). Thus it would appear that the preferable rendering in John (*l.c.*) is that of RVmg. A. R. S. K.

BOX TREE, BOX, RVmg. 'cypress'; once (Ezek. 27 6; 𝔊 οἴκους ἀλσώδεις) RV **Boxwood** (תְּאַשּׁוּר,

[1] According to Lane *(Mod. Eg.)* an ox-hide holds three or four times as much as a goat-skin (*ḳirba*).

[1] For this EV employs 'chest.'

κεδρος[1] Is. 41 19 60 13) is by several modern scholars identified as the 'sherbin' (Ar. and Syr.), a kind of juniper, =Ass. *šurmênu* (see below). RVmg. and *SBOT*, however, give 'cypress'; the sherbin resembles the cypress in its habit and general appearance (Tristram). Cp note 4, below.

The Hebrew word was formerly explained as derived from the root אשר (akin to ישר, Ar. *yasara*), 'to be straight' (Ges. *Thes.*), and so as denoting a tall straight tree; but such different views have recently been put forward as to the affinities and meaning of the root that it is unsafe to form any inference from this etymology.[2] Hoffmann,[3] indeed, rejecting the traditional vocalisation of תאשור, suggests that it is philologically akin to Assyr. *šurmênu* (Del. *Par.* 107), Aram. *šarwainā* or *šurbīnā*.[4] If this were made out we should be tolerably certain that תאשור is the *sherbin* or a similar tree; but the philological step is difficult. Cheyne (*Is.*, *SBOT* [Heb.] 129) 'can hardly doubt that the obscure מסכן in Is. 40 20 is a corruption of שרבן—*i.e.*, sherbin.' If so, תאשור would seem *to* he distinct from the sherbin.

The interesting mention of this tree in Ezek. 27 6 (RV 'box-wood') is concealed in AV by a false division of the word in MT;[5] the second clause most probably means 'thy deck they have made of ivory inlaid in *tĕaššūr*-wood from Cyprus' (see CHITTIM).

It is clear from Is. 60 13 that תְּאַשּׁוּר was a familiar tree in the forest growth of Lebanon; and this favours the identification with the box (*Buxus longifolia*), which grows there as a small tree about 20 ft. high (Tristram, *NHB*, 339). In support of this Rosenmuller (*Mineral. and But. of Bible* [ET], 301 *f.*) aptly compares Verg. *Æn.* 10 137 ('quale per artem inclusum buxo . . . lucet ebur') with Ezek. 27 6.[6] Others (Ges.(13)-Bu.(2)) have thought that the latter reference rather points to a *pine* tree, so often used in antiquity for ship-building; but תְּאַשּׁוּר is at least distinct from בְּרוֹשׁ (fir) and תִּדְהָר (pine?), along with which it is twice mentioned in Is. 40-66.

The *sherbin*, according to Tristram (*l.c.*) is *Juniperus phœnicea*, but in the Survey of W. Palestine he expressly says of this *non vidi;* ndr does it, according to the authorities, grow on Lebanon. It seems more probable that the *sherbin* is *Juniperus oxycedrus*, which is known to grow on Lebanon.

On the whole there seems no sufficient reason for abandoning the tradition that תְּאַשּׁוּר is the box.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BOZEZ (בּוֹצֵץ; Βαζες [B], -θ [L]), and **Seneh** (סֶנֶה; σεννααρ [BL]), two rocky points, one on the N. the other on the S. side of the Michmash gorge (1 S. 14 4 *f.* †). *See* MICHMASH.

BOZKATH, and 2 K. 22 1 AV BOSCATH (בָּצְקַת; BDB *Lex.* quotes Ar. *baṣkatun*, an elevated region covered with volcanic stones). One of the towns of the lowland of Judah mentioned between Lachish and Eglon, but as yet unidentified (Josh. 15 39; βασηδωθ [B], -σεχαθ [L], μασχαθ [A]). A certain Adaiah (1) of Bozkath was the grandfather of King Josiah (2 K. 22 1; -σουρωθ [BAL]).

BOZRAH (בָּצְרָה, § 106; Βοσορρα [BAD in Gen. Ch.], Βοσορ [BℵAQΓ in Is.]).

Elsewhere 𝔊 translates: ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς [BℵAQ], Jer. 49 13; ὀχυρώματα αὐτῆς [BℵAQ], *v.* 22; τειχέων αὐτῆς [BAQ], Am. 1 12; ἐν θλίψει [BAQ], Mic. 2 12.

1. A capital of the land of Edom (Am. 1 12 Is. 34 6 63 1;[1] βοσρα [Qmg.]; Jer. 49 13 22), also mentioned in Gen. 36 33 (βοσορρα [L], om. E) = 1 Ch. 1 44 (βοσσ. [L]) as the city of Jobab b. Zerah, king of Edom, and less certainly, though still probably, under the name MIBZAR (*q.v.*) in Gen. 36 42. All these passages may be exilic or even post-exilic; but it is hardly safe to infer that Bozrah was not known to the Jews before the Exile; indeed, Gen. 36 33 may be ultimately derived from a pre-exilic document. Bozrah is the *Bosor* (βοσορ) of *OS*(2) 232 58 102 18, described as 'in the mountains of Idumæa.' It seems to be the modern *Buṣeire*, in the district of Jebāl (Gebalenè), northward from Petra, and 2½ honrs SSW. from Tafileh, called 'little Bozrah' to distinguish it from the more famous Bozrah in the Ḥaurān. So Buhl, *Edomiter*, 37; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 31 38 *f.*

2. (Jer. 48 24.) See BEZER, ii. T. K. C.

BRACELETS. Bracelets were worn to protect the exposed parts, of the arm and hand against physical injury, and as amulets against the malign influences which were believed to affect the organs of action (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 453). They served also as ornaments. They were made of gold (Gen. 24 22 Nu. 31 50); but doubtless, like other ancient peoples, the Hebrews employed other less precious materials, as horn and enamelled earthenware. Signet rings were sometimes worn round the wrist (*see* RING). Bracelets were worn by men and women; the finer forms were among the insignia of royalty and the adornments of brides (for references see below).

Five words have to be considered.

Of these we may first of all reject two words, (1) חָח (Ex. 35 22), and (2) פָּתִיל (Gen. 38 18 25), which are wrongly rendered 'bracelet' in AV. See HOOK, 2; RING, § 1, and cp CORD.

3. צָמִיד, *ṣāmīd* (Gen. 24 22, etc. Nu. 31 50 Ezek. 16 11 23 42) EV 'bracelets,' 𝔊 ψέλια); cp Ass. *ṣamâdu*, to bind on; the same root appears in the Heh. צֶמֶד, yoke. Golden צְמִידִים, weighing ten shekels, were given to Rebekah by Eleazar, who placed them on *both* her hands. So in Ezek. 16 11, the bracelets are worn on both hands. In Nu. (*l.c.*), צמיד is conjoined with אצעדה, and the Commentators mostly explain the former as an ornament for the wrist, the latter for the upper part of the arm. Targ. usually renders צ׳ by שֵׁירַיָּא, 'chains.' The form of these bracelets varied, a favourite device being the serpent. On Egyptian bracelets see Wilk., *Anc. Eg.* 2 342; on Assyrian, Per. and Chip., *Art in Chaldea*, 2 357, and *see* fig. 241.

4. שֵׁרָה, *šērāh*, Is. 3 19 (EV 'bracelets,' RVmg. 'chain.' Targ. שֵׁירֵי יְדַיָּא, 'chains of the bands'). Cp modern Arabic ornament *siwâr* (Fränk. 56). The root is שרר, lo twist. Perhaps a row of spirals made of twisted gold is meant. In the Mishnah שֵׁיר is applied to chains round the necks of horses and also to bracelets worn by women.

5. אֶצְעָדָה, *'eṣ'ādāh*. This word occurs in MT in Nu. 31 50 (AV 'chains,' RV 'ankle-chains') and 2 S. 1 10 (EV 'bracelet'; 𝔊 in both places χλίδων). Wellhausen's suggestion to read וְהַצְּעָדָה, after Is. 3 20, has been widely accepted; but Nestle (*Marg.* 15) defends MT and supposes that Saul was despoiled by the Amalekite of only one of the several bracelets that he wore. Budde in *SBOT* accepts Wellhausen's correction, but (on the basis of Nu. 31 50) regards וְהָאֶצְעָדָה as also possible. That kings went into battle with various ornaments is well attested (see CROWN); this is further supported by 1 K. 22 30. It may be that Saul's bracelet contained his signet (King, *Antique Gems*, 138). As with Saul, so with Joash the crown and bracelet are associated as royal insignia if [with We.] הַצְּעָדוֹת is read for הָעֵדוּת, 2 K. 11 12 (WRS, *OTJC*(2) 311, n.).

[1] 𝔊's rendering of Is. 41 19 is so defective that it is impossible to tell which Greek word represents תְּאַשּׁוּר; hut in 60 13 it is κέδρος [BℵAQ]. Aq. and The. simply transliterate (θαασουρ); Sym. has πύξος in chap. 41 and πεύκη in chap. 60 (unless πύξος is out of its order). Pesh. also is defective in Is. 41 19, giving for בְּרוֹשׁ תִּדְהָר וּתְאַשּׁוּר simply 'goodly cypresses' (*šarwainē*), while in Is. 60 13 תְּאַשּׁוּר is rendered 'cypresses.' Targ. has in both places אשכרעין, 'box trees' (so the Jewish commentators); Vg. renders *buxus* in 41 19, but *pinus* in 60 13.

[2] See especially NÖ. in *ZDMG* 40 723 ['86]; Hommel, *ib.* 46 531 ['92]; Lag. *Übers.* 143. Nö. connects all Heb. derivatives of אשר with the single root (meaning 'to go' or 'step') which appears in Ar. *'ithr* and Syr. *athrā;* Hommel still maintains a second root, akin to ?& Ar. *yasara;* while Lagarde explains אַשְׁרֵי (Ps. 1 1 etc.) by invoking a third Ar. root *ašara*.

[3] P. 27 of his tract 'Weber einige phönik. Inschriften' (in *Abhandl. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. zu Gött.* vol. 36).

[4] Low (387 *f.*) holds that the two Syr. words do not mean quite the same tree: that the former is *Juniperus oxycedrus;* the latter (fem. in form *šurbīntā*) is the ordinary cypress *Cupressus sempervirens;* but he does not make out a clear case. Boissier (*Flora Orientalis*, 5 705) has under *Cupressus sempervirens*—as a locality—'Persia borealis in montanis ibi *Ssärvi Kuhi* audit.' This looks as if it might be philologically akin to *survan* and *šarwainā*.

[5] For בַּת־אֲשֻׁרִים read בִּתְאַשֻּׁרִים.

[6] According to Sir Joseph Hooker the wood of *Buxus longifolia* is still prized in Damascus for making domestic utensils and inlaid wood.

[1] Text doubtful: see TEXT, § 64, and cp *SBOT* [Heb.], *ad loc.*

Ḳimḥi, however, obtained much the same sense by connecting עדות with עֲדִי, 'ornament.' The Targum on 2 S. 1 10 renders by טוטפתא, which is usually applied to the phylactery (Dt. 6 8). A phylactery was, however, also worn on the left arm. אצ׳ is apparently connected with צעדה (occurring only in Is. 3 20), into which We.'s emendation reduces אצעדה. If the arrangement in Is. 3 18-23 is suggested by the natural order of the parts of the body, צְעָדָה may be an ornament rather of the arm than of the leg. Barth, *NB* 151, compares Ar. *'adud*, 'arm,' which removes some of the difficulty presented by the usual derivation from צָעַד, to step or walk. See, however, ANKLETS.

1. A.

BRAMBLE has in EV three meanings.

1. אָטָד, *'ātād* (*ῥάμνος, rhamnus*); Gen. 50 10 *f.* (EV ATAD as in 𝔊), Judg. 9 14 *f.*, EV 'brambles,' and Ps. 58 9 [10], EV 'thorns.' It is a genuine Semitic word, found also in W. Aramaic as אַטְדָא or אטטא, in Syriac as *haṭṭā*[1] (? *haṭēṭā*), in Arabic as *aṭad* (*ligna rhamni nigri*, Fr.), and in Assyrian as *eṭidu, eṭidtu* (Ges.-Bu., *s.v.*). The root with which it appears to be connected (אטט) has in Arabic the sense of 'uttering a *rasping*, though not *loud*,[2] sound'; and the possibility of a connection with the sense of pricking or tearing like a thorn is apparent. There is general agreement that *ῥάμνος* was about equivalent to the modern botanical genus *Rhamnus*. Dioscorides[3] distinguished three sorts (cp Fraas, *Syn. Plant. Flor. Class.*); while in modern times Tristram (*FFP* 264 *f.*) has enumerated sixteen species of *Rhamneæ* as found in Palestine.

Perhaps the most likely identification for אָטָד is with *Rhamnus palæstina* (Boiss.), which represents in Syria the *R. oleoides* of Greece and S. Europe.

2. חוֹחַ, *ḥōaḥ*, very frequent; EV usually 'thorn' or 'thistle,' AV once (Is. 34 13) 'bramble.' It denotes a plant of the thorn or perhaps of the thistle kind: see THORN.

3. *βάτος*, which occurs seven times in 𝔊 (in six of these as the rendering of סְנֶה) and five times in NT, is once (Lk. 6 44) rendered 'bramble bush,' elsewhere BUSH (*q.v.*, § 1 *b*).

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

BRAN (τὰ πίτυρα [BAQ]). The 'burning of bran for incense' (*θυμιῶσαι τ. π.*; to Mylitta?) is mentioned in Bar. 6 (Ep. Jer.) 43 [42]† as one of the incidents in the unchaste idolatrous worship of the women of Babylon. See INCENSE, § 8.

BRASEN SEA (יָם הַנְּחֹשֶׁת), 2 K. 25 13; see LAVER; SEA, BRAZEN.

BRASEN SERPENT (נְחַשׁ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת), 2 K. 18 4. See NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

BRASIER (אָח), Jer. 36 22 *f.* RV. See COAL, § 3.

BRASS, or **BRASEN**, EV's rendering of נְחֹשֶׁת, *nᵉḥōšeth* (Gen. 4 22 and often), נָחוּשׁ, *nāḥūš* (Job 6 12†), נְחוּשָׁה, *nᵉḥūšāh* (Lev. 26 19, etc.), נְחָשׁ, *nᵉḥaš* (Dan. 2 32 etc.), χαλκός (Mt. 10 9, 1 Cor. 13 1, Rev. 18 12), and χαλκίον (Mk. 7 4).

EV invariably renders thus except in Ezra 8 27 AV (see COPPER), in 2 S. 22 35 AV, where נחשת, *'nᵉḥōšeth*, is rendered 'steel,' and in Jer. 15 12 AV has 'steel,' see IRON, § 2); cp 2 Tim. 4 14, where *χαλκεύς* is 'coppersmith.' In Gen. 4 22 RVmg. gives '*copper*,' and so elsewhere as a note on 'brass.' In Ezek. 1 7 נחשת קלל is rightly rendered 'burnished brass' (𝔊 *ἐξαστράπτων χαλκός*; Tg. below), as also is *χαλκολίβανος* in Rev. 1 15 2 18. In Ezra 8 27 נחשת is qualified by the epithet מֻצְהָב (RV 'bright'), which we should probably point מְצֻלְהָב = מצהב, 'glittering' (in Tg. Ezek. 1 7 for קָלָל, 'polished'). טוֹבָה, which follows (EV 'fine'), arises out of dittography, and should not be rendered (Che.).

That copper is meant is shown by the words, 'out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass' (Dt. 8 9); cp the chapter in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), headed 'Mines of Brass.' See COPPER and cp EGYPT, § 36 end.

1 This the Syriac lexicographers render into Arabic as *'ausaj*, which means a 'thorny shrub' (this is the right meaning of our word *bramble*, see Skeat, *s.v.*).

2 From the *absence of loudness* in the sound is derived the sense of Heb. אט—properly a 'whisper,' and thence 'softness,' 'stillness.' See also DIVINATION, § 4, iv.

3 It should be noticed that the *Auctarium ad Dioscoridem* confirms the identification of אָטָד and *ῥάμνος* by the gloss Ῥάμνος Ἀφροὶ ('Africans'—*i.e.*, probably Carthaginians) Ἀταδίν.

BREAD. From the earliest times of which we have any record, bread was the principal article of food among the Hebrews, a fact which explains the use of לֶחֶם both for bread and for food in general. The primitive custom of making the ears of wheat and barley more palatable by the simple process of roasting (קָלִי, 'parched corn'; 1 S. 17 17, etc.) was still common in historical times. For the preparation of bread, however; the ears must be crushed or ground so as to admit of being kneaded into a paste. In early times the flour was produced by crushing the ears between two stones (see illustrations of these primitive 'corn-grinders' found in Palestine in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, 85). A process common in Egypt under the Old Empire and later (see Erman's *Egypt*, 190), and still practised in the East. The mortar and pestle were a later development. The preparation of flour by pounding the ears in a mortar (מְדֹכָה, Nu. 11 8) is a familiar scene on Egyptian monuments. The flour obtained by these processes must have been of a coarser grain (גֶּרֶשׂ) than that procured by the use of the handmill (רֵחַיִם; see MILL). A still finer quality than the ordinary קֶמַח was named סֹלֶת (see FOOD, § 3 [*a*]).

1. Preparation.

In the earliest times bread was entirely unleavened. The requisite quantity of flour or barley-meal, which varied, naturally, according to the size of the household, was placed in a shallow wooden basin (מִשְׁאֶרֶת; Ex. 7 28) —earthenware, for obvious reasons, is little used by nomads—well mixed with water and kneaded. Salt was no doubt added when procurable (cp Lev. 2 13 *b*). When the kneading was completed, the dough (בָּצֵק) was ready for the firing. Cakes thus prepared were named מַצּוֹת, 'unleavened cakes,' and these still form the usual bread of the Bedouin. In a more advanced stage of society, the bread was made in this way only in cases of emergency (Gen. 19 3), or for purposes of ritual, as at the Passover. The ordinary bread of the Hebrews was made lighter by fermentation. A small piece of to-day's 'batch' was laid aside, and when the time for the next baking arrived this piece of leaven (שְׂאֹר) was broken down into the water in the משארת, the flour was mixed therewith, and the whole thoroughly kneaded and allowed to stand 'till the whole was leavened.'

The next stage is the process of firing, or rendering the dough more digestible by the application of heat. Three modes of firing are found in the OT, as in the East at the present day.

2. Firing: kinds of cakes.

(*a*) The simplest method is that still in use among the Bedouin. A fire of wood, or of wood mixed with camel's dung, is kindled on the sand, or on extemporised hearthstones. When these have been well heated, the embers are raked aside, and the flat pieces of dough laid on the hot stones and covered with the ashes just removed. After a few minutes, the ashes are again raked aside, the cakes turned, and the ashes replaced. In a few minutes more the cakes are ready (see Rob. *BR* 2 416 *f.*, Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1 131 etc.). Such 'a cake baked on the coals' was termed עֻגַת רְצָפִים (1 K. 19 6; cp Gen. 18 6 Hos. 7 8, 𝔊BAL, *ἐγκρυφίας*, by the Vg. correctly rendered *panis subcinericius*, 'ash cakes').

(*b*) A second mode of firing bread is one much in vogue at the present day among Bedouin and fellahin alike. A girdle or thin iron plate (מַחֲבַת בַּרְזֶל; Lev. 2 5 Ezek. 4 3, 𝔊BAL *τήγανον*), slightly convex in shape, is laid over a small fire-pit, in which a fire has been kindled as before, and on this plate or girdle the cakes are fired. Its Syrian name is *ṣāǵ* (Landberg, *Prov. et Dict. du Peuple Arabe*, 14). Cakes baked in this way

seem to have been called, by the Hebrews חֲבִתִּים (1 Ch. 9 31).

(c) The most usual mode of firing, however, especially in towns, was no doubt by means of the oven (תַּנּוּר). The *tannūr*, then as now, was a large earthenware jar in the bottom of which the fire was placed. As represented on Egyptian monuments, the cakes were fired by being applied to the *outside* of the jar (Wilkinson 2 34; Erman, *Egypt*, 191). The usual method at the present day, however, is to allow the fire to burn down, and, while the embers are still glowing, to apply the cake to the *inside* of the jar. The dough is first pressed into flat round cakes (like a Scotch *bannock)*; each of these in its turn is made to revolve by a rapid movement of the hands, till it has expanded to a diameter of about 18 inches, and become as thin as a sheet of thick paper. It is then laid on a cushion, by means of which it is applied to the wall of the *tannūr*. These thin wafer-cakes are called in the OT רָקִיק (in Syria, *marḳūḳ*). The *tannūr* may be, larger, and consist of a pit, wider at the bottom and narrowing towards the top, plastered with clay. The ovens used by the bakers of the street in Jerusalem named after them (Jer. 37 21) were probably of this sort. (For further details see FURNACE, 5).

The preparation of the daily supply of bread for the household was essentially the care of the women (Gen. 18 6 1 S. 28 24 etc.). In the wealthier households this duty would devolve on slaves, male and female (1 S. 8 13). In later times baking became a special trade in the cities (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9 2), and especially in Jerusalem (see above and cp the 'oven tower,' Neh. 3 11 12 38), where the large influx of pilgrims at the great festivals would promote the industry.

It is impossible now to identify the various species of cakes mentioned in the OT. If to those mentioned in the course of this article we add כִּכָּר the ordinary round cake or *bannock* (1 S. 2 36), and חַלָּה, the etymology of which points to its being pricked or perforated, like the modern passover calces, we have exhausted the varieties that can be identified with any approach to certainty. See further BAKEMEATS, also FOOD, §§ 1-3.

A. R. S. K.

BREAKFAST (ἀριστον [Ti. WH]), Lk. 11 38 RVmg. See MEALS, § 2.

BREASTPLATE, COAT OF MAIL (שִׁרְיָן [שִׁרְיוֹן] 1 K. 22 34 Is. 59 17], שִׁרְיוֹן or סִרְיוֹן Jer. 46 4 51 3, Syr. ܫܪܝܢܐ). We find the *širyōn* mentioned as part of the defensive armour of Goliath and David. That it was commonly worn by Israelite kings is evident from 1 K. 22 34 (2 Ch. 18 33). In the description of Goliath's armour in 1 S. 17 5 ('coat-of-mail' EV) the addition of the word קַשְׂקַשִּׂים to שִׁרְיוֹן gives a valuable clue: Goliath's coat of mail was covered with bronze scales.

This meaning is certified by Dt. 14 9 (Lev. 11 9), where קַשְׂקֶשֶׂת denotes the scales of a fish. Moreover, it is derived from a root, קשׂשׂ, that signifies rubbing or peeling off. Ar. *ḳašša* in conj. iv. expresses the peeling off of skin during recovery from disease.[1]

The weight of Goliath's armour, according to 1 S. 17 5, was 5000 shekels, which may be roughly computed as about zoo lbs. The close intercourse that there was between Egypt and Philistia[2] makes it not improbable

[1] In Job 41 26 [18] the word שִׁרְיָה (ἀπ. λεγ.) is taken by 𝔊, Vg., and Targum as = שִׁרְיוֹן, and modern comm., including Ew., have adopted this view. Some colour is given to this interpretation by *n.* 15 (Heh.) which describes the scales of Leviathan, which the coat of hail of the enemy might be held to resemble; but this is too slight as an argument. The immediate context suggests weapons of *offence*, and if 𝔊 is correct in translating the preceding ἀπ. λεγ. מַסָּע by δόρυ we have a fair presumption that Del. is right in comparing Ar. *siryatun* or *sirwatun*, 'pointed dart' or 'arrow,' with the word שִׁרְיָה in this passage (so RV). Duhm follows Hoffm. and reads שְׁדִיָּה 'javelin,' cp Syr. *šedhaithā*.

[2] Meyer, *GA*, 229 *ff.*, 238 8, 298.

that the heavy coat of mail worn by Goliath resembled the Egyptian cuirass worn by a royal personage, in which yellow, blue, red, and green metallic scales were tastefully arranged in symmetrical rows (Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, Abth. 156). Wilkinson has described the Egyptian cuirass, as consisting of about 'eleven horizontal rows of metal plates well secured by bronze pins.' At 'the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to cover the front of the body, and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half-way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.'

The Assyrian warriors in earlier times wore a heavy coat of mail covering the entire body with the exception of the arms. Occasionally the coat of mail did not reach farther than the knees. In later times the leading warriors were protected by jackets made of leather or of stout material, on which metal plates were sewn or rivetted (or they were provided with iron or bronze studs). Broad girdles were used for tying in the long coats of mail. Upon a bas-relief, from Nimrūd, portrayed in Layard's work we see an Assyrian chariot in which the bowman is mail-clad even around his neck and ears. It is not improbable that Ahab wore a heavy coat of mail somewhat resembling the Assyrian (but shorter), as we know that he took every precaution for personal protection,

The statement that he was mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced 'between הַדְּבָקִים and the coat of mail' has been variously interpreted. 𝔊BAL ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ πνεύμονος κ.τ.λ. does not yield any satisfactory sense. The use of דֶּבֶק in Is. 41 7 (𝔊 σύμβλημα), and the fundamental signification of the root, point to 'rivets' as a probable rendering, if it could yield any adequate sense in the context. Thenius and other authorities follow Luther in holding that what is meant here is an attachment or appendage to the coat of mail. The coat of mail protected the breast, whereas the appendage guarded the lower portion of the body, and the arrow penetrated through the interval that separated them (so Riehm, *HWB*). This appears to he the only intelligible explanation, and etymology warrants the rendering of the word הדבקים by 'attachments' or 'appendages' (*i.e.*, to the cuirass).

Respecting the coats of mail or corslets with which Uzziah is said to have provided his troops (2 Ch. 26 14) we have not definite information or any sufficient clue to guide us. The corslets (AV 'brigandines') which Jeremiah (46 4) bids the cavalry of Pharaoh Necho put on may have consisted of some thick woven material covered with metal scales; but here, as in the case of Neh. 4 16 [10], we are left in much uncertainty. For Neh. 4 16 [10] a useful hint may he derived from Herod. 7 63, where we learn that the Syrian (or Assyrian) contingent of Xerxes' army wore λίνεοι θώρηκες, which were probably close-fitting sleeveless jackets of coarse felt. Probably the *taḥrā* (תַּחְרָא), AV 'habergeon,' RV 'coat-of-mail,' of Ex. 28 32 (cp 39 23, both passages from P), was a corslet of this character.

Etymology here does not help us as the word is from the Aramaic root ܚܪܐ (*ethpeal* 'to fight') and therefore means simply 'fighting garb.' Targ. Onk. renders it שִׁרְיָן, 'breastplate.' 𝔊 (Ex. 28 28) is based on another text. Knohel is on the right track when he says in his comment (cited by Di., *ad loc.*): 'We are reminded of the λινοθώραξ of the Greeks (*Il.* 2 529 830). Egypt excelled in its manufacture.'

In the Greek period (300 B.C. and later), the ordinary heavy-armed soldiers wore coats of fine iron chain-mail (θώραξ ἁλυσιδωτός), a series of links connected into a continuous chain (Rich).

It is significant that 𝔊 gives this interpretation in 1 S. 17 5, and we may conclude from 1 Macc. 6 35 that during the entire Greek period this was the kind of cuirass usually worn. What form of breastplate was pictured before Paul's imagination as a symbol for the righteousness of a Christian warrior (Eph. 6 14, cp Is. 59 17 and 1 Macc. 5 8)—whether a corslet of scale armour (column of Antoninus), or a cuirass of 'broad metal plates across the chest and long flexible hands

(*laminæ*) of steel over the shoulders' (depicted on the column of Trajan)—can only be conjectured. Excellent woodcuts representing both may be found in Rich's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities.* Compare also Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.* O. C. W.

BREASTPLATE, Priestly (חֹשֶׁן; Ex. 28 4, περιστήθιον [BAL]; elsewhere τὸ λογιον [BAF], τὸ λογεῖον [L], 'oracle'; but twice [Ex. 25 6 (7) 35 8 (9)] 𝔊^BAL has ποδήρης where MT has חֹשֶׁן) or **BREASTPLATE OF JUDGMENT** (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט, Ex. 28 15; λ. τῶν κρίσεων [BAL]; often in 𝔊), an object worn on the ephod of the High Priest. It seems to have been a square piece attached by its corners to the shoulder-straps of the ephod (see EPHOD, § 3) and of like material—probably a species of pocket whose outer side was adorned with precious stones. The etymology of the word is uncertain.

Di. rejects the probable derivation from the root *ḥasuna*, 'to be beautiful,' and would prefer to connect it with חֵצֶן, *sinus* or 'fold' in which something is carried; cp Ewald, *Alterth.* 390. On the stones in the breastplate, see PRECIOUS STONES, and cp URIM AND THUMMIM, and Nowack, *HA* 2 119.

O. C. W.

BREECHES, in the proper usage of the word, denotes the divided garment reaching from the waist to just below the knees, equivalent to the Lat. *feminalia* and Gr. περισκελῆ, as distinguished from *bracæ* (*braccæ*) or ἀναξυρίδες, which reached to the ankles—the garment ordinarily denoted by the word 'hosen' at the time when the AV was made. The earliest form of the garment seems to have been simply a loin cloth (cp GIRDLE, 1). Generally, however, the long mantle worn in the East made a special covering for the legs unnecessary, and even the warriors who are depicted upon the monuments with their short tunics have the leg below the knee wholly bare with the exception of sandals. Noteworthy, on the other hand, are the lacings which protect the shins and knees of the follower of Ašur-bāni-pal (Per. and Chip., *Art in Chald.* ii. pl. x.); see further SHOES. Breeches, in fact, seem to he a distinctively Persian dress (see Herod. 1 71 7 61), and do not appear to have been known among the Israelites—at all events not before the exile.[1] Apart from the characteristic priestly מִכְנָסִים (see below, 3), garments of this nature are mentioned only in Dan. 3 21 [EV].

1. סַרְבָּל, *sarbāl* (Dan. 3 21 27†), RV 'hosen,'[2] supported by a consensus of opinion (Theod., Aq., Sym. Pesh., Hi., Ew., Behrmann, etc.).

In this case the word is derived from Gr. σαράβαρα, σαράβαλλα (Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 207, Frä. *Aram. Lehnw.* 48), probably of Pers. origin (cp mod. Pers. *shalwār*). In Targ. and Talm., on the other hand, ס׳ (originally not connected with the above) denotes a 'mantle'; so Jewish exegetes (Aben-Ezra, etc.) and AV ('coats,' mg. 'mantles') in this passage.

For more than one reason the AV is probably better. 'Coats' or 'mantles' suits the climax in *v.* 27, which describes the powerlessness of the fire over the Three, better than RV—their bodies were uninjured; nor was their hair singed; their mantles (flowing loose robes, easily inflammable) were unchanged, nor had the smell of fire passed on them.

2. פַּטִּישׁ, *paṭṭīš*, in פַּטִּישֵׁיהוֹן (or rather פַּטְּשֵׁיהוֹן [Ra. Gi.]), Dan. 3 21, is an exceedingly obscure term for which are offered such diverse renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (RV), 'turbans' (RV^mg.).

'Turbans' may be safely dismissed as unphilological and improbable (see TURBAN); for the rest cp Syr. ܦܛܫܐ (*a*) Persian tunic (cp RV) (*b*) breeches, also a kind of leggings (cp AV); see Payne-Smith, *Thes.* The Jew.-Aram. פטיש occurs in only one passage independent of Dan. 3 21, and apparently denotes something worn upon the feet; hut the text is probably corrupt (see Levy, *NHWB*, s.v. פשרש), although Kohut (*Aruch Completum*, s.v. פטש) argues for its authenticity. It is not improbable that פטש is a gloss to סרבל; this is indirectly suggested by the philological evidence and the versions (𝔊^87 reads only *two* of the three terms), and is directly supported by quotations in the old Latin fathers. For a discussion of סרבל and פטש, see further *Journ. Phil.* 26 307 *ff.* ['99].

3. The priestly linen breeches (מִכְנְסֵי־בַד [כנס to cover, hide], περισκελῆ λινᾶ, *feminalia*, Pesh. transliterates περίζωμα) were to be worn along with the holy linen coat, the linen girdle, and the linen turbnn by Aaron on the Day of Atonement as he entered the holy place within the curtain (Lev. 16 4 [P]). It is probably by an oversight that they are specially mentioned in Ecclus. 45 8 along with the long robe and ephod (or rather the *kuttōneth* and *me'īl*; so Heb.) as part of his 'apparel of honour.' Ordinary priests also wore them on sacrificial occasions (Ex. 28 42 39 28 Lev. 6 10 [3] [all P], Ezek. 44 18 [the b'nē Zadok]).

According to Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7 1) the μαναχάσην [Niese] was a girdle (διάζωμα)[1] of fine twisted linen. It was the undermost of the priestly garments and possibly the most primitive, since the older law of Ex. 20 26 (JE [according to Bacon, E]) seems to imply that the wearing of the garment was not originally compulsory for priest or layman. The change seems to be due to a primitive conception of holiness. Clothes which had come in contact with a holy place or function became taboo (Ar. *ḥarīm*), and therefore useless in ordinary life. The way to avoid this misfortune was to perform holy ceremonies naked (just as the Bedouins made the sacred circuit of the Kaaba at Mecca in a nude condition), or in holy vestments borrowed from the priests (cp 2 K. 10 22). The law of Ex. 20 26 is apparently aimed against the former custom (for which see further WRS, *RS*(2) 451 *f.*). See DRESS, PRIEST. I. A.—S. A. C.

BRETHREN OF JESUS (Mt. 12 47 Mk. 3 32 Lk. 8 20). See CLOPAS, § 3 *ff.*, JAMES, § 3, SIMON, 4.

BRICK (לְבֵנָה, derived by Ges. from √ לבן, 'to be white,' as if bricks were originally made of a whitish clay; but this is a forced etymology; 𝔊 πλίνθος).[2] The Hebrew word for brick is not limited to sun-dried bricks. There is no douht, however, that the Israelites, like most Eastern nations, used this kind almost exclusively; in Gen. 11 3 burning bricks is mentioned as a foreign custom, analogous to the use of asphalt (see BITUMEN) for mortar, and we may safely disregard EV's rendering 'brickkiln' in 2 S. 12 31, Nah. 3 14.[3] Sun-dried bricks of a very early period have been found in Palestine; burnt bricks seem to date generally from the Roman period. It will he remembered that the houses of the mass of the Israelites were made of sun-dried clay (see HOUSE); it was of the same material that their bricks were composed.[4]

1. Of the Hebrews

The true countries of brick-makers and brick-builders were Egypt[5] and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, *not* only all houses, but also all palaces, many tombs (including several of the smaller pyramids), and some temples, were constructed of Nile-mud bricks.

The representations of brick-making which are to be found in Egyptian wall-pictures are very instructive. They not only show the process with great clearness, but also illustrate most vividly the serfdom of the Israelites on Egyptian ground. The most famous picture, for example, represents foreigners—chiefly of a Semitic type—at work,

2. Brick-making

[1] Much later, in the Roman period, *braccæ*, *feminalia*, and *fasciæ* all found their way into Judæa (Brüll, *Trachten d. Juden*, 87).

[2] Evidently retained in its older sense. The modern 'hosen' is applied to stockings.

[1] We are reminded of the manner in which the Ar. *mīzar* has evolved from the simple *izār*; see GIRDLE, 1.

[2] Some scholars consider πλίνθος, the Greek term for brick, to have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Phœnicians in the form *l(e)binth.* [לבנה, Ass. *libittu*, seems to come from *labānu*, 'to throw down flat'; see LIBNAH, and cp Del. *Prol.* 93 *f.*]

[3] See the commentaries of Driver, H. P. Smith and Löhr on 2 S. *l.c.*, and on the whole passage see DAVID, § 11, c. ii. RV at Jer. 43 9 alters the unintelligible 'brickkiln' of AV into 'brick-work.'

[4] Altars, also, were made of earth; cp the obscure Is. 65 3 (see SACRIFICE). On the law in Ex. 20 25 (E?) see ALTAR, § 3.

[5] Cp the fact that the Eg. word for brick, *dobet*, Coptic τωβε, took root in Asia; cp Arabic *ṭūb* (whence Ethiopic *ṭōb*, Span. *adobe*).

superintended by Egyptian 'task masters' armed with sticks.

The analogy to the labour of Israel as described in Ex. 1 is so striking that many writers have ventured to regard the picture as referring to the circumstances with which that record deals. The scene, however, represents 'brick-making for the great magazine in Eastern Thebes' (Opet, mod. *Karnak*), and the explanatory legend states that the labourers are '*captives* brought by his majesty (Dhutmose or Thotmes III.) for work on the temple of Amon'; many (not the majority) of the working men seem to be African captives.

The picture illustrates the whole process of brick-making.

We see the labourers hoeing the ground with the wooden Egyptian hoe (see AGRICULTURE, fig. 3), carrying the black earth (Nile-mud deposited 'at the annual inundation) in baskets[1] to a clean (sandy?) place, moistening it with water taken from shallow ponds, evidently at some distance from the Nile, and kneading it with their feet. The wooden moulding-frame is filled with material of the right consistency, and emptied on the ground; then the square heaps of mud, placed in rows side by side, are left to dry.[2]

These Egyptian bricks were usually twice the size of our modern ones. Many of them (from dynasty **18** onwards) were stamped with the name of a king, to show that they belonged to public buildings; sometimes the stamp shows the name of the building, and sometimes in addition to this the name of the officer charged with the construction of the building.[3] Stamps as well as moulds have been preserved to modern times, and bricks with the name of Rameses II., 'the Pharaoh of the oppression' (but see EGYPT, § 58 *ff.*), are shown in our museums. We often find chopped straw or reed mixed with the mud to make it more consistent and to prevent cracking during the drying. According to Ex. 5 18 the pharaoh showed his malice by doubling the work of the Israelites. Apparently we are to understand that, instead of furnishing straw from the royal domains and from the magazines of a fifth part of the other fields, he forced the oppressed strangers to gather the straw from the fields themselves. This, however, they could not well accomplish during their scanty leisure time; besides, the stalks were used (and are still used) as fodder, especially, when not quite dry. Nor is it any easier to see how they could get old straw of the previous year (from the refuse heaps of farm-yards, etc.?) in quantities sufficient for their 'tale of bricks.' For the rest, we frequently find not only foreign captives, but also the Egyptian serfs, referred to in Egyptian texts as making bricks under constraint.

3. Egyptian brick.

We now turn to the second brick-building country—Mesopotamia. Owing to the scarcity of stone in Babylonia proper, brick was the only building material, stone being reserved for the ornamentation of edifices, and the construction of certain parts, such as the threshold (see BABYLONIA, § 15). Whilst in Egypt rain is so scarce that buildings of sun-dried brick have a certain durability, the climate of Babylonia is less favourable. The Babylonians, accordingly, made their constructions more solid. They built walls of an enormous thickness: for example, the great enclosure of Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar erected with the clay dug from the ditch of the city (cp BABYLON, § 5). Moreover, their unfavourable climate forced the Babylonians, though wood was at least as scarce in their country as in Egypt, to use burnt bricks, especially for the outer layers of their thick walls. This led to a high development of the art of glazing and colouring bricks. We find large walls covered with elaborate paintings, whilst in Egypt such enamelled

4. Babylonian.

1 [Does the phrase, 'his hands were freed from the basket' (Ps. 81 6 [7] RV; 'task-basket,' De Witt), refer to these baskets? Cp Del. *ad loc.*; but מִדּוּד is open to grave suspicion (see Che. *Ps.*(2) *ad loc.*).]

2 The Egyptian method of representing objects in perspective is likely to give the impression that the bricks are placed one above another.

3 It has been inferred from this stamp that the government manufactured bricks for sale, and even that it had a brick-monopoly; but this is very improbable.

tiles were used much more rarely and always on a smaller scale. Crude bricks, however, sometimes of enormous size and always without straw, were the common material, especially in the earlier times. Hence we have brick stamps with, for example, the name of such old kings as Sargon of Agadé and Naram-sin.

In Nineveh, sun-dried bricks seem to have been the building material in general use. On Ezek. 4 1, which mentions Ezekiel as portraying the siege of Jerusalem on clay-tiles, *see* Ezek. *SBOT* (Eng.), p. 98 *ff.*

W. M. M.

BRICKKILN (מַלְבֵּן), 2 S. 12 31 Nah. 3 14 and (RV **Brickwork**) Jer. 43 9. See above, § 1.

BRIDE (כַּלָּה) Is. 62 5, **Bridegroom** (חָתָן) Jer. 7 34. See MARRIAGE.

BRIDGE (ΓΕΦΥΡΟΥΝ [A]), 2 Macc. 12 13 AV; RV GEPHYRUN.

BRIDLE. The various Heb. and Gr. words will be found dealt with in the articles specified below.

1. מַחְסוֹם, *maḥsōm* (φυλακή), Ps. 39 1 [2] EV, EVmg. 'muzzle' (cp CATTLE, § 9). Most inappropriate; read שָׁמְרָה, 'a guard' (Ps. 141 3 שָׁמְרָה), with Herz, Che.

2. מְצִלּוֹת, *meṣillōth*, Zech. 14 20 AVmg., EV BELLS [*q.v.*, 2].

3. מֶתֶג, *metheg*, 2 K. 19 28 (χαλινός) ‖ Is. 37 29 (χαλινός), Prov. 26 3 (κέντρον). EV is no doubt correct. Cp the place-name in 2 S. 8 1, METHEG-AMMAH.

4. רֶסֶן, *resen*, Is. 30 28 (𝔊 doubtful), Job 30 11 (χαλινός), Ps. 32 9 (κημός), Job 41 13 [5] EV (θώραξ). Perhaps 'bit' would be a better rendering.

5. χαλινός Jas. 3 3 RV, AV 'bit'; Rev. 14 20 EV (cp Eur. *Alcestis*, 492); cp HORSE, § 2.

BRIER. Six Hebrew words have to be considered.

1. בַּרְקָנִים,[1] *barḳānīm* (Judg. 8 7 16†), are mentioned along with 'thorns of the wilderness' as the instruments with which Gideon 'taught,' or rather 'threshed' (71.7; cp Moore's comm. *ad loc.*), the men of Succoth. The etymology of the Hebrew word being unknown and its occurrence so rare, it is scarcely worth while to speculate as to the kind of thorn intended.

We may notice that according to Boissier, 3 602 (quoted by Ascherson in Löw, 429), *berḳān* is in modern times an Arabic name for *Phaceopappus scoparius*, Boiss. The parallelism with 'thorns of the wilderness' in both places is enough to refute the absurd idea invented by Michaelis and adopted by Gesenius that בַּרְקָנִים meant 'threshing-wains.' The method of torture alluded to is that of *carding* (see Moore).

2. שָׁמִיר, *šāmīr*, occurs eight times in Is. (5 6 7 23 24 25 9 18 [17] 10 17 27 4 32 13),[2] in seven of these along with שַׁיִת, a word of similar meaning. שָׁמִיר is a genuine Semitic word, and Celsius (2 188 cp Fränkel, 89) pointed out its affinity with Ar. *samur*, some kind of thorny plant. The Hebrew word seems a general one for thorny plants, of which there are many kinds in Palestine (Tristram enumerates sixteen species of *Rhamnee*, *FFP* 263 *ff.*). The ancient versions give no help towards a nearer determination of the species.

3. סִרְפַּד, *sirpad* (κόνυζα [Sym. κνίς] Is. 55 13†), a wilderness-plant, probably of the nettle kind, as its name is apparently connected with סרף = שׂרף, 'to burn.'

𝔊 Aq. Theod. took it to be the 'fleabane'; Sym. and Vg. the 'nettle'; Pesh. renders *ṣāthrā*, probably 'savory.' Any of these will suit the passage well enough; under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

4. סָרָבִים, *sārābhīm*, AVmg. 'rebels' (παροιστρήσουσι [Sym. ἰταμοί, Th. δύσκολοι] Ezek. 2 6†), is not a plant name.

According to the testimony of all the ancient versions, the word is almost certainly to be read as the participle (סֹרְבִים) of a verb common in Aram., 'to gainsay falsely' or 'idly'; and the

1 𝔊 merely transliterates; in *v.* 7 Aq. renders τραγακάνθας and Sym. τριβόλους (see FIELD, *ad loc.*).

2 In the other three places where שָׁמִיר occurs (Jer. 17 1 Ezek. 3 9 Zech. 7 12) it is rendered 'diamond' or 'adamant' (see ADAMANT, § 3).

followingword, מלונים, is perhaps a mistake **for** סֹלִים ('despising') or some such word, so that the clause would read 'though they gainsay and contemn thee '(see Co. *ad loc.*). There is no support anywhere for a word סָרָבִים meaning 'briers.'

5. סִלּוֹן, *sillōn* (σκόλοψ, Ezek. 28 24),[1] is connected with Jewish Aram. סִילוֹא, Syr. *salwā*, Ar. *sullā*, Mand. סיליתא (Low, 150), all of which mean a 'thorn' or 'pricking point.'

6. חֵדֶק, *ḥēdeḳ* (ἄκανθαι,[2] Prov. 15 19 [where EV 'thorns'] Mic. 7 4†), is by Wellhausen (*Kl. Proph.*[(3)] 149) connected with Ar. *ḥadīḳa*, an enclosed garden or orchard; he reads in Micah טוֹבָם מֵחֵדֶק יָשָׁרָם מִמְּסוּכָה ('ihr Bester ist aus der Dornhecke und ihr Gradester aus dem Gestrupp'), thus producing a good parallelism. On the other hand, Low (147), following Celsius (ii. 35 *ff.*), explains the word by reference to **Ar.** *ḥadaḳ*, which, according to Lane (*s.v.*), is *Solanum cordatum.* Tristram (*FFP*, *368)* identifies it with *Solanum sanctum*, L. (sometimes called the apple of Sodom : see Bäd.[(3)] 152). We may at all events gather from Prov. 15 19 that a thorny plant capable of forming a hedge is intended. For Heb. 68 AV [τρίβολοι], see THISTLE [4]. **N. M.**

BRIGANDINE (סִרְיֹן), Jer. 46 4, RV 'coats of mail'; see BREASTPLATE (i.).

BRIMSTONE (*i.e.*, *brenston*, 'burning stone'; גָּפְרִית, *gophrīth ;* θεῖον ;[3] *SULPHUR).*

The passages are Gen. 19 **24** Dt. 29 **23** [**22**] Job 18 15 Ps. **116** [**7**] **Is.3033** 34 9 Ezek. 38 22 Lk. 17 29 Rev. 9 17 *f.* **14** 10 **19** 20 **20** 10 21 8†). *Gophrīth* **is** apparently connected with כֹּפֶר 'bitumen' (cp the Aram. and Ar. forms with initial *k*), but surely not **of** Bactrian origin, as Lagarde[4] supposed.

Almost invariably the passages in which brimstone is mentioned relate to divine judgments; there is no direct statement of any use to which sulphur was put by the Hebrews. They cannot have known anything of the industrial uses of that mineral, which have *so* largely added to the wealth of the regions where it **is** most easily obtained (*e.g.*, Sicily). The only objects to which it was applied by the ancients, according to Plin. *HN* 35 15, are the making of lamp wicks (*ellychnia*), the fumigation and cleansing of wool, certain medical remedies, and, lastly, religious purifications[5] (cp *Od.* **22** 481483 ; after the slaughter of the suitors).

It may be conjectured, however, that sulphur was used in the so-called **TOPHETH** (*q.v.*) of **the** Valley of Hinnom (cp Is. **30** 33), and one conclusion may safely be drawn from the many descriptions in which brimstone is referred to—that the Israelites were not unacquainted with the volcanic phenomena known as 'solfatara' or those known as 'fire-wells' (as emanations of carburetted hydrogen, when they take fire, are frequently called). These 'fire-wells' occur in many of the districts where mud-volcanoes appear, in Europe, Asia, and N. America.[6] Reminiscences of phenomena of this kind apparently underlie certain parts of the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen. 19 and the other passages (see above) where the same narrative is directly or indirectly alluded to.

It is probable that the Hebrews, like the Greeks (see *Il.* 14 415 *Od.* 12 417) and the Romans (Plin. *HN* **35** 15),[7] associated the ozonic smell which often so perceptibly accompanies lightning discharges with the presence of sulphur. This may help to explain the passages which describe or allude to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah as having been brought about by a rain of fire and brimstone from heaven (Job 18 **15?** Gen. **19 24** Ps. **116** Ezek. **3822** Lk. 17 29).

BROIDERED COAT, RV 'coat of chequer work' (כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ), **Ex.** 28 4. See EMBROIDERY, § 1 ; TUNIC, § 2.

BROIDERED WORK (רִקְמָה), Ezek. 16 10. See EMBROIDERY, § **1**.

BROOCHES (חַחִים), Ex. **35** 22 RV ; AV 'bracelets' [see HOOK, 2]. See also BUCKLE, 1.

BROOK. The Hebrew word usually thus rendered is נַחַל, *naḥal* (χειμάῤῥους; cp in NT Jn. 18 1), which, like the Ar. *wādy*, denotes not only the flowing brook itself (cp נַחַל אֵיתָן, Am. 5 24), but also, like the Ar. *wādy*, the dried-up river bed[1] (cp the term אכזב, Jer. **1513**). Hence Job likens his unstable brethren to a brook whose supply of water cannot be counted on (Job 6 15).

In Is. 19 6, יְאֹרֵי מָצוֹר, *ye'ōrē māṣōr*, 'the brooks of defence,' means rather 'streams of Egypt' (*so* RV). יְאֹר, *ye'ōr*, a word which bears resemblance both to the Eg. *'io(t)ru**, 'river,' and to the Ass. *ia'uru*, 'stream,' is applied usually to the NILE.

אָפִיק, *'āphīḳ*, in אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם, *ăphīḳē mayim*, 'water-brooks,' Ps. **42** 2 [3] Joel 1 20 (πηγαί, ἀφέσεις ὑδάτων), is a poetical word which, from its radical idea of holding or confining, denotes properly a channel (cp **Is.** 3 7). It is otherwise rendered 'stream,' 'river,' 'waters,' etc., and occurs in various involved figurative meanings, in Job 12 21 (AV 'the mighty'), 40 18 (AV 'strong pieces'), **41** 15 [7] (אֲפִיקֵי מָגִנִּים, AV 'scales').

מִיכַל, *mīkhal*, rendered 'brook' in 2 S. 17 20, is a word of unknown etymological history (for Fr. Del.'s identification with the **Ass.** *mēkaltu*, 'a canal,' **cp** Dr. *ad loc.* and *ZDMG* 40 **724**). The word, if not corrupt (We. conjectures some such word **as** הָדֶרֶךְ) *or* out of its place, **is** quite unknown.[2]

For Brook **of Egypt** (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), **Is.** 27 12 RV, see **EGYPT,** RIVER OF. For Brook **of** the Arabah (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה), Am. *6* 14 RV, see ARABAH, **BROOK OF** THE. S. A. *C.*

BROOM (רֹתֶם), 1 K. 19 4 RVmg., AV JUNIPER.

BROTH (מָרָק), Judg. 6 19 *f.* Is. 65 4†. See COOKING, **§ 3 ;** SACRIFICE.

BROWN (חוּם), Gen. 30 32 *f.* AV ; see COLOURS, § 8.

BUCKET (דְּלִי, cp Ar. *dalwun*, Ass. *dilûtu*), Is. 40 15 (κάδος [BאAQΓ]) ; in Nu. 24 7 (σπέρμα [BAFL]), used figuratively of Israel's prosperity. See AGRICULTURE, § 5.

BUCKLE. 1. According to some authorities the חַח (σφραγιδας, *armillas*) of Ex. 35 22 was a buckle (AV 'bracelets,' RV 'brooches'). See RING.

2. **So,** too, the אצעדה of **2 S. 1** 10. See BRACELET (5).

3. πόρπη (1 Macc. 10 89 **11** 58 **1444)** was **a** gold buckle, bestowed in one instance as an honourable distinction on Jonathan by king Alexander Balas, 'as the use is to give to such as are the kindred of the king (1 Macc. 10 89).

Such buckles or brooches formed the fastenings of the outer garment on the breast *or* over the shoulder. They were of various shapes, the commonest being a flat circular ring with a pin passing through the centre (Rawlinson). The use of *golden* buckles (like that of the purple robe) was reserved to men **of dis**tinction (see passages cited, and cp Livy, 39 31) ; see **CROWN, § 4.**

BUCKLER. For מָגֵן, *māgēn* (2 S. 22 31 AV), צִנָּה, *ṣinnah* (Ps. 35 2), סֹחֵרָה, *sōḥērah* (**Ps.** 91 4) see SHIELD. For רֹמַח, *rōmaḥ* (1 Ch. 12 8) see SPEAR (so RV).

BUGEAN (Βογγαιος [BאALB], *BUGÆUS*), Est. **126** AV. See AGAGITE.

BUKKI (בֻּקִּי, § 52; abbreviated from בֻּקִּיָּהוּ; Βοκχ[ε]ι [L]; see BUKKIAH).

1. Said to have been the fourth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar: 1 Ch. 6 5 51 [5 31 6 36] (*v.* 5 Βωε [B], -ωκαι [A];

[1] On סַלּוֹנִים, Ezek. **2 6** see above, **4.**

[2] The reading of 𝔊 in Mic. **74** (ὡς σὴς ἐκτρώγων) presupposes **a** reading כְּחֹרֵק (Vollers in *ZATW* 4 10).

[3] Probably from the same *root* as θύω, *fumus*, and wholly unconnected with θεός.

[4] *Beitr.* 74 **27**; *Sem.* 1 64 *f.*; *Sym.* **2** 93 *f.*

Cp Ov. *Met.* 14 791 *f.*,

Lurida **supponunt** fcecuudo sulfura fonti,
Incenduntque cavas fumante bitumine venas.

[6] See Sir Archibald Geikie in *Ency. Brit.*[(9)] 10 251.

[7] Fulmina, fnlgura quoque sulpuris odorem habent, ac **lux** ipsa eorum sulpurea est.

[1] נחל is accordingly sometimes rendered 'valley' **: cp**, *e.g.*, Dt. 2 *36* 2 Ch. **20** 16 33 **14** in RV.

[2] The Targ. identifies מיכל with the Jordan. No help can be obtained *from* the Versions, unless the διεληλύθασι σπεύδοντες of 𝔊L **be** correct, **in** which case מיכל המים may be a corruption of some such word as מִמַּהֲרִים *or* מִבַּהֲלִים (elsewhere late). See also H. P. Smith, ***ad*** *loc.*

v. 51 -*και* [BA]); Ezra 7 4 (Βοκκ[ε]ι [BA])=1 Esd. 8 2, BOCCAS (Βοκκα [BA]). In 4 Esd. 1 2 the name appears as Borith (*Borith*).

2. Danite; one of the chiefs chosen to divide Canaan (Βακειρ [B], -χχι [F], -κκειρ [L], Βοκκι [A]), Nu. 34 22 [P].

BUKKIAH (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ, perhaps connected with the Syr. verb ܒܩܐ, and, if pointed בְּקִיָּה, signifying 'Yahwè has tested,' §§ 39, 52); one of the sons of Heman, 1 Ch. 25 4 13 (Βουκειας [B], Βοκκιας, ΚΟΚΚ. [A], Βοκχιας [L], ܒܩܝܐ). See BAKBUKIAH.

BUL (בּוּל, perhaps 'rain-month,' from יבול; cp in Ph. בל, *CIS* i. no. 31; its identification with the Palm. divine name בול (in עבדבול, etc.) is not certain; Βααλ [BA], Βουλ [L]), 1 K. 6 38. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

BULL (בָּקָר, Jer. 52 20; פַּר, Gen. 32 15[16]; שׁוֹר, Job 21 10; אַבִּיר, Ps. 50 13, and ταυρος, Heb. 9 13). See CATTLE, § 2. For the bull in mythological representations, see CALF, GOLDEN; CATTLE, § 14; CHERUB, § 7; and cp STARS, § 3 *a*. For the brazen bulls (2 K. 16 17), see SEA, BRAZEN. It is worth adding that bull-fights are often represented on wall-paintings in Egyptian tombs (see P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. i., p. 28, n. 1).

BULLOCK (פַּר), Ex. 29 10. See CATTLE, § 2.

BULL, WILD (Kin), Is. 51 20, AV; RV ANTELOPE [*q.v.*].

BULRUSH (אַגְמֹן), Is. 58 5 (RV 'rush'), and **BULRUSHES** (גֹּמֶא), Ex. 2 3 Is. 18 2 (RV in the latter 'papyrus'), both words elsewhere RUSHES (*q.v.*).

BULWARK. For חֵיל, *ḥēl* (AV occasionally, RV usually 'rampart'), see FORTRESS, § 5; for פִּנָּה, *pinnah*, 2 Ch. 26 15 (RV 'battlements,' mg. 'corner towers'), see BATTLEMENT and FORTRESS, § 5; for מָצוֹד, *māṣōd* (Eccl. 9 14), and מָצוֹר, *māṣōr* (Dt. 20 20), see WAR.

BUNAH (בּוּנָה 'intelligence': cp in Palm. בונא, Vog. *Syr. Cen.*, no. 3), a Jerahmeelite (Βαναια [B], Βααναι [A], αμινα [L]), 1 Ch. 2 25.

BUNDLE (צְרוֹר), Gen. 42 35 of money; Ct. 1 13 of myrrh; 1 S. 25 29 of life. See BAG (4).

BUNNI (בֻּנִּי, בָּנִי and בּוּנִּי, §§ 5, 79; cp BANI).

1. A Levite, Neh. 9 4 (Βουνιας [L]; transl. υἱός [BℵA]), see EZRA, ii. 5 13 (*f.*); possibly identical with the signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i., § 7), Neh. 10 15[16] (Βανι [BℵA], Βοκχει or υἱοί [L]), whose name, however, is perhaps due to dittography of BANI [n. 4] in *v.* 14[15].

2. Another Levite, one of the overseers of the temple, Neh. 11 15 (BHA om., Βουνα [L], -αι [ℵc.a mg. sup.]); not mentioned in ∥ 1 Ch. 9 14.

BURDEN (מַשָּׂא, *massā—i.e.*, 'lifting up'; hence either 'burden' or 'utterance' ['to utter' is 'to lift up the voice']). 'Burden' in EV, when used of a prophetic revelation, should rather be 'oracle' (as RV^mg. 2 K. 9 25 etc.). Cp PROPHECY. The term *massā* became a subject of popular derision in the time of Jeremiah, owing to its double meaning (see above), so that Jeremiah pronounces a divine prohibition of its use (Jer. 23 33 *ff.*). It continued, however, to be used in the headings of prophecy. As to the application of *massā*, once only it denotes divine judicial sentence (2 K. 9 25; cp Jer. 23 36); elsewhere there is no such limitation of meaning. In Prov. 30 1 beyond doubt מַשָּׂא should be emended to מֹשֵׁל, in 31 1 to מָשָׁל (see AGUR, LEMUEL).

𝔊BℵAQ renders variously λῆμμα (in the Minor Prophets regularly), ῥῆμα (Is. 15 1 17 1 22 1 and 21 1 [Q]), ὅραμα (Is. 21 1 also *ib.* 15 1 [A], 22 1 [A], and 23 1 [ℵAQ^mg.]), and ὅρασις (Is. 19 1 30 6).

BURIAL (קְבוּרָה), Is. 14 20. See DEAD, § 1.

BURNING (שְׂרֵפָה), 2 Ch. 21 19. See DEAD, § 1; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

BURNING AGUE (קַדַּחַת; ικτερος [AFL], ικτηρ [? B]), Lev. 26 16†; see DISEASES, § 6, MEDICINE.

BURNT OFFERING (עוֹלָה), Lev. 1 3; see SACRIFICE.

BURNT OFFERING, ALTAR OF (מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה), Ex. 30 28; see ALTAR, § 2 *f.*; SACRIFICE.

BUSH represents in AV three different Hebrew words.

1. סְנֶה, *seneh* (βάτος, *rubus*: Ex. 3 2-4 Dt. 33 16 Mk. 12 26 Lk. 6 44 [EV 'bramble bush'] 20 37 Acts 7 30 35†)

1. Hebrew terms. denotes a rough thorny bush—which is the original sense of our 'bramble'—as is shown by the use of the same word in later Hebrew, in Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian, and confirmed by the rendering of the ancient Versions. Low (275), following Forskål (*Flor. Æg. Ar.* cxiii.), identifies it with *Rubus fruticosus*. Some, on the ground that the bramble is not found on Sinai, assume that a kind of acacia is referred to. These Hebrew and Greek words are used in OT and NT respectively only in connection with the theophany to Moses in Horeb (Sinai), except in Lk. 6 44.[1] In OT (Ex 3 2-4 Dt. 33 16), and in Acts 7 30 35, the term refers to the actual bush; in Mk. 12 26 = Lk. 20 37 (see RV) to the section of Exodus containing the narrative (see below, § 2).

2. שִׂיחַ, *śīaḥ* (χλωρόν, *virgultum*, EV 'plant,' Gen. 2 5; ἐλάτη, *arbor*, EV 'shrub,' Gen. 21 15; also Job 30 4 7†[2]) is in Gen. 2 5 probably used in a general sense of any wild-growing shrub; in the other passages the reference may be more specific. Low (78), who cites the Syriac and Arabic equivalents—*sīḥā* and *šīḥ*—identifies it with *Artemisia judaica* L, but allows that the Arabic word is used by Syriac lexicographers for various species. See also Wetzstein, *Reiseber.*, 41.

3. נַהֲלֹלִים, *nahălōlīm* (ῥαγάς, *foramina*, AV 'bushes,' RV 'pastures,' mg. 'bushes,' Is. 7 19†) is almost certainly connected with the root נהל, Ar. *nahala* (see Barth, *NB* 215), whose proper sense is that of leading cattle to the drinking-place. The noun, therefore, means 'drinking-places'—like Ar. *manhal* or *mawrid*. This is better than the more general rendering 'pastures.' 'Clefts' (𝔊, Vg.) rests on a false etymology; and 'bushes' (Saad. etc., AV) is seemingly due to conjecture (Ges. *Thes.*).

The theophany in the bush (Ex. 3 2-4) is remarkable. Elsewhere the 'angel of Yahwè' is a theophany in human

2. The 'burning bush.' form; but here apparently (note *vv.* 2*b* 3) the only special appearance is that of fire. The nearest parallel is Judg. 13 20, where the angel ascends in a flame of fire; but the human form of the appearance is there unmistakable. The story in the form which it assumes in Exodus appears to have resulted from a fusion of two widely current beliefs—that fire indicated the divine presence (see THEOPHANY, § 5), and that certain trees were the permanent abodes of deities. It seems probable from the character of the reference in Dt. 33 16 that there was current a different form of the story, according to which the bush was Yahwè's permanent dwelling; for the phraseology (שכני סנה, 'who dwelt in the bush') indicates the same permanency of the divine presence as was subsequently supposed to characterise the temple. Renan, however, would read שכני סיני, 'who dwells in Sinai' (cp *v.* 2), and certainly in Exodus the fiery appearance is clearly regarded as, like other theophanies, temporary. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 193 *f.*) cites some parallels from non-biblical sources, and argues that 'the original seat of a conception like the burning bush, which must have its physical basis in electrical phenomena, must prob-

[1] סֶנֶּה occurs also as the proper name of a Rock, 1 S. 14 4 (see MICHMASH).

[2] Where 𝔊 (ἠχοῦντι, εὐήχων) has been led astray by the likeness of the word to the verb שִׂיחַ; but Aq. and Sym. have φυτά (in *v.* 7 Sym. φυτὰ ἄγρια).

ably be sought in the clear dry air of the desert or of lofty mountains.' We need not rationalise and suppose a bush of the *nebk*, overgrown with the *Loranthus acacia*, which has an abundance of fire-red blossoms (so the botanist traveller Kotschy. in Furrer's art. 'Dorn,' *BL* 2 13). Cp further Baudissin, *Stud. zur sem. Religionsgesch.* 2 223; Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen zum AT* 7 *f.* N. M., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

BUSHEL (μοδιος, *modius*), a measure of capacity; Mt.5 15 Mk. 4 21 Lk. 11 33.† See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUTLER (מַשְׁקֶה), Gen. 40 1 41 9; cp CUPBEARER, and see MEALS, § 11.

BUTTER (חֶמְאָה), Gen. 18 8. See MILK.

BUZ (בּוּז). 1. Second son of Nahor, Gen. 22 21 (Βαυξ [A] -ζ [L]). As Buz is mentioned in connection with Dedan and Tema in Jer. 25 23 (Pws [Bℵ²AQ], -θ [ℵ*], Βωζ [Q^mg.]), it must have been an Arabian people. Buz and HAZO (*q.v.*) are connected by Del. (*Par.* 307; Riehm's *HWB*^(2), 124) with the Bāzū and Ḥazū of the annals of Esarhaddon (Budge, *Hist. of Esarh.* 59-61, *KB*, 2 130 *f.*), two districts not to be exactly identified, but evidently in close proximity to N. Arabia. Esarhaddon's description of the land of Bāzū is not an inviting one; it was a desolate, snake-haunted region. Probably Buz should be vocalised Bōz (בּוֹז), to accord with Bāzū and the vowels αυ and ω in the Gk. forms (cp Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 116).

2. A Gadite (ζαβουχαμ [B], Βουζ [L], Αχιβουζ [A; see AHI, 1]), 1 Ch. 5 14†.

BUZI (בּוּזִי, probably a gentilic; see BUZ), father of the prophet EZEKIEL (*q.v.*, § 1), Ez. 1 3[2] (Βουζ[ε]ι [BAQ], πεφαγλισμενος [Q^mg.]).

BUZITE (בּוּזִי, ο Βουζ[ε]ιτης [BℵC], ο του Βουζι [A]; 𝔊^BℵAC adds της αυσ[ε]ιτιδος χωρας), a gentilic noun from Buz (*q.v.*), applied to ELIHU, the fourth speaker in the poem of Job (Job 32 2), who is also said to have been 'of the family of Ram.' From the fact that Ram is the name of a Judahite family, to which Boaz and David are said to have belonged (Ruth 4 19 21), and that an Elihu appears in 1 Ch. 27 18 as 'one of the brethren of David,' Derenbourg (*REJ* 1 6) conjectures that 'Buzite' should rather be "Bozite' = 'Boazite' (בֹּעֲזִי). To complete this theory Elihu ought, it would seem, to be David's brother. Unfortunately 'Elihu' in 1 Ch. 27 18 is most probably corrupt, and, even if not, 'brethren' is a vague and uncertain term (see ELIHU, 2). Moreover, dramatic propriety naturally suggested the description of Elihu as an Aramæan Arab. RAM (*q.v.*, 2) is probably a fictitious name, like Elihu and Barachel. T. K. C.

C

CAB, RV **Kab** (קַב; καβος [BAL]), 2 K. 6 25†, a dry measure, one-sixth of a seah (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). So at least Jewish authorities (see Buxtorf, *s.v.* קב); but in this passage קַב ('cab') is probably a scribe's error for כֹּר ('cor'). See DOVE'S DUNG, HUSKS.

CABBON (כַּבּוֹן, χαβρα [BA], χαββω [L]), an unidentified city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Eglon and Lahmas (Josh. 15 40). It is possibly the same as the MACHBENA—AV MACHBENAH (מַכְבֵּנָא; μαχαβηνα [B], -αμηνα [A], μαχβανα [L])—mentioned among the Calebite towns enumerated in 1 Ch. 2 49, and may perhaps be represented by the present *el-Ḳubeibeh*, lying between Kh. 'Ajlān and Kb. el-Lahm, sites that have been proposed for Eglon and Lahmas.

CABINS (חֲנֻיּוֹת), Jer. 37 16†, AV; RV CELLS (*q.v.*).

CABUL (כָּבוּל; χωβα- [μασομελ] [B], χαβωλ [A], χο. [L]), a town in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19 27), the χαβωλω (variants -[ν], -βολ., -βαλ., γαμαλων) mentioned by Josephus (*Vit.* 43, 44, 45) as a village on the confines of Ptolemais, 40 stadia from Jotapata (modern Jefāt), may safely be identified with the modern *Kābūl*, 236 ft. above sea-level, 9 m. SE. from Acco. It is probably the χαβουλων (but other codd. read ζαβουλων), which Josephus (*BJ* 3 3) gives as on the sea coast of Tyre and forming the E. frontier of Lower Galilee. The name was current at the time of the Crusaders as Cabor or Cabour, a fief presented in 1186 to Count Joscelin by King Baldwin IV., and it gave its name to a family (Rey, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*).

In 1 K. 9 10-13 it is told how Solomon, on the completion of his buildings in Jerusalem to which Hiram contributed, gave to the latter 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee,' but Hiram was dissatisfied with them and 'they were called the land of Cabul unto this day' (Heb. אֶרֶץ כָּבוּל, 𝔊^BAL ὅριον for גְּבוּל; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5, 3, χαβαλων, described as bordering on Tyre; *c. Ap.* 1 17, χαβουλων, 'a piece of land in Galilee').[1] For the statement of Josephus that in Phœnician the name means 'unpleasing' (οὐκ ἀρέσκον) there is no evidence. Yet the true explanation ought not to be far away. If we could recover it we should see that the popular wit was not so poor as Hiller, Ewald, and Thenius supposed (כבול=כְּבַל, 'as nought'). Cheyne (*PSBA*, 21 177 *ff.* ['99]) would correct 'land of Cabul' into 'land of Zebulun'; זבולן may have been written זבול', and when the mark of abbreviation had been lost, some learned scribe may have corrected זבול into כבול. The witticism would be like that which explained Beelzebul as 'lord of dung,' and 'Izebel as 'what dung' (see BEELZEBUL, JEZEBEL); it would be a new popular etymology of Zebulun. The 'twenty cities,' on this hypothesis, were in the lower part of the Gālīl, which, in the time of Josephus, and probably also when 1 K. 9 11-13 was edited, extended as far as Χαβουλων or Cabul. Of course the writer does not mean to say that the name Zebulon was now given for the first time; he only offers a new justification for the name. For a less probable view (כבול corrupted from נליל; cp גָּלָל, 'dung'), see Klostermann. (Cp also Bottg., *Topogr.-hist. Lex. zu Josephus, s.v.* 'Chalabon.') By its own evidence ('unto this day') the story, in its present form, is by no means contemporary with the events with which it deals.

The Chronicler, whose views would not allow him to record the cession of a part of the Holy Land to the Gentile, so alters the story as to make it appear that it was Hiram who 'gave the cities to Solomon'! (2 Ch. 8 2). The AV translators have attempted to reconcile this with the story in Kings by rendering 'gave' 'restored' (RV 'had given').

CADDIS, RV GADDIS (γαδδις [AV], -ει [ℵ]), surname of JOANNAN (1 Macc. 2 2). See MACCABEES, i. §§ 1 3.

CADES, RV KEDESH (κηδες [Aℵ], κεδ. [V], 1 Macc. 11 63). See KEDESH, 3.

[1] A scholiast (Field's *Hex.*, *l.c.*) interprets כבול by δουλείας.

CADES-BARNE (καδης βαρνη [B‎א‎A]), Judith514 **AV**; RV KADESH-BARNEA.

CADMIEL (καδμιηλου [A]), 1 Esd. 526 AV, RV KADMIEL.

CÆSAR (καισαρ [Ti. WH]) is used in the NT as a title of Augustus (Lk. 21) and Tiberius (*ib.* 31). The latter emperor is, moreover, the 'Cæsar' of Mt. 2217 *ff.* Mk. 1214 *ff.* Lk. 2022 *ff.* (cp 232) and Jn. 1912 *ff.* Claudius Czesar is named in Acts1128 (AV, but **RV** om. Cæsar with Ti. WH), and is alluded to in Acts 177. The 'Cæsar' of Paul (Acts258 *ff.* **2632** 2724 2819) is Nero, whose 'household' is mentioned in Phil. 422 (*οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας*). The reference here is hardly to members of his family, but, as in the case of Stephanas in 1 Cor. 1615, to the *familia* or household slaves. See further APOCALYPSE, § 43 *ff.*, ISRAEL, §§ 87-115.

CZSAREA. 1. **Czesarea Palæstinæ** (καισαρια [Ti. WH], -ειa [Jos.]; in Talm. קיסרי, mod. Arab. *El-Ḳaiṣārīyeh*),

1. Earlier history. the only real port south of Carmel, was built by Herod the Great (on the name, see **§ 3)** in time for it to become the capital of the Roman province of Judzea, and to play the great part in the passage of Christianity westward from Palestine which is described in Acts. The site was that of a Phcenician (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 154) settlement with a fortification called the Tower of Straton (*Στράτωνος Πύργος*)—a Hellenic form of a Phoenician proper name, Astartyaton (Pietschmann, *Gesch.* ***der*** *Phön.* 81; Hildesheimer, *Beitr. z. Geog. Palest.* 4 *ff.*, where the variant reading מגדל שיר or שר, 'Devil's-Tower,' given in Talmud B *Shebiith*, vi. 136, and in Talmud B *Megilla* is explained as a Jewish nickname for a town called after a worshipper of Astarte). There was, according to Strabo, a landing-place (*πρόσορμον ἔχων*). At the end of the second century B.c., the town was under a 'tyrant,' Zoilus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. **122);** but Alexander Jannæus took it for the Jews, along with the other coast towns (*ib.* 15). These were enfranchised by Pompey and made subject to the province of Syria (***id.*** xiv. 44). After the Battle of Actium they were presented to Herod the Great along with Samaria and other places by Augustus (*id.* xv. 73).

2. Rebuilt by Herod. Up to this time Herod had confined his building designs to the E. side of the Central Range. Now, however, in alliance with Rome, he came over the watershed, and out of Samaria built himself a capital which he called after his patron, Sebastè. Requiring for this a seaport that should keep him in touch with Rome, he chose Straton's Tower as the nearest suitable site to Sebastè. He laid the lines of a magnificent city, which took him twelve years to build (***id.*** xv. 96; 'ten years,' xvi. **5**1).

Josephus describes the thorough and lavish. architecture.

In the usual Greek fashion, there were palaces temple; theatre, amphitheatre, and many arches and altars. There were also vaults for draining the city—as carefully constructed as the buildings above ground. A breakwater 200 ft. wide was formed in 20 fathoms depth by dropping enormous stones. The south end was connected by a mole with the shore, and the mouth of the harbour looked N., the prevailing winds on this coast being from the SW. (*id.* xv. 96; Bi.215-8). To-day the remains of the breakwater are 160 yards from shore, and the mouth of the harbour measures **180** yards (*PEP Mem.*).

Herod called his citv, like Sebastè, after Augustus, *Καισάρεια Σεβαστή*, and his harbour *Λιμὴν Σεβαστός*. When Cæsarea

3. Names. Philippi was built (see below, § E), Herod's seaport came to be distinguished from it by the names *Καισάρεια παράλιος*, *Κ. ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ*, and even *Κ. ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ Λιμένι* (on a coin of Nero, De Saulcy *Numism.* ***de la Terre*** *Sainte*, 116), and Caesarea Palæstinæ. The name of Straton survived long (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 114, Strab xv., Epiphanius ***De pond. et mens.*** 125, Ptol. v. 16). The Talmud calls the city after the harbour, Leminah.

Czesarea became the virtual capital of all Palestine. Czesarea Judææ caput est,' says Tacitus (***Hist.*** 278).

4. A Roman city. It was thoroughly Roman; the Talmud (*B. Megillah*, 6*a*) calls it daughter *of* Edom, the mystic name for Rome. The Procurator lived there; there was an Italian garrison Acts 101; cp CORNELIUS, § 1); and in the temple here were two statues—of Augustus and of Rome.[1] Though there were many Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 879, *BJ* i. 137 144 *f.* iii. 91), the inhabitants were mainly Gentile.

Here, then, very fitly, was poured out upon the Gentiles the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts 1045). There had been a Christian congregation from

5. NT references. the earliest possible time. Philip, one of the seven Deacons, took **up** his residence there (Acts 840; cp 21816). About 41 A.D. there came to a Roman centurion CORNELIUS (*q.v.*) a divine message to send to Joppa for Peter, who was prepared for this by a vision which taught him that God would make clean all that the Jewish law had hitherto prohibited as unclean. Peter came to Cæsarea, made the profound and decisive acknowledgment that God accepts in every nation him 'that feareth him and worketh righteousness,' preached Jesus, saw the descent of the Spirit upon the little Gentile company, and baptized them (Acts 10). This proved the turning-point in the opinion of the church at Jerusalem (chap. 11), and prepared the way for the acceptance of the missionary labours of Paul, to which from this stage onwards the Book of Acts is devoted.

Cæsarea is next mentioned as the scene ***of*** the awful death of Herod Agrippa I. (1219), to whose government it **had** been given over: some of its coins bear his superscription (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 133, 136). After him it passed again to the Roman procurator of Judæa, and became the chief garrison of the troops under him. Paul arrived at Cæsarea on his voyage from Ephesus (Acts 1822), and there he was tried with a fairness and security that were impossible in Jerusalem (chap. 25). The contrast between the two cities, which is so evident in this story, proves how thoroughly Roman and imperial Cæsarea was. Besides receiving so fair a trial, Paul, during his two years of residence in the town, was not threatened by the Jews, as he had been in Jerusalem. From the harbour of Cæsarea Paul sailed on his voyage to Italy (271).

The subsequent history of the town in soon told. Contests between its Jewish and Gentile inhabitants led to, and were

6. Later history. among the first incidents of, the great revolt of the Jews against Rome 66 *ff.* A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 879; *BJ* ii. 137 144 *f.* '181 vii. 87). Vespasian made the town his headquarters, and was there proclaimed emperor in 69. He established there a colony, hut without the 'jus Italicum,' under the title Prima Flavin Augusta Caesarea, to which, under Alexander Severus, was added Metropolis Provinciæ Syriæ Palestinæ (Pliny, *HN* v. 1369: and coins in De Saulcy, ***Num. de la T.S.*** 112 *ff.* pl. vii.). This determined the rank of Csesarea in the subsequent organisation of the Church. Its bishop became the Metropolitan of Sjria: Eusebius occupied the office from 315 to **318**. Origen had made it his home. Procopius was born there. When the Arabs came it was still the headquarters of the commander of the imperial troops; in **638** it was occupied by 'Ahu 'Obeida. Like all the coast towns, it lost under Arab domination the supremacy which the Greek masters of Syria, in their necessity for a centre of power on the sea, had bestowed upon it. It became a country town, known only for its agricultural produce (Le Strange, *Pal.* ***under the Moslems***, 474). The advent of a western power with the Crusaders revived it for a little; Baldwin II. **took** it in 1102, and rebuilt it; the present ruins are mostly of Crusaders' masonry. Saladin took it in 1187, Richard I. in 1191; and St. Louis added to its fortifications. It was finally demolished hy the Sultan Bibars in 1265, and since his time has lain in ruin. (See further on details Reland, *Pal.* 670 *ff.*; Schiirer, *Hist.* 484 *ff.*; GASm. *HG* 138 *ff.*).

2. **Cæsarea Philippi** (καισαρ[ε]ια η φιλιππου, both in NT [Ti. WH] and Jos.), so called after its

7. Site of C. Philippi. founder, PHILIP (see HERODIAN FAMILY, 6) the tetrarch, son of Herod, to whom the district was granted in 4 **B.C.**, occupied a site which had been of the utmost religious

[1] Philo, *Legat.* ***ad Cajum***, **38**, mentions the *Σεβαστεῖον*.

and military importance from remote antiquity. Just under the S. buttress of Hermon, at the head of the Jordan valley, about 1150 ft. above the sea, is a high cliff of limestone ('from 100 to 150 ft.,' Robinson, *LBR* 406) reddened by the water, infused with iron, that oozes over it from above. A cavern occupies the lower part of the cliff, filled with the debris of its upper portion, and from this debris there breaks one of the sources of the Jordan. It is probably the sanctuary known as BAAL-GAD (*q.v.*) or Baal-hernion.[1] Close by is a steep hill, crowned with the ruins of a mediaeval castle, Kal'at eṣ-Ṣubēbeh, and at its foot the miserable village of Bāniās. Probably here (GASm. *HG* 480), rather than at Tell el-Ḳāḍi, the site favoured by most authorities, lay the city of Laish that was afterwards DAN (*q.v.*).

The place must have been early occupied by the Greeks, both because of its sanctity, and because of its strategical position. Polybius (16 18 281) mentions it as the scene of the great battle in which Antiochus the Great won Palestine from the Ptolemies. The Greeks displaced the worship of Baal by that of Pan.

8. Its history and name.

The cave, in which there is still legible an inscription, Πανί τε καὶ Νύμφαις, was called τὸ Πάνειον (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 3, *BJ* i. 21 3 iii. 10 7), a name afterwards extended to the whole hill (Eus. *NE* 7 17). The village and the country around were designated by a feminine form of the same adjective, Πανιάς or Πανεάς (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2 1 xv. 10 3 xvii. 8 1, etc.; Pliny, v. 18 74).

In 20 B.C. Herod, having received the district from Augustus on the death of Zenodōrus, the previous lord of these parts (*Ant.* xv. 10 3 *BJ* i. 21 3), built a temple to Augustus and set in it the emperor's bust. The first year that it came into his possession, 3-2 B.C., Philip the Tetrarch founded his new town, and called it Caesarea after Augustus (*Ant.* xviii. 2 1 *BJ* ii. 9 1; coins in De Saulcy, *Num. de la T.S.* 313 *ff.* pl. xviii.). So it came to he known as Philip's Caesarea (*Ant.* xx. 9 3), or as Caesarea Panias (see the coins). When Philip died the Romans administered the district directly, both before Agrippa I. to whom it was given, and in the interval between him and Agrippa II., who embellished it and changed the official designation to Νερωνιάς in honour of Nero (*Ant.* xx. 9 4). The town's full title was 'Cæsarea Sebasti, Sacred and with Rights of Sanctuary under Paneion' (De Saulcy, pl. xviii. 8). Later the name Caesarea was dropped and Paneas survived, the Arabs when they came changing it to its present form of Bāniās. A shrine of El-Khidr (= Elias = St. George) now occupies the site of the temple to Augustus.

Caesarea Philippi is twice mentioned in the Gospels. Jesus is said to have come not to the town itself. but to the parts (τὰ μέρη, Mt. 16 13) or villages thereof (Mk. 8 27). Probably he avoided it as he avoided other Gentile centres (*e.g.*, Tiberias) established by the Herods, hut in the great saying which he is said to have uttered in this neighbourhood, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church,' it is possible to see some reference by contrast to the heathen worship founded upon that cliff of immemorial sanctity above the source of Jordan.

9. NT references.

In the Jewish war Vespasian rested his troops in Cæsarea (Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 7) and in celebration of the close of the war Titus and Agrippa II. exhibited shows on a large scale (*ib.* vii. 2 1). In Christian times Cæsarea Philippi was the seat of a bishop; and Eusebius (*HE* 6 18) relates that the woman whom Christ healed of an issue of blood (Lk. 8 43) was a native of the town, where a statue commemorated her cure. Castle and town were the subject of frequent contests by both sides during the Crusades. For further details see Rel. *Pal.* 'Paneas'; Schürer, *Hist.* iii. 132; Stanley, *SP* 391; GASm. *HG* 473 *ff.* G. A. S.

CAGE. Cages (or rather wicker-baskets, cp Am. 8 2) for confining birds in are mentioned twice in EV (see FOWLS, § 10): (1) in Jer. 5 27 the houses of the wicked are as full of (the grains of) deceit as a cage (כְּלוּב; *kĕlūb* = κλωβός, AV^mg. 'coop,' παγίς [BKAQ]) is full of birds; and (2) in Ecclus. 11 30 the heart of a proud man is like a decoy partridge in a cage (or basket: ἐν καρτάλλῳ [BSA], cp Ar. *ḳirṭallun*, a fruit-basket). A cage (סוּגַר) for lions also is mentioned in Ezek. 19 9 RV (see LION).

(3) φυλακή, rendered 'hold' and 'cage' in Rev. 18 2 (RV 'hold'), denotes rather a prison (so RV^mg.).

1 Once corruptly BAAL-HAMON (*q.v.*)

CAIAPHAS (καϊάφας [Ti.], καιάφας [WH], καΐφας [CDabc]), Mt. 26 3 Lk. 3 2 Jn. 18 13, or perhaps Caiphas. See ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS.

CAIN (הַקַּיִן; [ζα]κανaειμ [B], [ζανω] ακειμ—*i.e.*, זָנוֹחַ הַקַּיִן [A], [ζανου] ακεν [L]), a town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 57), may possibly be the mod. *Yaḳīn*, 3 m. SE. from Hebron (*PEF Mem.* ii. 312, 371; but see GASm. *HG* 278). Cp AMALEK, § 6.

CAIN (קַיִן; καιν [ADEL], *CAIN*). In Gen. 4 we have accounts of two different Cains, linked together by the editor. The proof of this will be briefly indicated below (§§ 2-4); it will be convenient to treat first the more ancient and simpler of the two stories.

1. Cain is the name of the hero who in Gen. 4 17 is represented as the founder of the city of Enoch[1] (Ḥănōk). The name evidently comes from an early, though not a genuine Hebrew, tradition; another document (5 9 *ff.*) gives it as CAINAN (*q.v.*). Its natural meanings are 'smith,' 'artificer' (Ar. *ḳain*, Aram. *ḳaināyā*);[2] for the connection with *ḳānāh*, 'to produce' (also 'to acquire'), suggested in Gen. 4 1,[3] is philologically difficult. The more general sense 'artificer' suits best for Cain the city-builder, and the more special one 'smith' for the second part of the compound name Tubal-cain. Both these names are attached to heroes who at the outset of the tradition must have possessed a divine character (see CAINITES, §§ 5, 10).

1. The city-builder of Gen. 4 17 *ff.* 5 9 *ff.*

2. The central figure of the narrative in Gen. 4 2*b*-16 also is called Cain.

2. The nomad of Gen. 4 2*b*-16.

The story has come to us in a somewhat abbreviated form. Its substance is as follows. Once upon a time Cain and his brother Abel sacrificed to Yahwè. Cain, being a husbandman, brought of the fruits of the ground; Abel, as a shepherd, offered the fat parts of some of his first-born lambs (cp Nu. 18 17). Both, as was usual in ancient religion, looked for a visible sign that their gifts were accepted. What the expected sign was at the sanctuary to which they resorted, we are not told (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 178), and we may pass over later conjectures. At any rate, we learn that only Abel's sacrifice was accepted (see ABEL [i.]). Now Cain, had he been wise, would have demeaned himself humbly towards Abel, for who can say to God, What doest thou? (Job 9 12). Instead of this, he cherished evil thoughts,[4] as an oracle, perhaps sought by Cain, warned him. 'And Yahwè said to Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? Surely, if thou doest well, thou canst lift up thy head, and if thou doest not well, thy sin must cause it to fall: from irritating words abstain, and thou take heed to thyself? And Cain quarrelled with his hrother Abel, and when they were in the open country . . .; and Cain assaulted his hrother Abel, and slew him. Then follows a fresh oracle, containing a curse upon Cain, who is condemned, not only to banishment (cp Hom. *Il.* 2 665), but also to a life of restless wandering. The curse, however, is mitigated by the promise of protection against outrage, hy means of a 'sign' which will indicate that Cain is under the care of Yahwè.

According to the older commentators, with whom

1 See, however, col. 623, note 3.

2 Di. and Del. support this etymology by the very doubtful קֵינוֹ commonly rendered 'his spear' (so 𝔊BAL), 2 Sam. 21 16, where a better reading is קֹבַעוֹ, 'his helmet' (Kau. *HS*, Bu., H. P. Smith, after Klo.).

3 Eve exclaims, קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה, *i.e.* 'I have wrought, or produced, a man with the help of Yahwè. This can hardly be right; אֶת־ is too vague, and the variations of the commentators prove their dissatisfaction with the text. On Marti's view see col. 621, n. 2. Considering that קנה is one of the words meaning 'to create' (see CREATION, § 30), we may assume that Eve, in the pride of her motherhood, likens herself to her God, and says, 'I have created a man even as Yahwè.' Targ. Onk. reads for את, מאת. This is nearer the truth. מאת probably comes from לְעֻמַּת. לע fell out, and ם was confounded with א (cp Judg. 14 15).

4 Che. *Exp. T.*, July 1899; cp Box, *ib.*, June 1899, and Ball (*SBOT*).

even Delitzsch must be'grouped, this is the same Cain as the builder of the first city, and he is also the first-born son of the first man. This view is critically untenable (see CAINITES, § 2), mainly on account of the improbabilities of the course of events which it assumes.

3. Not son of 'Adam.'

The first man has been, as we know, driven out of Paradise for transgressing a divine command. According to the traditional view, however, his first-born son Cain is so little impressed by the punishment that he murders his own brother. More than this, he becomes the direct ancestor of another murderer, who apparently goes unpunished, and who is also (contrary to the spirit of 2 18) a polygamist. Now note another point. The original dwelling of Cain is not, as we are to suppose was that of the first man and his wife after their expulsion from Paradise, to the east of the garden of Eden (*see* 8 24), but in a cultivated and well-peopled land where Yahwè is worshipped with sacrifices, and holds familiar intercourse with men (even with Cain) —apparently S. Palestine (on 416 see later). Nor is there any curse upon the ground which Cain rills ; it is his own self-caused curse that drives him unwillingly into the land of wandering—*i.e.*, into the desert. There, however, without any explanation, he gives up his unsettled life, and advances further in civilisation than before. He builds a 'city.' This is not to be explained by the ingenious remark[1] that even nomad tribes in Arabia have central market stations (Ar. *ḳarya*, plur. *ḳurā*), for "city' is evidently used as a general term ; Cain is as much a city-builder as Nimrod, and only as such (or, upon Budde's theory, as the father of a city-builder) could he find a place in the Hebrew legend of civilisation. How are these inconsistent statements to be reconciled? Every possible way has been tried and has failed. It was high time to apply the key of analysis; and no one who has once done this will wish to return to past theories (see CAINITES, § 2).

It may be assumed, then, that the story of Cain and Abel once had an independent existence, and circulated at one of the sanctuaries of Southern Palestine. It is probably not a borrowed Canaanitish myth, but an independent Israelitish attempt to explain the strange phenomena of nomad life—the perpetual wandering in the desert and the cruelly excessive development of the custom (in itself a perfectly legitimate one, according to the Israelites) of vengeance for bloodshed. As Robertson Smith (following Wellhausen) rightly remarks, Cain is the embodiment of 'the old Hebrew conception of the lawless nomad life, where only the blood-feud prevents the wanderer in the desert from falling a victim to the first man who meets him,' and the mark which Yahwè sets on Cain's person for his protection is 'the *shart* or tribal mark (cp שׂרט), without which the ancient form of blood-feud, as the affair of a whole stock, however scattered, and not of near relatives alone, could hardly have been worked'[2] (cp KINSHIP, § 1 *f.*, and CUTTINGS, § 1).

4. Origin of story.

Now we can guess why the nomad of the story is called Cain ; Cain is the eponym of the Kenites (who are in fact called קַיִן ; but cp AMALEK, § 6 *f.*), whose close alliance with the Israelites and location in the wilderness of Judah are well known. That the Kenites should be so well acquainted with a more civilised mode of life, and yet adhere to their nomadic customs, was a surprise to the Israelites,[3] and the story of Cain and Abel grew up to account for it. Nothing but a curse seemed to explain this inveterate repugnance to city life, and a curse implied guilt ; while the unbridled vindictiveness of the nomads (see GOEL, § 2 *f.*) was explicable only by a compassionate command of Yahwè, who after all was the God of the Kenites as well as of the Israelites,. so that the distinguishing mark of this tribe was also a sign that its members worshipped Yahwè and were under his protection. Cain, then, represents the nomad tribe best known to the Israelites. He is contrasted with Abel (*i.e.* the 'herdman' ; *see* ABEL [i.]), because the pastoral

6. Source of name.

1 Halévy *REJ* 14 12.

2 W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 215 *f.*; cp Stade, *ZATW* 14, 299 *ff.* ['94]. Marti (*Lit. Centralbl.* May 22, 1897) finds a prophetic reference to this mark in Gen. 4 1, pointing אֹת, and rendering 'I have acquired a man, a bearer of the sign of Yahwè.' So independently Zeydner [*ZATW* 18 120 *ff.* ('98)]; but the sign is surely not circumcision. See Stade, *op. cit.* 267.

3 Ewald suggested this (*Hist.* 1 271). The theory is most fully worked out by Stade, not, however, without extravagances (see AMALEK, § 7).

ife, when combined with a fixed domicile, seemed to he Israelites the ideal one. That the Kenites themselves would have sanctioned this portrait of their eponym is not probable. They presumably represented him with some of the noble features natural to a hero of solar origin. We cannot, therefore, say with Neubauer *PSBA* 11 283) that the story of Cain and Abel is a ragment of Kenite folk-lore.

To the member of the Yahwist circle who worked up he two (not to say three) Cain stories together we may ascribe 4 1 2*a*, and the words 'on the east of Eden' in *v.* 16. The addition of the latter words converts נוֹד in the poetical phrase ארץ נוֹד, 'land of wandering'—derived presumably from the old tradition—into a prosaic proper name, which is boldly identified by Sayce and Boscawen with the land of the Manda or nomads—*i.e.*, the mountain ranges of Kurdistan and Luristan. The original narrator meant presumably the land between Judah and Edom, where the Kenites lived.

The above contains some fresh points; but Stade's essay, Das Kainszeichen,' *ZATW* 14 250 *ff.* 15 157 *ff.* ['94-'95] = *Akademische Reden* ['99], 229-273, gives the most complete critical treatment of the subject. Cp Houtsma, 'Israël en Qain,' *ThT*, '76, pp. 82-98. **T. K. C.**

CAINAN, or rather, as in 1 Ch. 1 2 and RV, KENAN (קֵינָן ; ΚΑΙΝΑΝ [BAL]). 1. The son of Enosh (Gen. 5 9-14). That Kenan is a humanised god has been shown already (see CAIN, § 1); Cain and Kenan are forms of one name (cp Lot and Lotan). קנן or קינן, it may be added, is the name of a god in Himyaritic inscriptions (*ZDMG* 31 86; *CIS* 4, no. 20; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 43).

2. A son of Arphaxad in 𝔊ADEL of Gen. 10 24 (Καιναμ [A]) 11 13, and therefore in Lk. 3 36. The name is due to an interpolation, made in order to bring out ten members in the genealogy of Gen. 11 10-26. The real tenth from Noah, however, is Terah, the father of Abraham. T. K. C.

CAINITES, the name generally given to the descendants of Cain mentioned in Gen. 4 17-24. Tradition, as Ewald said long ago, is the commencement and the native soil of all narrative and of all history, and its circle tends continually to expand, as the curiosity of a people awakens to fresh objects, and as foreign traditions are intermixed with those of home growth. Questions about the origins of things are especially prone to crowd into the circle of tradition, and, when the various traditions respecting remote antiquity come to be arranged, it is natural to connect them by a thread of genealogy. There is a real, though but half-conscious, sense among the arrangers that what is being produced is not history but a working substitute for it, and so there is the less scruple in taking considerable liberties with the form of the traditions, many of which indeed, being of diverse origin, are inconsistent. The Hebrew traditionists, in particular, were evidently filled with a desire to bring the traditions into harmony with the purest Hebrew spirit. In minor matters they agree with the traditionists of other nations : in particular they limit the superabundant material for genealogies by the use of round numbers, especially ten..

1. Hebrew Tradition.

Much progress has been made in the study of Gen. 4 and 5 since Ewald's time ; but that profound critic has the credit of having already noticed that the story of Cain and Abel is not as early as the genealogy which follows. This conclusion may now be taken as settled : Gen. 4 1-16 and 17-24 are, generally speaking, derived from separate traditional sources.[1] Both sections are indeed Yahwistic ; but the tone and character of their contents is radically different.

2. Gen. 4 17-24.

The true meaning of Gen. 4 17-24 was seen first by Wellhausen. The section contains relics of an Israelitish legend which made no reference to, the destruction of the old order of things by a deluge, and traced the

1 See Wellh. *JDT*, 1876, p. 399 *f.* (= *CH* 10 *f.*), who was followed by WRS, *EB*(9), art. 'Lamech' ('82), and Che. *EB*(9), art. 'Deluge' ['77]. So Ryle, *Early Narratives*, 79 ['92].

beginnings of the existing civilisations. The legend is partly based on nature-myths, for the Hebrews were not as unmythological as Renan once supposed. Their myths, however, were to a large extent borrowed: when the Hebrews stepped into the inheritance of Canaanitish culture, they could not help adopting in part the answers which the Canaanites had given to the question, 'Whence came civilisation?'

3. Canaanitish Culture-legend.

The Canaanitish culture-legend is unhappily lost; but the fragments of Philo of Byblus (Muller. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3 566 *f.*), when critically treated, reveal some of the elements of two Phoenician culture-legends, in one of which the invention of the useful arts and of occupations was ascribed to divine beings, whilst in the other it was ascribed to men (Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 1 407 *ff.*; cp PHŒNICIA). Bērōssus, too, as far as we can judge from fragmentary reports, appears to have accounted for knowledge of the arts by a series of manifestations of a divine being called Oannes, which took place in the days of the first seven antediluvian kings of Babylon (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1 588 *f.*). This substantially agrees with the statements of the tablets that the bringers of culture were the great gods, such as Ea, 'the lord of wisdom,' and his more active firstborn son Marduk (Merodach), the creator. A striking confirmation of this is supplied by the mythic story translated by Pinches [see CREATION, § 16 (*c*)], where Marduk is said to have made, not only the Tigris and the Euphrates, but also cities and temples.[1] City-building is in fact everywhere one of the characteristic actions of humanised nature-deities (Osiris, Jemshid, etc.), and it would be inevitable that the civilised Canaanites should trace the origin of cities to semi-divine heroes (*ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*, *Il.* 12 33), if not to the creator himself. Still, though the Canaanitish culture-myth is lost, we may be sure of one point—*viz.*, that it was largely influenced by Babylonian myths, the supremacy of Babylonian culture in Palestine at a remote age being amply proved by the Amarna tablets.

4. List of Berossus.

When, therefore, we find in Bērōssus[2] a list of ten antediluvian kings at the head of the mythic history of Babylonia, it is not unnatural to suppose that the genealogy of the ten patriarchs in Gen. 5, to which the shorter one in Gen. 4 is so closely allied, is derived from it, and to attempt conjectural identifications of the Hebrew and of the Hellenised Babylonian names. This course, which has been adopted by Hommel, the present writer does not think it prudent to take, (1) because we are ignorant of the phases through which the Berossian list has passed, and (2) because of the violent hypotheses to which this course would often drive us.

By taking the Hebrew names, however, one by one, and using Babylonian clues, it does not seem hopeless to reach probable results.

5. Cain.

CAIN, for instance—the name which meets us first—means 'artificer.' Can we avoid regarding this as the translation of a title of the divine demiurge, borrowed from Babylonia through the medium of the Canaanites?

6. Enoch.

Moreover since ENOCH, the son of Cain, evidently belongs to the same legend, and indeed shares with his father the honour of the foundation of the first city[3] (to which his own name is given), we cannot hesitate to regard Enoch too as of divine origin. This view, indeed, is as good as proved if the statements in Gen. 5 22-24 (P) are traditional.[1] We are told that Enoch lived 365 ykars (a solar number),[2] that he 'walked with God, and (then) disappeared, for God had taken him.' The number is attested alike by the Hebrew, the Sam. and the LXX text, and even if we lay but little stress on that, the phrases quoted seem unmistakably primitive, and imply that, in the original form of the story, Enoch was a semi-divine hero who, at the close of his earthly days, was taken to the paradise of God.[3] When, too, we consider the clear parallelisin between Enoch and Noah, and between Noah and Xisuthrus or Pār-napištim (the hero of the Babylonian Flood-story; see DELUGE, § 2), it becomes reasonable to identify Enoch with Pār-napištim's great visitor in Paradise (he went there to obtain healing for his leprosy), whose name is perhaps most correctly read GilgameS. Gilgameš, like Enoch, is a divine being—whether we regard him as a hero who becomes a god, or (more plausibly) as a god who becomes a hero, is a matter of indifference—and like Enoch he is associated with the sun.[4] As Enoch in the Hebrew tradition is the ancestor of Noah, so (inverting the relation) Pār-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, is the ancestor of GilgameS. The latter is said to have crossed the 'waters of death'[5] to pay a visit to Pār-napištim in Paradise, and we may presume that, in the earlier form of the Hebrew narrative, his counterpart (whose original name was certainly not Noah) received the same reward as Enoch for 'walking with God.' Both Pār-napištim and Enoch are distinguished for their piety, and not only GilgameS but also Enoch (as we may infer from the emended text of Ezek. 28 3, and as is expressly stated in the *Book of Enoch*, which has a substratum of genuine, even if turbid, tradition),[6] has been initiated into secret lore, and knows both the past and the future. Lastly, Enoch gave his name to the city of Enoch, which at any rate implies lordship (cp 'city of David,' 2 S. 5 7 9; 'castle of Sennacherib,' KB 2 89; and see 2 S. 12 28); and perhaps in the primitive myth was even represented as its builder. So Erech, of which the ideographic name is Unuki or Unuk (*i.e.* the dwelling), is incidentally called in the epic 'the city of GilgameS,' Gilgameš being at once its king and (according to an old text) its builder.[7] Why the Hebrew compiler did not adopt GilgameS as well as Unuk from his Babylonian informant,[8] we cannot tell. The foundation of the

1 *RP*² 6 110; Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 120. Cp these lines (Obv. 37, 39, 40)—

Lord Merodach [constructed the house], he built the city,
[He built the city of Niffer], he built E-kura the temple,
He built the city Erech, he built E-anna the temple.

2 *Fragm.* ix.-xi. in Lenormant, *Essai de Comm. sur Bérose*, 241-251.

3 Or did Enoch not rather build the city himself? So Budde, who emends כשם בנו, 'after his son's name,' into בשמו, 'after his own name' (*Urgesch.* 120 *ff.*), thus, making 'Enoch' the subject of the verbs 'builded' and 'called.

1 It is plain that there must have been some fairly complete account of Enoch in P's time; indeed, the references in Ezek. 14 14 28 3 (emended text) imply such an account in exilic times. See ENOCH, § 1.

2 The Chaldeans at first estimated the duration of the astronomical revolution of the sun at 365 days, afterwards at 364¼ days. To this they accommodated their civil year of 360 days by means of an intercalated cycle (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1 250). Cp YEAR, § 5.

3 The Egyptian kings, as sons of Rd, were said (as early as the Pyramid Texts) to ascend to heaven, borne by the mystic griffin called *seref* (see SERAPHIM).

4 We know from another text that Gilgameš was the vicegerent of the sun-god (Jeremias, *op. cit.* 3). Hommel makes Gilgameš a form of Gihil the fire-god (Gibilgamiš). On the epic of Gilgameš see DELUGE, § 2, and Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chap. 23, p. 467 *f.* [The present article was written before the appearance of Prof. Jastrow's work.]

5 On the 'waters of death' in the legend see Maspero, 585; Jeremias, 87. The same mythic stream is found in a very mythological section of a psalm (Ps. 18 5 [4]), where the 'floods of Death' (שבלי מות) are parallel to the 'floods of Perdition' (נלי בליעל; see BELIAL, § 2). So Che. *Ps.*⁽²⁾.

6 On both points see ENOCH, § 2. Di. was before his time when, in 1853, he admitted that the late legend of Enoch might conceivably have some traditional basis (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. xxvii).

7 See Jeremias, *op. cit.* 17, and cp the inscription quoted from Hilprecht by Winckler (*AOF* 377) and Hommel (*AHT* 129), in which occur the words 'the walls of Erech, the ancient building of Gilgameš.'

8 The theory here advocated is that David's Babylonian scribe SHAVSHA brought several Babylonian myths and legends to Palestine, including that of the hero Gilgameš, king of Unuk or Erech. He thus opened a fresh period of Babylonian influence on Palestine. Hilprecht's discoveries give increased probability to the identification of Enoch with Unuk, which was already proposed by Sayce in 1887 (*Hib. Lect.* 185).

extremely ancient city of Erech (before 4500 B.C., Hilprecht), however, was at any rate well worthy of mention in the Hebrew culture-legend. It is, in the present writer's opinion, not improbable that Enoch once occupied a still more dignified position as hero of the Israelitish Flood-story (see NOAH, DELUGE, § 17).

We take the next three names together. The last of them is evidently not a divine title, but a simple hero-name. This prepares us to expect that the first and second may be so too. In Babylonia, if Alorus, the first king in the Berossian list, may be identified with some one of the great deities, his successors at any rate are only demi-gods or extraordinary men. Moreover, to appreciate the Hebrew culture-legend, it is necessary to remind ourselves that when the city of Enoch had, by divine help, been erected, there was still plenty of work for semi-divine men to do in triumphing over wild beasts and barbarians. The hunting exploits of GilgameS (who was first reduced from being a fire-god to the proportions of a heroic man, and then restored in the same legend to the divine company) have in all probability a historical kernel. It is easy to believe, too, that the hero called METHUSAEL (מְתוּשָׁאֵל; as if *Mutu-ša-ili*, 'the liegeman of God'; Μαθουσαλα [AL]; *Mathusael*; Gen. 4 18†), or, following the better reading of 𝔊AL, Methuselah ('the liegeman of *šarḫu*'), was originally viewed as a king who taught men good laws and restrained wild animals and wild men.

7. Irad, Mehujael, Methuselah.

The origin of the first of these names is obscure. Jered (so 1 Ch. 1 2 AV) or JARED (*q.v.* for Gr. readings; Gen. 5 15) might indeed he an adaptation of the Babylonian Arad in Arad-Sin ('servant of Sin, the moon-god'), which would be a possible title of the hero GilgameS (see tablet ix. of the epic). IRAD (*q.v.*; Gen. 4 18) or rather Erad (cp 𝔊ADEL Γαιδαδ) is, however, text-critically a better reading, and to connect this with the city of Eridu [1] is not free from objections. Probably the word is based on a contraction of some Babylonian name. The next name, which is best read, with Lagarde and Robertson Smith, not MEHUJAEL (*q.v.*) but Mahalalel, can be well explained by the help of the Berossian hero-names Ἀμήλων, Ἀμίλλαρος. Mahalal is a Hebraised form of the common Babylonian word *amīl*, 'man' (cp EVIL-MERODACH); the final syllable, *-el*, is a substitute for some Babylonian divine name. Šelaḥ in METHUSELAH (מְתוּשֶׁלַח, Gen. 5 21 *f.* 25 *ff.* 1 Ch. 1 3†; μαθουσαλα [AL], μαθθ. [R in 1 Ch. 1 3]; *Mathusala*) is doubtless Babylonian; it is reasonable to see in it a Hebraised form of *šarḫu*, 'brilliant' (Jensen) or 'gigantic, very strong' (Del.), which is an epithet of Gibil the fire-god, and Ninib (?) the god of the eastern sun.[2] One of the royal names in the Berossian list is Ἀμέμψιμος, which Friedr. Delitzsch and Hommel explain *Amīl* (*Amēl*) *Sin*—*i.e.*, 'liegeman of Sin,'—and, with great probability, identify with Methuselah. The moon-god in fact well deserves the title *šarḫu*, and the traditional connection of the Hebrews with Haran and Ur makes some veiled references to the moon-god almost indispensable in the culture-legend.

Lamech (לֶמֶךְ; λαμεχ [BAL; Ti. WH]; Lamech; Gen. 4 18-24 5 25-31 1 Ch. 1 3 Lk. 3 36†) must have been an important personage in the old Hebrew culture-legend, for in the earlier of the two genealogies not only his three sons, but also his two wives and his daughter, are mentioned by name. His own name admits of no explanation from the best-known Semitic languages, nor is it at all necessary that it should be specially appropriate for the barbaric eulogist of blood-vengeance who speaks in Gen. 4 23 5 It is a needless assumption that the song of Lamech is 'an exultant boast and menace called forth by Lamech's savage delight at finding himself possessed of the new and effective weapons devised by his son Tubal-cain.'[1] The song must be interpreted by itself, without preconceived opinions. In it the hero declares that not only seven lives (as in the case of 'Cain'), but seventy-seven, will be required to avenge the blood of murdered 'Lamech.' This implies that Lamech's story was once told in connection with that of Cain the murderer: in fact, that Lamech, like Cain, is the representative of a tribe, and speaks thus fiercely out of regard for tribal honour, which to him consists in the strict exaction of vengeance for blood.[2] Still, the Lamech who is descended from Enoch ought to have some importance in the development of culture; he cannot be merely a bloodthirsty nomad. It would seem, then, that the Lamech of Gen. 4 18 was originally distinct from the Lamech of 23 *f.* The latter is, properly, the personification of a nomad tribe which named itself after the divine hero Lamech, just as Ḳain (or the Kenites) named itself after the divine hero Ḳain or Cain. What, then, does the divine hero's name mean? Sayce and Hommel connect it with Lamga (=Ass. *naggar*, 'artificer'), a non-Semitic title of the moon-god. This is plausible, though the Assyrian title *naggar* is applied also to Ea. A fragment may have been introduced here from a fresh culture-legend which took for its starting-point another divine teacher, the 'begetter of gods and men,' 'whose will created law and justice.'[3]

8. Lamech.

The names of Lamech's two wives are, of course, derived from the poem in Gen. 4 23. Sayce and Hoscawen would make them feminine lunar deities—one named Darkness, the other Shadow—but without indicating any similar titles of the moon in the tablets. Probably the poet simply gave the tribal hero's wives the most becoming names he could think of. ADAH (עָדָה; Αδα [AE], Αδδα [L]; Ada; Gen. 4 19-23) may have been known to him already as the name of a wife of Esau (Gen. 36 2, P; hut from an older source; see ADAH, 2), and ZILLAH (צִלָּה, 'shadow'; Σελλα [AEL]; *Sella*; Gen. 4 19-23) was a suggestive description of a noble chieftainess, whose presence was like a refreshing and protecting shade (Is. 32 2). NAAMAH (נַעֲמָה, § 67; νοεμα [AE], -μμα [L]; *Noema*; Gen. 4 22), too, the daughter of Zillah, may derive her name ('gracious') from her supposed physical and moral charms; another of Esau's wives bears the equivalent name Basemath (Gen. 36 3). It is possible, however, that, as she is the sister of Tubal-cain, her name may be of mythic origin,[4] and that she had a *rôle* of her own in the original story.

9. Lamech's wives.

TUBAL-CAIN is described in Gen. 4 22 (emended text) as 'the father of all those who work in bronze and iron.' At first sight the name might seem to belong to the heros eponymus of Tubal (so Lenormant), which was a people famous for its 'instruments of bronze' in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 27 13). Tubal, however, was much too far from Palestine to be mentioned here, and *Tabal* in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal seems rather to have been famous for horses (*COT* 166). Above all, it is difficult to disregard the general tradition of antiquity that the first worker in metal was a divine being (cp Enoch 8 1, where the fallen angel Azāzel teaches this art). Tubal-cain, then, is probably like χουσωρ (the Phœnician Hephaistos[5]), a humanised god, and the first part of the name is presumably not of Persian but of Babylonian origin.[6] It

10. Tubal-cain.

1 So Sayce (*Hib. Lect.* 185), who infers from Gen. 5 18 that Erech (Unuk) received its earliest culture from Eridu. Gen. 4 18, however, makes Enoch the father of Irad.

2 Jensen, *Kosmol.* 105, 464. So Hommel (*e.g. Exp. Times* 8 463), who adopts the form Šarraḫu (this is found with the determinative *ilu*, god').

1 Drysdale, *Early Bible Songs*, 159, following Ewald and Budde.

2 Cp St. *ZATW* 14 298 ['94]=*Akad. Reden*, 259.

3 Hymn to the moon-god, Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* 160 *f.*

4 So WRS (*EB*(9), art. 'Lamech'), comparing 'Naaman,' originally a divine title. Cp Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 200 *f.*

5 See Philo of Byblus in Eus. *PE* i. 10 9, and see CREATION, § 7, PHŒNICIA.

6 We can hardly derive the name from Bil-gi (=Gibil) with Ball, and it is the merest coincidence that *tūbāl* or *tūpāl* in

should be noticed that *-cain* in Tubal-cain is wanting in 𝔊 (*θοβελ* [AEL]). Probably it was added to explain why the hero was regarded as the father of smiths. Tribal is, in fact, ,probably a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku ; but, of course, he is not only a fire-god. Like Gibil and like Hephaistos (see Roscher, ***Lex.)***, he is the heavenly smith (𝔊 fitly calls him *χαλκεύς*, a term which in *Il.* 15 309 is applied to Hephaistos), and was perhaps once addressed in the words of a famous Babylonian hymn :—

'Gibil, renowned hero in the land, — valiant, son of the Abyss, exalted in the land,—Gibil, thy clear fiame breaking forth, — when it lightens up the darkness,—assigns to all that bears a name its own destiny ; — the copper and tin, it is thou who dost mix (?) them, — gold and silver, it is thou who meltest them.' [1]

We may well suppose that in the earliest form of the Hebrew legend Tubal was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire. According to Philo of Byblus, fire was discovered by three 'mortal men' called Light, Fire, and Flame, and was produced by rubbing two pieces of wood together. 'This,' remarks Robertson Smith,[2] 'is the old Arabian way of getting fire, and indeed appears all over the world in early times, and also in later times in connection with ritual. Probably some ritual usage preserved the memory of the primeval fire-stock in Phoenicia.' There was no such ritual usage among the Israelites, and so the legend of the invention of fire disappeared.

Jabal and Jubal have names descriptive of occupations, and evidently of Palestinian origin. The former (יָבָל ; *ιωβελ* [A], *-βηλ* [L], *-ηδ* [E]; *Jabel ;* Gen. 4 20†) is the reputed ancestor of tent-dwelling shepherds. His name describes him, not as a 'wanderer' (Dillm. very questionably), but as a herdsman (cp Heb. יובל, Phœn. יבל, 'ram'); it is another form of the name ABEL (*q.v.*, end). The latter, Jubal (יוּבָל ; *ιουβαλ* [AEL] ; *Jubal ;* Gen. 4 21†), is the 'father' of the guild or class of musicians (cp יובל, Ex. 19 13, 'ram's horn'). That the inventor of the *kinnōr* and the *'ūgāb* should be the younger brother of the first shepherd, is certainly appropriate. One of the thirty-seven 'Amu, or Asiatics, represented in the tomb of Hnum-hotep (see MUSIC, § 8, JOSEPH, § 10) as desiring admission into Egypt, carries a lyre. (We must not quote the parallel of David, for 1 Sam. 16 14-23 does not recognise him as a shepherd ; see **DAVID, §** 1 *a*, note). Tubal, however, is less appropriate in this company, partly because of his lofty origin, partly because smiths belong more naturally to agricultural and city life.

11. Jabal, Jubal.

The three names Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal stand outside the genealogy proper, just as Shem, Ham, and Japheth stand outside the genealogy of Noah, and Abram, Nahor, and Haran outside that of Terah. By this knot in the genealogical thread the editor indicates that a new and broader development is about to begin (Ewald). How is it, then, that the Cainite genealogy as it stands contains but six names ? The parallel table in chap. **5**, which has virtually all these names, adds three to them at the beginning, and one at the end. Now it is remarkable that the three prefixed names are also given in 4 25 *f.* It is not improbable (cp 𝔊) that this passage in a simpler form — omitting 'again,' 'another,' and 'instead of Abel,' etc., and adding 'and Enos begat a son, and called his name Cain '—once stood before 4 17, and that Noah, who is the sou of Lamech in **5** 28 *f.*, once took the place of Jabal, Jtibal, and Tubal. This would make the table begin Adam, Seth, Enos, Cain, and close Lamech, Noah. We might also restore it thus, Enos (= *ādām*), Seth, Kenan . . . Lamech, Jabal, Noah. This would have the advantage of retaining the founder of the pastoral mode of life as the father of the founder of agriculture, but seems to involve the excision of Jubal and Tubal. We might, more naturally perhaps, suppose that Jabal and Jubal were later additions from another cycle of legends, and that the earliest genealogy began with Cain and ended with Tubal, both originally divine beings. We should then get a genealogy of seven. In any case we must reject the common view that 4 25 *f.* is a fragment of a Yahwistic table which traced the genealogy of the Sethite side of the first family, and that the Sethites, according to the Yahwist, were good, the Cainites bad. There is no valid evidence that the genealogist wished to represent any of the Cainites as wicked, or that culture was opposed to religion. Cain, the city-builder, was a worthy son of Enos, who was the first to use forms of worship (see ENOS). For there was no more truly religious act, from a primitive point of view, than the building of a city. (For the continuation of this subject see SETHITES.)

12. Original form of list.

Buttmann's *Mythologus*, vol. i. ('28), first led the criticism of the genealogies into the right track. For recent discussions, besides Stade's article already referred to and Dillmann's ***Gen.***, see Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 15; Boscawen, ***Exp. Times***, 5 351 *ff.* (May '94); Goldziher, *Heb. Myth.* 32, 113, 127-130, zoo; Bu. *Urgesch.* 183-247 ; Ryle, ***Early Narratives of Genesis*** 78-83. On the Berossian list of ten antediluvian patriarch; see Maspero, ***Dawn of Civ.*** 564 *f.* ; Del. ***Par.*** 149 ; Hommel, ***PSBA***, 15 243-246. The last-named scholar holds that his identifications, especially Amīlu = Enosh, Ummanu = Kainan, and Nūḫnapišti = Noah, prove that there is the closest relation between "the ten Hebrew patriarchs and the ten Babylonian antediluvian kings. He **infers** from this that the author of the so-called priestly code must have written centuries before the exile. This hasty inference will not captivate a careful student. That the priestly writer had access to early traditions **is** a part of the critical system here advocated. The identifications of Hommel, however, need very careful criticism (see NOAH).

13. Literature.

T. K. C.

CAKE. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the meaning and characteristic feature of certain of the many Heb. words which are rendered 'cake' in EV, and it must suffice merely to record the terms in question.

(a) אֲשִׁישָׁה, ***ăšīšāh,*** Hos. 3 1 (RV) etc., see FLAGON (3), FRUIT, § 5.

(6) דְּבֵלָה, *debhēlāh*, 1 S. 30 12 etc., see FRUIT, **§ 7.**

(c) חַלָּה, ***ḥallāh,*** **2 S.** 6 19 etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 2, BREAD, § 3.

(*d*) כַּוָּן, ***kawwān,*** Jer. 7 18 44 19,† see BAKEMEATS, § 2, FRUIT, § 5.

(e) לְבִבָה, ***lebhībhāh,*** 2 S. 13 6 8 10,† see BAKEMEATS, § 3.

(*f*) לְשַׁד (הַשֶּׁמֶן), *lešad*, Nu. 11 8, see BAKEMEATS, § 3.

(*g*) מָעוֹג, ***mā'ōg,*** 1 K. 17 12 etc., and (*h*) עֻגָּה, *'uggāh,* Gen. **18 6** etc., cp BREAD, § 2.

(i) צְלוֹל, *ṣelōl* (Kt., צליל ḳr.), Jndg. 7 13, see BAKEMEATS, **§ 2.**

(*j*) רָקִיק, ***rāḳīḳ,*** 1 Ch. 23 29 etc., see BAKEMEATS, **§** 3, BREAD, § 3.

CALAH (כֶּלַח ; χαλαχ [A], -κ [EL], καλαχ [*D*]; *vs* **12** χαλεκ [E]; *Chale ;* Ass. Kalḫu, Kalaḫ) is named in Gen. 10 11 *f.* as one of the cities originally founded by Nimrod in Assyria. Ašur-nāṣir-pal, king ***of*** Assyria, ascribed its high standing, at any rate as a capital, to Shalmaneser I. (*KB* 1 116 *ll.* 132-135). Layard, Rassam, and G. Smith proved by their excavations of the mounds of Nimrūd ***20*** m. S. of Nineveh (Ḳuyunjiḳ) that the city lay in the fork between the Tigris on the W. and the Upper Zab on the E. Protected on two sides by these rivers and on the N. by hills, fortified by a long N. wall with at least fifty-eight towers, it was a strong city.

The town was an oblong, well supplied with water by a canal led through a covered conduit from the Upper Zāb, and richly planted with orchards and gardens. At the SW. are the remains of a platform, built of sun-dried bricks faced with

Persian means **(1)** dross of metal, (2) copper or iron. 'I regard the 6 as resulting from a radical *w* or *v*, and as changing later to *p* and *f*' (Mr. J. T. Platts).

[1] Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 635 (see references).

[2] *Burnett* **Lectures,** second series (MS).

stone, 600 yards from N. to S., by 400 yards wide, and 13 feet above the level of the Tigris, which once washed its western face. On this platform stood palaces built or restored by the kings Shalmaneser I., Ašur-nāṣir-pal, Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ašur-eṭil-ilāni. At its NW. corner stood the *zikkuratu* or temple-tower 167½ feet square at the base and still 140 feet high. Next to it was the temple, of Nebo, but in the Sargonid period Ninip was the town-god (*KB* 4 133, no. 1, *l.* 16).

Of municipal history, apart from the history of the country, we know little.

Calah was faithful to Shalmaneser II. during his son's rebellion (*KB* 1 176, *ll.* 45-50), but revolted from Ašur-nirari in 746 B.C. (*KB* 1 212). It was clearly the court residence under the above-mentioned kings; but in the official lists it never stands first (cp Eponym lists *KB* 1 208 *ff.*). As a centre of population it evidently was inferior to Aššur, and totally eclipsed by Nineveh. When Ašur-nāṣir-pal rebuilt the town and palace, finished the great wall, and endowed Calah with its canal, he peopled it with captives.

Like other great cities of Assyria and Babylonia, Calah probably had its archives which, with the literary collections of the kings, formed the nucleus of a library.

Few tablets have hitherto been found at Nimrūd, and it is inferred that Sennacherib removed the Calah library to Nineveh. Many astrological and omen tablets in the Kuyunjik collections were executed at Calah for Nabū-zukūp-kēni, 'principal librarian,' *rab-dup-šarrē*, 716-684 B.C. For explorations and identification of site cp Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries.* For further conclusions respecting library, see G. Smith, *Chald. Genesis.*(2) C. H. W. J.

CALAMOLALUS (καλαμωλαλος [A]), or **Calamocalus** (-ωκαλος [B]), 1 Esd. 5 22, represents the 'Lod (see LYDDA) HADID' of ‖ Ezra 2 33 = Neh. 7 37. 𝔊ᴸ has λυδδων [pl.] αδιδ.

CALAMUS (קָנֶה) occurs in Cant. 4 14 Ezek. 27 19, and 'sweet calamus' in Ex. 30 23 Is. 43 24 (RVmg.; but EV 'sweet cane' in Is.), for the usual REED (*q.v.*, 1 *b*).

CALCOL (כַּלְכֹּל; on the name see MAHOL; χαλχαλ [A]), a son of Zerah b. JUDAH, 1 Ch. 2 6 (χαλκα [B], καλχαλ [L]), clearly the same as the son of Mahol of 1 K. 4 31 [5 11], AV CHALCOL (χαλκαδ [B], χαλκαλ [L]). See MAHOL.

CALDRON, AV rendering of the following words :— קַלַּחַת 1 S. 2 14 Mi. 3 3, so RV; סִיר Jer. 52 18 *f.* (RV 'pots') Ezek. 11 3 7 11, so RV; דּוּד 2 Ch. 35 13, so RV— for all of which see COOKING, § 5; and אַגְמֹן Job 41 20 [12], RV RUSHES (*q.v.*, 2).

CALEB (כָּלֵב, § 66; on the meaning see below; χαλεβ [BAL]; gent. כָּלִבִּי, 'Calebite,' EV 'of the house of Caleb,' 1 S. 25 3 Kr. [κυνικος (BAL)], see NABAL; Kt. reads כְּלִבּוֹ; cp the similar variant in Judg. 1 15 𝔊BAL, χαλεβ κατα την καρδιαν αυτης).

1. Name. Nö. *ZDMG* 40 164, n. 1. ('86), finds the sense 'raging with canine madness,' objecting to Robertson Smith's identification with כֶּלֶב, 'dog' (see *J. Ph.* 989; *Kin.* 200, 219). Dog-totems nevertheless, were not impossible in the ancien; Semitic world (see DOG, 5 4), and *a* connection with כֶּלֶב was early surmised (see NABAL, n.). We find the name Kalbâ in Babylonian contract-tablets as late as the times of Nebuchadrezzar II. and Cambyses (*KB* 4 199 293). Hommel (*AHT* 115) makes *kalibu* or *kalabu* mean 'priest'; while Sayce (*Early Hist. Heb.* 265) compares *kalbu* as used in *Am. Tab.* (*e.g.*, 54, 18) for 'officer, messenger' (but this is improbable). The name seems to be primarily tribal.

2. Early History. Caleb was a Kenizzite clan which at, or shortly before, the Israelite invasion of Western Palestine established itself in Hebron and the region south of it, and in the course of time coalesced with its northern neighbour, the tribe of Judah (naturally, not without admixture of blood; cp. Maacah, Caleb's concubine, 1 Ch. 2 48). The b'ne KENAZ, to whom Caleb and OTHNIEL belong (Nu. 32 12 Judg. 1 13 J), were of Edomite extraction, and the Calebites were nearly related to the nomadic Jerahmeelites in the south-eastern quarter of the Negeb (1 Ch. 2 9 etc.); see JERAHMEEL. (On the Kenites, see below, § 4.)

How Caleb came to be settled in what was regarded as the territory of Judah, is variously described (Josh. 15 13, cp 14 6 *ff.* D, etc.). According to Josh. 15 13 *ff.* (cp Judg. 1 10 *ff.*), Caleb invaded from the N., in company with Judah, the region which he subsequently occupied (see ANAK); but in the story of the spies, in the oldest version of which Caleb alone maintains the possibility of a successful invasion of Canaan from the S. and receives Hebron as the reward of his faith[1] (see NUMBERS), we seem to have a reminiscence of the fact that Caleb made his way into the land from that quarter. In David's time Caleb was still distinct from Judah (1 S. 30 14 γελβουε [B], χελουβ [L]; for the conjecture that David was a Calebite prince, see DAVID, § 4, n.).

3. Pre-exilic. On the other hand, in the list of the spies (Nu. 13 6 P), and in the commission for the division of the land (Nu. 34 19 P), Caleb b. JEPHUNNEH appears as the *representative* of Judah, a chief (*nāsī*) of that tribe:[2] and in the post-exilic genealogical systems, Caleb and Jerahmeel, 'sons of HEZRON' (*q.v.*, ii. [1]), are great-grandsons of the patriarch Judah (1 Ch. 2 9 [CHELUBAI = 1 Ch. 4 1, CARMI (1)], 18 *ff.*, 42 [χαλεμ, A] *ff.*), whilst Kenaz becomes a son of Caleb (4 15).

These representations reflect the fact that, in uniting with Judah, Caleb became the leading branch of that exceedingly mixed tribe. The Chronicler indeed hardly knows any other Judahite stocks than these Hezronites.

The seats of the Calebites in pre-exilic times are to be learned most fully from 1 Ch. 2 42 *ff.*, where we find set down as sons and grandsons (branches) of Caleb the well-known cities and towns, Ziph, Mareshah (so read for MESHA), Hebron, Tappuah, Jokdeam (so for JORKOAM), Maon, Beth-zur; for Maon and Carmel cp also 1 S. 25 2 *f.* The clan had possessions also in the Negeb (1 S. 30 14).

4. Post-exilic. After the Exile their old territory was chiefly in the possession of the Edomites, and the Calebites were pushed northwards into the old seats of Judah. This situation is reflected in another stratum of the composite genealogy (1 Ch. 2 18-24, 50-55, cp 19), where Caleb takes Ephrath (the region about Bethlehem) as a second wife (observe the significant name of the former wife AZUBAH [*q.v.*]; cp also JERIOTH). Through his son Hur the clan falls into three divisions: Shobal, Salma, and Hareph, the fathers of Kirjath-jearim, Bethlehem, and Bethgader. The further notices of the subdivision of these clans are fragmentary and complex (see BETH-GADER, JABEZ, SHOBAL). It is at all events noteworthy that the passage concludes with the end of a list of Kenites, and a connection between these and the Calebites becomes plausible if CHELUB and RECHAH in 1 Ch. 4 11 *f.* are indeed errors for Caleb and Rechab (cp Meyer, *Entsteh.* 147).[3]

It is not improbable that the names Azbuk, Colhozeh, Rephaiah b. Hur (temple-repairers, etc., temp. Nehemiah) are of Calebite origin (*ib.* 147, 167).

See further KENAZ, also Kuenen, *Rel. Isr.* 1 135 *ff.*, 176 *ff.*, Gratz, 'Die Kelubaïten oder Kalebiten,' *MGWJ* 25 461-492, and especially We. *De Gent.*; *CH* 337 *f.*

CALEB-EPHRATAH, RV **Caleb-Ephrathah** (כָּלֵב אֶפְרָתָה), is mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 24† as the place where Hezron died. Wellhausen and Kittel, after 𝔊BAL (καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εσερων [εσρωμ, A; -ν, L] ἦλθεν χαλεβ εἰς εφραθα [L εἰσῆλθε χαλεβ πρὸς εφραθα]), read: 'after the death of Hezron, Caleb came unto Ephrath the wife of Hezron his father'[4] (We. *De Gent.* 14). Klostermann (*Gesch.* 112) thinks it more natural to read SEGUB (for Caleb).

[1] In P Joshua is named along with Caleb.

[2] The name Jephunneh as that of Caleb's father is not earlier than D_2; on Josh. 14 6, 13 (JE and D_2), see JOSHUA, § 9.

[3] Note also that שַׁלְמִי, the Targ. rendering of Kenites, is possibly derived from SALMA. Cp Neub. *Géogr.* 427, 429.

[4] *I.e.*, אָבִיָּה for אֲבִיָּה; ABIJAH, (4), thus disappears.

'Even after the Exile the Hebrew, like the Arab genealogists, seem *to* have used the marriage of a son with his father's wife as one device for throwing the relations of clans and townships into genealogical form.' (WRS *Kin.* 90, and see We. *Prol.*(4) 217 *f.* ET 217.)

CALENDAR. See DAY, WEEK, MONTH, YEAR; cp also CHRONOLOGY, § 1 *ff.*

CALF (עֵגֶל, Ex. 32 4, etc.; ΜΟΣΧΟΣ, Rev. 4 7). See CATTLE, § 2 *a-c.*

CALF, GOLDEN. Portable images of a bull overlaid with gold occupied, down to the time of the prophets, a prominent position in the equipment of the Israelitish sanctuaries.

1. References.

We hear of them in the great sanctuaries of the northern kingdom: in Dan[1] and Bethel, where they are said to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 K. 12 28 *ff.* 2 K. 10 29 Hos. 10 5); in Samaria, the capital of the kingdom (Hos. 8 5 *f.*); and perhaps also in Gilgal (Am. 5 4 *f.* Hos. 4 15 9 15 12 11 [12]). On the other hand, there were none in the temple of Jerusalem (which had the brazen serpent: see NEHUSHTAN), and, strange to say, we do not find any allusion to such images as existing in the other sanctuaries of Judah—either in 1 K. 14 21-24, where such reference would have been apposite, or in Amos or Hosea. The last named in particular, who pursued the calf-worship of the northern kingdom with such bitter invectives (8 5 *f.* 10 5), would hardly have been silent on the subject had the same worship prevailed in Jerusalem also. Though Judah appears to have participated, more or less, in the cultus at Bethel, the worship of such images seems to have been confined chiefly to the northern kingdom.

The bulls belonged to the class of images called מַסֵּכָה ('molten images'; see IDOL, § 1 e), which might be either solid or merely covered with a coating of metal. To the latter class the golden bull of Jeroboam (Hos. 13 2) probably belonged (see IDOL, § 4 *f.*). Because of the value of the metal it is not probable that the images were of great size. Hence we can understand the choice of the word עֵגֶל, 'calf': not the youth but the small size of the animal represented is the point to be conveyed—not perhaps without an implication of contempt.

As for their origin, these images were originally foreign to the Yahwè religion. To the nomads of the wilderness, who did not breed cattle, the idea of choosing the bull as an image of divinity could hardly have occurred.

2. Origin.

On this ground alone the narrative of the golden calf made by Aaron in the wilderness (Ex. 32 JE) can prove nothing for the origin, of this form of worship in Mosaic times. Apart from the impossibility of making such an image in the wilderness, the narrative seems rather to be intended as a scathing criticism on the absurdity and sinfulness of bull-worship as viewed from the prophetic standpoint. According to the Deuteronomist, Jeroboam was the originator of bull-worship; but it is hardly likely that he would have introduced an entirely strange image into the sanctuaries of his kingdom. Probably the older Decalogue (Ex. 34 17; cp 20 23), in speaking of 'molten images' as distinguished from plain wooden images, referred to images of this description, which also are intended perhaps by the images of Micah (Judg. 18).

It has often been held (*e.g.* by Renan and Maspero, and doubtfully by König) that bull-worship may have been an imitation of the worship of Apis at Memphis or of Mendes at Heliopolis; but the Egyptians worshipped only living animals, and in any case the adoption from Egypt is unlikely. The nomad inhabitants of Goshen took over from the Egyptians hardly anything of their culture and religion. On the other hand, the religion of Israel shows the strongest evidence of Canaanite influence. Among the Canaanites the bull was the symbol of Baal;[1] the cow, the symbol of Astarte; and these symbols were taken over from the Phœnicians by the Greeks. Thus the probabilities are that the Israelites derived the practice from the Canaanites. They changed the significance of the symbols, seeing in them a representation of Yahwè and his conquering might and strength (Nu. 23 22 24 8). Though in the time of Jeroboam such worship was regarded as allowable, the so-called older decalogue certainly forbids molten images (see above). The later decalogue, which may be regarded as representative of prophetic times, forbids all idolatrous worship of Yahwè. Hosea rails at the worship of the bull (8 5 10 5). The Deuteronomistic narrator, too, in the Book of Kings regards the conduct of Jeroboam as an apostasy to idolatry. He emphatically describes bull-worship as 'the sin of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin' (1 K. 14 16 15 26 16 26 2 K. 10 29 etc.). To the Apis-worship of Egypt we have but one reference—in Jer. 46 15, where we should probably read 'Why hath Apis fled? (why) hath thy steer not stood firm?' See APIS.

See Kön. *Hauptprobleme*, 57; Baethg. *Beitr.* 198 *f.*; Robertson, *Early Rel. of Isr.* 215-220; Farrar, 'Was there a Golden Calf at Dan,' *Expos.*, 1893*b*, pp. 254-265; and cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 289 *f.*; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 88 *f.*; C. W. Goodwin, *TSBA* 2 252. I. B.

1 The text of 1 K. 12 30 is obviously corrupt, or at least imperfect. 𝔊L adds, 'and before the other to Bethel.' Klo. conjectures that the original text said nothing of a *calf* in Dan. His restored text, however, only accentuates, if possible, the ancient fame of the sanctuary. See also Farrar, *l.c.*, § 2, end.

1 Cp Tob. 1 5, 'the heifer Baal' (τ. βάαλ τῇ δαμάλει [B], τῷ μόσχῳ [א]).

CALITAS (ΚΑΛ[Ε]ΙΤΑ[Ι]Σ [B]), 1 Esd. 9 23 = Ezra 10 23, and 1 Esd. 9 48 = Neh. 8 7 KELITA.

CALKER (Ezek. 27 9 27†; מַחֲזִיקֵי בֶדֶק). See SHIP.

CALLISTHENES (ΚΑΛΛΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ [AV]), a follower of Nicanor [1], who, according to 2 Macc., was burnt for firing the temple gates (2 Macc. 8 33).

CALNEH (כַּלְנֵה). 1. (ΧΑΛΑΝΝΗ [AD^aL], ΓΑΛΑΝΝΙ [E]). A city included in the earlier kingdom of Nimrod, Gen. 10 10 (J). See NIMROD, § 1, SHINAR.

Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies*, 1 18) identifies it with Nippur, supposing that the Talmudic statement, 'Calneh means Nippar' (*Joma*, 10*a*), represents a genuine tradition. The context, however, shows that it is a pure guess; נינפר is connected with נינפי, a Greek loan-word (νύμφη) meaning 'bride,' and כלנה with כַּלָּה, the old Hebrew for 'bride' (see Levy). Pressel (*PRE*(2)) claims a consensus of critics for identifying Calneh with Ctesiphon NE. of Babylon, on the left bank *of* the Tigris (*so* Targ. Jer., Ephr. Syr., Eus., Jer.), which Pliny (6 30) places in the province *of* Chalonitis. This conjecture, too, may be dismissed.

The inscriptions alone should be consulted; and, since none of the ordinary names of the Babylonian cities resembles Calneh (or Calno), we are justified in examining the non-Semitic (ideographic) names. Among these we find Kul-unu ('dwelling of offspring'), which, in Assyrian times, was pronounced Zir-la-ba or (in an inscription of Ḫammu-rābi) Za-ri-lab. The situation of Zirlaba is uncertain (see Del. ***Par.*** 226); but the fact that Sargon mentions Zirlaba at the end of a list of Babylonian cities which apparently proceeds from south to north (*KB* 2 52 *f.*) suggests to Hommel that it was not far from Babylon (***Die** semit. Völker*, 1 234 *f.*). To Fried. Del. in 1876 (*Chald. Gen.* 293) this identification appeared certain. It is, indeed, not improbable, especially if we may point כַּלְנֹה (cp 𝔊 as above, and כַּלְנוֹ); but we should like some fuller evidence that Kul-unu was really remembered as the old name of Zirlaba.

2. (𝔊BAQ πάντες, as if כֻּלָּם), a N. Syrian city, conquered by the Assyrians (Am. 6 2, on which see AMOS, § 6 [*b*]). See CALNO. T. K. C.

CALNO (כַּלְנוֹ, ΧΑΛΑΝΝΗ [BאAQΓ]), Is. 10 9†, the city called CALNEH [2] in Am. 6 2 (on which see

AMOS, § 6 [*b*]) and CANNEH [*q.v.*]—(rather Calneh) in Ezek. 27 23.

𝔊 confounds it with CALNEH [1], and connects it with the building of the 'tower,' which, since Babylon is mentioned just before, can only mean the tower of Babel (see BABEL); it is not improbable that 𝔊 identifies Calneh with Borsippa, according to the Talmudic tradition that the tower of Babel was at Borsippa. This is, of course, worthless. 𝔊's Hebrew text was corrupt: כרכמיש was misread בִּרְבָּה, 'fort'; ארפד became ערב, 'Arabia.'

Doubtless Calno is Kullani, a place near Arpad, conquered in 738 by Tiglath-pileser III. (Tiele, Wi., Fried. Del., Che., Kittel). T. K. C.

CALPHI, RV CHALPHI (a name formed from the root חלף, whereby a child is designated as a *substitute* for one lost; cp ἀλφαιος, and see NAMES, § 62), father of Judas [3], 1 Macc. 11 70 (ο του χαλφει [AV], ο του χαφ. [א], ο χαψεου [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 7]; in the Syr. ܚܠܦܝ, ܚܠܦܐ and ܚܠܦܝܐ). Cp ALPHÆUS, CLOPAS, § 1.

CALVARY (κρανιον [Ti. WH], *Calvaria*), Lk. 23 33† AV, the Vg. rendering (Lat. *calvaria*=skull) of *κρανίον* (RV 'The skull'). The ‖ passages preserve the Semitic form GOLGOTHA (*q.v.*).

CAMEL (גָּמָל, 𝔊 καμηλος; Gen. 12 16 24 10 14 etc., Ex. 9 3 Judg. 6 5 1 K. 10 2 1 Ch. 27 30 Ezra 2 67 Tob. 9 2, and elsewhere, including six prophetic passages; Mt. 3 4 Mk. 1 6 etc.; see also DROMEDARY).

1. Name. The Hebrew name[1] is common to all the Semitic languages, which proves that the animal was known before the parent stock divided—one of the facts from which Hommel and others have inferred that the original home of the Semitic race was in Central Asia.[2] The name was borrowed by the Egyptians; it passed also into Greek and Latin, and most modern languages. The origin of the word is uncertain; von Kremer (*Sem. Culturentlehnungen*, 4) connects it with Ar. *jamala*, 'to heap,' as meaning the 'humped animal'; whilst Lagarde (*Uebers.* 49) follows Bochart in his etymology from גָּמַל, 'to requite,' the name thus indicating the revengeful temper often shown by the animal.

2. Biblical references. In the frequent mention of the camel in the historical books of the OT there can be little doubt that *Camelus dromedarius* is meant (see below, § 6), though an Israelite ambassador may conceivably have seen a two-humped camel at Nineveh or Babylon.[3] We naturally expect to hear of its use by the Arabian[4] and other nomad tribes; and accordingly the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37 25 [J]), the Midianites (Judg. 6 5),[5] and the Amalekites (1 S. 15 3 27 9) by turns come before us as possessors of camels. The mention of them in connection with Job (Job 1 3), and with the Queen of Sheba (1 K. 10 2), also needs no comment. David's camels (1 Ch. 27 30) may have been kept for purposes of trade; they were put under the charge of an Ishmaelite, who from his calling bore the name of OBIL. Other kings may have followed David's example; Hezekiah's camels were carried away by Sennacherib (Schr. *COT* 2 286). That Syrians should have used them (2 K. 8 9) is natural; but in the hilly region of Palestine the camel cannot have been a common quadruped. It is true this animal appears again and again in the patriarchal story, and there is no difficulty in supposing that Jacob acquired camels in Mesopotamia. There is, however, great difficulty in the statement (Gen. 12 16) that camels formed part of a present given to Abraham by the Pharaoh (see below, § 3 *f.*).

The camel's saddle is mentioned only once, Gen. 31 34 (כַּר הַגָּמָל, 𝔊 τὰ σάγματα, EV 'the camel's furniture'), and derives its name from its round basket-shaped form. See LITTER, SADDLE.

The flesh of camels was unclean food to the Israelites (Dt. 14 7 Lev. 11 4). By the Arabs, on the other hand, camels were both eaten and sacrificed (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 218). N. M.—A. E. S.

3. Not known in Egypt. [The assertion that the ancient Egyptians knew the camel is unfounded. The picture of a camel on one of the (Ethiopian) pyramids at Meroe[1] (Leps. *Denkm.* 5 28) and on Greek terra-cotta figures—*e.g.*, of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Abydus*, 2 40)—and the references in Greek papyri,[2] prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier—*e.g.*, in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal—not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Pap. Anast. i. 23 5 is groundless. The passage contains an exclamation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—*'a-ba-ta ka-ma 'â-r(l)a ma-ha-ïra n-'-mu*, which seems to mean, 'Thou art lost (אָבַדְתָּ?) like God (כְּמוֹ־אֵל) a hero (מהר) indeed (Ar. *na'am*).' Even if this explanation[3] be rejected, the idea of Chabas (*Voyage*, 220) that the Asiatics are here calling for 'camel's meat' is most ridiculous. The other passages appealed to refer not to the camel (the pretended *kamaly*) but to a large species of monkey (*Kay, ky*), which is said to come from Ethiopia (where there were no camels in 1300 B.C.; see above), and is described as docile—learning an amusing kind of dance, and carrying its master's walking-stick. See the passages collected by WMM (*As. u. Eur.* 370),[4] and the judicious remarks of Wiedemann, *SBA* 13 32. Even the Egyptian name of the camel ϫ (or σ) αμουλ (plural ϫαμαυλι) is foreign (not from *gamul* [Lagarde. *Uebers.* 49] but from an original **gamōl*), and does not seem very old. W. M. M.]

4. OT ref. to Egypt. [The difficulty of the narrative in Gen. 12 10-20 is very great so long as it is assumed that it correctly represents the Hebrew tradition. Supposing, however, that the mention of the pharaoh were due to a misunderstanding, and that the early Hebrew tradition knew only of a visit of Abraham

1 בִּכְרָה, *bikrāh*, like the Ar. *bakr* (Lane, 1240) and Ass. *bakru* (Del. *Ass. HWB*) denotes the 'young camel,' Is. 60 6 Jer. 2 23 (RVmg.). EV renders less aptly DROMEDARY (*q.v.*). The word אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים, *ăḥăštĕrānīm* (Esth. 8 10 14, AV 'camels,' RVmg. 'mules'), is rather an adj. qualifying 'swiftsteeds'; so RV 'swift steeds that were used in the king's service' (cp Pers. *khshatra*, realm; BDB *Lex.*). The reading, however, is disputed. See HORSE, § 2.

2 See this and other views summarised in Wright's *Comp. Gram. Sem. Lang.* 5 *ff.*

3 See the bas-reliefs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II. and this king's monolith inscr., obv. 28 (*KB* 1 156 *f.*) 'dromedaries (*udrāti*) with two humps'; cp Del. *Par.* 96.

4 For an account of the numerous references to the camel in Arabian literature, and of the many names of the camel in Arabic, see Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 139 *ff.*

5 'Both they and their cattle were numberless,' says the narrator. So too the Reuhenites carry away 50,000 camels from the Hagrites (1 Ch. 5 21). Precisely so Tiglath-pileser II states that he had taken 30,000 camels as prey from the Arab (cp Hommel, *GBA* 665), and Ašur-bāni-pal says that he took so many camels from the Kedarenes that camels were sold in Assyria for from $1\frac{1}{2}$ (silver) shekels *to* half a shekel (*KB* 2 225). On the notice in Judg. 8 21 see CRESCENTS.

1 Roman period? Even in Persian times orthodox Ethiopians were apparently deterred from using the animal by fear of contracting ceremonial defilement. The more southern tribes had no camels, see, *e.g.*, Mariette, *Mon. div.* 12, 87. The animal can hardly live in the regions S. of Meroe.

2 *E.g.*, in Grenfell, *Greek Papyri* (2 45 etc.), camels appear frequently in the Fayûm after 100 A.D. It is, however, significant that they sometimes hear 'Αραβικὰ χαράγματα as brand-marks (1 *l.* 50 *a*). The camels on the roads to the Red Sea (Petrie, *Koptos*, 27, *l.* 21, Strabo, etc.) were driven by the desert-tribes.

3 Partly after Erman, *ZÄ* '77, 36.

4 Add the passage on *ky*-apes from the St. Petersburg tale and De Morgan, *Cat. Monum.* i. 64 4 (hi-animals from the Sûdān).

to the land of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]), the difficulty arising from the mention of camels in Gen. 12 16 would disappear. The difficulty of Ex. 9 3 (J), where a murrain is predicted on pharaoh's cattle including 'the camels,' cannot, however, be removed by such an expedient. Here it appears simplest to suppose that the narrator gave a list of those kinds of animals which, from a Palestinian point of view, would be liable to the murrain.

5. NT reff. Two proverbial expressions about the camel occur in the Gospels (the one in Mt. 19 24 Mk. 10 25 Lk. 18 25, the other in Mt. 23 24). The reading κάμιλος (a rope?) for κάμηλος has been suggested for the former. It is as old as Cyril of Alexandria and is evidently the conjecture of a non-Semitic scribe (see Nestle, *Exp. T.* 9 474). κάμηλος is correct. Analogous proverbs can be quoted—*e.g.*, 'In Media a camel can dance on a bushel' (*Jebam.* 45 *a*)—*i.e.*, all things are possible. T. K. C.]

6. Zoology. As has been indicated above there are two species of camel. One, the *Camelus dromedarius*, is found in SE. Asia ranging from Afghanistan and Bokhara through NW. India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and in N. Africa; this species reaches its most southern point in Somali-land. The second, or Bactrian camel, *C. bactrianus*, lives in the high plateaus of central Asia. Both species are said to exist wild, but it is generally thought that the herds found in a state of nature are descended from domesticated animals and are not truly feral. This view is supported by the recent observations of Sven Hedin. They have been introduced into many parts of both the Old and the New World, and where the climate has proved suitable have been very useful as beasts of burden.

Numerous breeds of the *C. dromedarius* are found in the East, and show as great diversities in character and use as do the various breeds of horse. The breeds many of which are distinguished by a complex system of branding, may be roughly divided into two classes: the riding, called in Egypt and Arabia *Haǧīn* and in Indian *Sawari*, and the baggage animal, called respectively the *Gamal* and Unf. The word dromedary is often restricted to the former animal, which often maintains a pace of 8-10 miles an hour for a long period, whereas the baggage camel rarely exceeds 3 miles an hour. Riding a camel for any length of time usually induces sickness the movement of the two legs of each side together producing a most unpleasant swaying motion. Enormous herds, such as we read of in the OT are still kept by the natives both of the Sūdān and of NW. India, and breeding stables exist in many parts of the East. Camels produce but one young at a time and the period of gestation is twelve months; the young are suckled for a year or longer. The average length of life seems to be considerable—from forty to fifty years—and if well treated the camel will continue to work hard until well over thirty.

The power which it undoubtedly possesses of doing without food is to some extent dependent on the hump; when the animal is underfed or overworked this structure begins to disappear and the condition of the hump is thus an unfailing sign of the state of its health. Similarly the power of doing without water is due to a structural peculiarity of the two first compartments—the *rumen* and *reticulum*—of the complex stomach of the camel. Each of these chambers has its wall pitted into a series of crypts or cells which are each guarded by a special sphincter muscle, and in these crypts a certain amount of water is stored—perhaps two gallons at most. The fluid can be let out from time to time to mix with the more solid food. Camels ruminate, and their masticated food passes straight into the third division of the stomach. In spite of this provision for storing water, no opportunity should be lost of watering camels, as it is most inadvisable to trust to this reserve, and they are apt to overdrink themselves if kept without water for too long a time. The stories about travellers saving their lives by opening the stomachs of camels when dying of thirst are probably imaginary; the camel exhausts its own supply of water, and even if a little be left it is quite undrinkable. Their flesh is eaten at times by natives, who consider the hump a delicacy. Their dung is used for fuel in the desert.

From the earliest times the hair of the camel has been woven into fabrics. The hair from the hump and back is torn or shorn and woven into a tough, harsh cloth; but a finer, softer material is also prepared from the under-wool. The milk is consumed by the natives, who both drink it and convert it into butter and cheese.

Although the camel has been domesticated from a very early date, and although, without its aid, vast regions of the world would prove untraversable, and consequently it has always been the servant of man, there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the real character of the animal. Perhaps the latest writer, Major Leonard,[1] may be quoted as one who has had sixteen years' 'practical observation and experience of camels in India, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Soudan'; he says, 'To sum up the average specimen of a camel. He can abstain from food and water—the latter more especially—longer than any other animal. He is stupid and patient to excess, submissive and tenacious to a degree, docile and obstinate to a certain extent, vindictive and passionate when roused, not easily excited nor usually alarmed, though at times liable to a panic or stampede—an animal in fact whose characteristics are every bit as peculiar as his structural peculiarities.' Another admirable epitome of the character of the camel as a baggage animal is given in Rudyard Kipling's 'Oont. A. E. S.

§ 1 *f.* 6 N. M.—A. E. S.; § 3 W. M. M.; § 4 *f.* T. K. C.

[1] *The Camel, its Uses and Management* ('94).

CAMON (קָמוֹן; ραμνων [B], -μμω [A], καλκων [L]), an unknown locality in Gilead; the burial-place of JAIR (*q.v.* 1) (Judg. 10 5). It was doubtless one of the HAVVOTH-JAIR (*q.v.*). Reland (679) rightly combines it with the Καμοῦν which, in 217 B.C., Antiochus III. the Great captured along with Pella and Gefrun (Polyb. v. 70 12). To the W. of the place identified by Buhl with the ancient Gefrūn or EPHRON (*q.v.*, i. 2) in N. Gilead, and 1 m. S. of the high road from Irbid (Arbela) to the Jordan, lies a village whose name, *Ḳumeim*, 'little summit,' is doubtless a corruption of the ancient Ḳamōn.

Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 272 66 110 20) identify Camon with a place in the 'great plain' called καμμωνα, *Cimona*, situated 6 R. m. N. of Legio, on the way to Ptolemais. This καμμωνα, however, which is evidently Tell ḳaimūn (see JOKNEAM), is clearly on the wrong side of the Jordan.

CAMP (מַחֲנֶה;[1] παρεμβολη [BADEFL], Gen. 32 2 [3] Ex. 14 19 Heb. 13 11). A camp is so called from **1. Military.** the *curving* of the tents over their occupants (√חנה; cp MH חנות).[2] The term (מחנה) is applied primarily to an assemblage of tents of nomads (Gen. 32 21 [22], EV 'company'; Nu. 13 19, EV 'camps'). Of the early Israelitish nomad camps we have no contemporary records; Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 221 2 309) observes that some Bedouin tribes pitch dispersedly and without order; others in a circle, to protect the cattle. The latter style is that of the טִירָה (Ar. *duwār*), of which we hear in Gen. 25 16 Nu. 31 10 1 Ch. 6 39 [54] Ezek. 25 4 (AV 'castle,' but in Ezek. 'palaces,' RV 'encampment').

The military camps of a later age are referred to elsewhere (see WAR). Suffice it to remark here (1) that the encampments of the Hebrews were probably round rather than square: this was a legacy from their nomad state (see above); the barricade which surrounded the camp was called מַעְגָּל (1 S. 17 20 26 5,[3] AV 'trench,' RV 'place of the wagons,' mg. 'barricade'; in 17 20 𝔊^A and in 26 5 Aq. and Sym. or Theod. στρογγύλωσις, Tg. כַּרְקוֹמָא—*i.e.*, χαράκωμα]—*i.e.*, a 'round' line of defence, cp עָגֹל, 'round').[4] Also (2) that their camps have left no impress on names of places, as the Roman *castra* has on English place-names. MAHANEH-DAN [*q.v.*] owes its name to a misunderstanding. We do find, however, the strange archaising phrases, 'the camp of Yahwè' (2 Ch. 31 2) and 'the camp of the Levites' (1 Ch. 9 18; cp Nu. 2 17 P), in connection with the description of the temple services. Is. 29 1 has been thought to describe Jerusalem as the camp—*i.e.*, dwelling—of David (so BDB); but this is far from certain; the prophecy of Yahwè's encampment against Jerusalem is thereby obscured.

2. In the wilderness (P). This leads us to speak of the camp in the wilderness, as conceived by P (Nu. 1-4). Of course, it must be historically true that there was a sacred tent in which the ark or chest containing the sacred objects of the Israelitish nomads was placed when the Israelites halted in their wanderings (see ARK, 4). This tent, glorified into the so-called Tabernacle (see TABERNACLE), forms the

[1] תַּחֲנֹתִי 2 K. 6 8 '(shall he) my camp' is corrupt; Th. Klo. Grätz, Benz. after Pesh. read תֵּחָבְאוּ, 'ye shall be hid.

[2] On חָנוּת in Jer. 37 16 see CELLS.

[3] AV mg. 'midst of his carriages.'

[4] 𝔊^L in 17 20 has παρεμβολή; 26 5 𝔊^BAL λαμπήνη and Aq. also καμπή.

centre of the camp as described by P. The case is analogous to that of Ezekiel's ideal division of the Holy Land in the future (Ezek. 48), in which his sacerdotal conceptions find expression. The Tabernacle is the place of Yahwè's presence. This is why it is the central point, immediately round which the Levites encamp, forming an inner ring of protection for the ordinary Hebrew lest by inadvertently drawing near he should bring down upon himself the wrath of Yahwè (Nu. 1 50-53).

The positions of the various tribes are given in Nu. 2; on each side of the tabernacle, but separated from it by the Levites, three tribes encamp—a leading tribe flanked by two other tribes with their 'ensigns' (אֹתֹת). Thus on the E. is Judah flanked by Issachar and Zebulun; on the S. Reuben flanked by Simeon and Gad; on the W. Ephraim flanked by Manasseh and Benjamin; and on the N. Dan flanked by Asher and Naphtali. It has generally been held that the four leading tribes were distinguished by the possession of large standards (דֶּגֶל), whereas the other tribes had only smaller ensigns (אֹתֹת); but this rests perhaps on a misinterpretation of דֶּגֶל, which, as the contexts and, in part the versions show, means a company; see the discussions in *JQR* 11 ('98) 92-101; and cp ENSIGN.

The foregoing details are to be gathered from what have been generally regarded as parts of the primary narrative of P. Further details as to the Levites are given in 3 14-39, which has been attributed (*e.g.* by We. *CH* 179 *ff.*) to secondary strata of P. According to this section the various Levitical divisions encamped as follows:—Moses, Aaron and his sons (3 38) on the E., the Kohathites on the S. (3 29), the Gershonites on the W. (3 23), and the Merarites on the N. (3 35) of the tabernacle.

The Eastward is manifestly regarded as the superior position; the relative importance of the remaining three positions is less obvious. But it may be observed that the E. and S. sides are occupied by the children of Leah (exclusive of Levi) together with Gad; the W. by the children of Rachel, and the N. by the children of the handmaids (exclusive of Gad).

The priestly writers appear to have conceived of the camp as square, and this is probably another indication that we have to do with an ideal (not a historical) camp; for there is some reason for believing that the actual encampments of the Hebrews approximated to the round rather than the square form (cp § 1). Though the other hexateuchal sources furnish few details as to the camp, the direct statement of Ex. 33 7 (E) that the tabernacle was *outside* is quite irreconcilable with P's account that it formed the *centre* of the camp. The Central position of the tabernacle, the intermediate position of the Levites between the tabernacle and the secular tribes, and the superior position assigned among the Levites to the sons of Aaron, are not matters of history, but the expression, in the form of an idealisation of the past, of a religious idea.

T. K. C., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

CAMPHIRE (כֹּפֶר; ΚΥΠΡΟϹ [BKAC]; Cant. 1 14 [om. B], 4 13), the earlier spelling of 'camphor,' should be HENNA (as in RV)—*i.e.*, *Lawsonia alba*, Lamk., a plant described by Tristram (*NHB* 339 *f.*) as still growing on the shores of the Dead Sea at Engedi (Cant. 1 14). According to Boissier (*Fl. Orient.* 2 744), it is frequently cultivated in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Persia; and it is probably indigenous to N. Africa, Arabia, Persia, and W. India (Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 782). The 'cluster'[1] of Cant. 1 14 is that of the flowers.

Pesh. and Targ. have the same word as MT, with which κύπρος also is identical: and the Syriac lexicographers state that this means the *ḥannā* of the Arabs—the plant from which they obtain the dye for the nails. The Greek references to κύπρος will be found in Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CANA OF GALILEE (ΚΑΝΑ ΤΗϹ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑϹ [Ti. WH]: Pesh. *ḳaṭna*) appears only in the Fourth Gospel, as the scene of Christ's first miracle (John 2 1 11 4 46), and of his healing of the nobleman's son lying sick at Capernaum (4 46-54), and as the home of Nathanael (21 2). The only evidence as to its position is that it lay higher than Capernaum; Jesus went down from it to the latter (2 12).

Tradition and present opinion are divided between the modern Kefr Kennā, a hamlet almost $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE. of Nazareth, with a fine spring, and Khirbet Ḳāna or Ḳānat el-Gelil, on a promontory of Gebel Ḳāna over the plain of Buṭṭauf, about 8 m. N. of Nazareth, with ruins, tombs, cisterns, and a pool.

The data of Antoninus Placentinus, 570 A.D. (*Itin.* 4), suit *Kefr Kenna*, at which the mediæval writers Phocas, John of Würzburg, and Quaresmius, place it; so also in modern times Guérin, De Saulcy, Porter, Tristram, and Conder. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*) identify it with KANAH in Asher (Josh. 19 28); to them, therefore, it would not have been at Kefr Kenna, but may have been Ḳānat el-Ġelīl. The data of Theodosius (530 A.D.) suit Ḳānat el-Ġelīl, and so in the Middle Ages do those of Saewulf, Brocardus, Fetellus, Marinus Sanutus, and others adhere. Robinson, who was the first modern to revive the claims of Ḳānat el-Ġelīl, describes the position, details the traditional evidence, and points out that the name is the equivalent of the NT one, while Kenna, with the double *n*, is not (*BR* 3 204-8). He has been followed by Ritter, Renan, Thomson, Stanley, and Socin.

The name Ḳānat el-Gelil is not above suspicion; it may be the creation of an early ecclesiastical tradition, just as Robinson himself points out that an attempt has been made by the native Christians in the present century to transfer it to Kefr Kenna. On the other hand, Josephus resided for a time in a village of Galilee, called Cana (*Vit.* 16); if this be the same as his residence in the plain of Asochis (*id.* 41), he means Ḳānat el-Gelil.

Conder (*PEF Mem.* 1 288) suggests another site for Cana in ʿAin Ḳānā, on the road between Reineh and Tabor.

G. A. S.

CANAAN, CANAANITE (כְּנַעַן, כְּנַעֲנִי, ΧΑΝΑΑΝ, ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΙ).

1. Phœnician usage.[1] Coins from Laodicea of the time of Antiochus IV. and his successors, bear the legend ללאדכא אם בכנען, 'of Laodicea, a metropolis in Canaan'—probably the Phœnician town whose position is indicated by the ruins of Umm-el-ʿAwāmīd, S. of Tyre. Well known, too, is the statement (wrongly assigned to Hecatæus of Miletus) that Phœnicia was formerly called χνᾶ (Herodian, περὶ μονήρους λέξεως, 19; similarly Steph. Byz. χνα οὕτως ἡ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο). In accordance with this, Philo of Byblos (2, 27) calls the eponym of the Phoenicians '*Chna*, who was later called Phoinix' (ἀδελφὸς χνᾶ τοῦ πρώτου μετονομασθέντος φοίνικος), and in Bekker, *Anecd.* iii. 1181, ὁ χνᾶς (gen. τοῦ χνᾶ) is identified with Agenor (the father of Phoenix), 'whence the Phoenicians also are called Ochna' (ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη ὀχνᾶ λέγεται). Here we have the shorter form *Knaʿ* (כְּנַע; cp Olsh., *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.*, 215*a*), so often met with in the Amarna tablets under the form *Kinaḫḫi*, side by side with the fuller form *Kinaḫni*, probably with the article prefixed (הַכְּנַע) as in Egyptian inscriptions (see below, § 6).

2. OT usage. As a geographical term Canaan shares the indefiniteness that characterises much of the OT, and indeed of all ancient, geographical nomenclature. In its widest sense the term seems to have been used to denote all of what may be roughly classed as Southern Syria, from the foot of Mt. Hermon to the lower end of the Dead Sea, including territory both to the E. and to the W. of the Jordan clear to the Mediterranean. Such appears to be the case in the Book of Joshua (11 3). More commonly, however, it is restricted to the lands lying to the W. of the Jordan—that is Judæa, Phoenicia, and Philistia proper. As Judæa, however, became more sharply marked off from Phœnicia and Philistia, it is natural that to Hebrew writers Canaan should have come to mean the latter districts more particularly. So in Is. 23 11 the term is applied to Phœnicia and perhaps to the entire coast, and in Zeph. 2 5 to Philistia. As an ethnic term, Canaanite is similarly applied to the inhabitants of the W. Jordan district in general, while at times—as in Nu. 13 29—the seats of the Canaanites are more specifically limited to the sea-coast and the Jordan valley. Corresponding to

[1] אֶשְׁכֹּל, which elsewhere means a cluster of grapes—possibly of dates in Cant. 7 7 *f.* [8 *f.*]. See Budde.

[1] This section is by the author of the article PHŒNICIA.

the identification of Canaan with Phcenicia, which is also in accord with the usage of the term *Kinaḫḫi* in the Amarna Tablets (§ 10 below), the term Canaanite comes to be associated with the mercantile activity of Phcenicia, and in consequence appears occasionally—as, *e.g.*, in Hos. 128 Is. 238 — in the general sense of merchant. According to Targ. and many moderns, it has this sense likewise in Zech. 1421; Wellhausen and Nowack would add, emending in accordance with 𝔊BA, Zech. 117 11.

3. Geographical inference. The indefiniteness and the shifting character of both the geographical and the ethnical terms point to political changes in which were involved the people to whom the term Canaanites was originally applied: indeed, the indefiniteness is the direct outcome of these changes. Analogy warrants us in assuming as the starting-point a more limited district, and that with the extension of Canaanitish conquest or settlement the term became correspondingly enlarged, though it is not necessary to assume that the correspondence between actual settlement or possession and the geographical application of the term Canaan must have been complete. The *predominance* of Canaanites in important sections of the W. Jordan lands would have sufficed for imposing their name on the whole district.

The Egyptian inscriptions come to our aid in enabling us to determine where to seek for the origin of the term.

4. Egyptian evidence. In the accounts of their Asiatic campaigns, which begin about 1800 B.C., the rulers of the Nile restrict the name Ka-n-'-na to the low strip of coast that forms the eastern limit of the Mediterranean; and, since it is only the northern section of this coast that affords a sufficiency of suitable harbours for extensive settlements, it is more particularly to the Phcenician coast-land that the name is applied. From the Phcenician coast it naturally came to be extended by the Egyptians to the entire coast down to the Egyptian frontier, the absence of any decided break in the continuity of the coast leading to the extension of the nomenclature, as it led in later times to the shifting character of the southern boundary of Phcenicia proper. The name of Philistia for the southern part of the coast does not occur in the Egyptian inscriptions.

5. History of Name. It was from the coast, therefore, that the name was extended to include the high lands adjacent to it; and it is interesting to note that, whilst the geographical term never lost its restricted application to the coast strip, the ethnographical term Ka-n-'-ne-mau—*i.e.*, Canaanites—embraces for the Egyptians, according to Muller (*As. u. Eur.* 206 *f.*), the population of all of Western Syria, precisely as in biblical sources. The combination of the Egyptian with the OT notices seems to justify the conclusion that the coast population sent into the interior offshoots which made permanent settlements there. In this way both Canaan and the Canaanites acquired the wide significance that has been noted, whilst the subsequent tendency towards restricting the name to the sea-coast is an unconscious return to the earlier and more exact nomenclature.

The etymology of the term Canaan bears out these historical and geographical conclusions.

6. Etymology. In the Egyptian inscriptions (cp also above, § 1) the word appears with the article—'The Canaan'—which points to its being a descriptive term; and, even though we agree with Moore (*PAOS*, 1890, pp. lxvii-lxx) that the testimony is incomplete, the use of the stem כנע in Hebrew in the sense of 'to be humbled' suggests the possibility that this stem may, in some other Semitic dialect, have been used to convey the idea of 'low,' even though that may not have been the original sense of the stem. If we keep in view the prefixing of the article to the term, and its original application to a strip of land between the sea and the mountains, no more appropriate designation than 'the owland' can well be imagined; and this explanation f Canaan, though not unanimously accepted, is at any ate provisionally tenable.[1] Certainly it seems to be an ncient one; for when it is said that the Canaanite is he one who dwells by the sea and along the side of the ordan (Nu. 1329)—*i.e.*, in the two 'lowland' districts f Palestine—the very artificiality of the indicated limits uggests that it was the etymology of the word which ed the writer to such a view in contradiction to so many ther passages where Canaanites arc spoken of as ccupying mountainous districts also.

7. Amorites in OT. By the side of the term Canaan, however, there is in he OT another which is used, especially by the Elohist, to cover precisely the same population—namely, 'the land of the Amorite.' It is the merit of Steinthal (*Z. f. Völkerpsychologie*, 12 267) and of E. Meyer (*ZATW* 1 122 ['81]) to have definitely demonstrated this important point. See AMORITES. At the same time, it is to be borne in mind that when the coast-land is specifically referred to, the term Amorite is not used, but, is already pointed out, either Canaan for the whole coast or Canaan for the northern and Philistia for the southern. Whether the Yahwist (J) is equally consistent, as Meyer claims, in using 'Canaanite' for the pre-Israelitish population of the W. Jordan lands is open to question. The theory cannot be carried through without a certain amount of arbitrariness in the distribution of the verses belonging to J and E respectively (see M'Curdy's note, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 406-8).

8. In Egyptian. Moreover, the cuneiform documents and Egyptian inscriptions furnish an explanation for the double nomenclature that places the facts in a somewhat different light. From the Egyptian side it is clear that the term 'Amoritic' land was limited to the mountain district lying to the east of the Phcenician coast-land but extending across the Jordan to the Orontes (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 217 *ff.*). The southern and the eastern boundaries are not sharply defined. The former is placed by Müller, on the basis of Egyptian inscriptions, at the entrance of the plain—the so-called *Beḳā'*—between the Lebanon and the Antilibanus, and, whilst the Orontes might seem to furnish a natural eastern boundary, it would appear that the early Egyptian conquerors extended the limits still farther to the east. At the time of Thotmes III. the Hittites had not yet made their appearance. Later, in the days of Rameses III., when the Hittites form the most serious menace to Egyptian supremacy in Western Asia, the Orontes becomes a more definite boundary of the 'Amoritic' district, while as the Hittites encroach upon the territory of the Amorites, the term Hittite begins to displace 'Amorite' for the northern mountain district of Palestine. This process is completed about 1000 B.C.

9. In early Assyrian. At that time, however, the term 'Amoritic' had already been extended to the southern range of Palestine—not by the Egyptians, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is in cuneiform documents of (about) the twelfth centnry that we first come across the term 'land of A-mur-ri' (as the signs must be read, instead of A-ḫar-ri, as was formerly supposed). Nebuchadrezzar I., king of Babylonia, whose date is fixed at *circa* 1127, calls himself the conqueror of the 'land of Amor'; and Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, whose reign coincides in part with that of Nebuchadrezzar, names the great sea of the Amoritic land as the western boundary to his conquests.

Long ere this, however, as the use of the Babylonian language in the Amarna tablets (*circa* 1400 B.C.) show,

[1] [So G. A. Smith, *HG* 5, whilst RDB and Buhl (*Pal.* 42) decline a decision. Moore and E. Meyer (*GA* 176) reject the derivation from כנע, 'humilis *esse*,' which is the property of the uncritical Augustine (*Enarrat.* in Ps. 104 7). Augustine says (*Expos. Ep. ad Rum.*) that the peasants near Hippo, when asked as to their origin, answered in Punic, *Chanani*, id est, *Chananaeos* esse.]

Babylonia had come into close contact with the Phœnician coast and the interior. As a matter of fact, one of the earliest rulers in Southern Babylonia of whom we have any record, Sargon I., whose date is fixed at 3800 B.C., is declared, in a tablet presenting a curious mixture of 'omens' and historical tradition, to have penetrated beyond the western sea (*i.e.*, the Mediterranean), and there are indications that he actually set foot on the island of Cyprus (see Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, **83).** Sargon speaks only in a general way of having proceeded to the 'west' land; but the ideographic designation in the text in question—MARTU—is the same as that which the later Assyrian rulers employ for the territory which includes Canaan in the proper sense. The same compound ideogram is the ordinary term for 'west' in the legal literature of Babylonia; and the suggestion that it is also to be read Amurru—MAR being a playful acrologism of *Amur* and TU, indicating perhaps direction—is plausible. In any case there appears to be some close connection between MAR TU and the name Amurru." The text in which Sargon's western conquests are spoken of is probably of a very much later date than Sargon himself; but the value of the tradition, and at all events of the geographical nomenclature, is unimpaired by this fact. The Amarna

10. In Amarna tablets. tablets, which constitute the remains of Egyptian archives of the fifteenth century B.C., confirm the great antiquity of the term *Amurru*. In 'the letters to their royal master written by officers under Egyptiaa suzerainty, the term is of not infrequent occurrence, and an examination of the passages proves that it is applied, just like the corresponding term in the Egyptian inscriptions. to the mountainous district lying immediately to the east of the coast-land of 'Canaan' in the Egyptian sense—*i.e.*, of Northern Palestine. The eastern limits are again not sharply defined. In the period to which the Amarna tablets belong, the Hittites are beginning to extend their settlements beyond the Orontes; but between 'Hatti' and 'Amor' land there was a district known as *Nuḫašši*, which reached to Damascus. This may, roughly, be regarded as the eastern frontier of the 'Amnrru' district. The agreement between the Egyptian and the Amarna nomenclature extends to the term 'Canaan,' which, under the form Kinaḫḫi, is limited in the Amarna tablets to the northern 'lowland' or sea-coast. It was quite natural that, from being applied to the interior district of Northern Palestine, the term 'Amurru' should come to he employed for the interior of Southern Palestineas well, just as the Egyptians extended the application of 'Canaan' to the entire Palestinian coast. When the Assyrian conquerors in

11. In later Assyrian. the ninth century begin to threaten the Hebrew kingdoms, they include the dominion of the latter under the land of 'Amurru.' The term 'land of Israel' occurs only once in Assyrian inscriptions, and even this passage is not beyond dispute. Again, since the 'Amurru' district in the proper sense was the first territory that the earliest Babylonian and Assyrian conquerors set foot in after crossing'the Orontes, it also happens that the term becomes for them the most general designation for the 'West.' On the other hand, it must be noted that this development in the use of 'Amurru' is directly dne to Babylonian influence, and forms part of the heritage. bequeathed to later times by the period of early Babylonian control over the land lying to the west of the Orontes.

At the comparatively late period when Assyria,

12. Land of Hittites. usurping the place formerly held by Babylonia, begins her conquests, the 'Amoritic' power in Northern Palestine was serionslv threatened by the **HITTITES** (*q.v.*). In extending their settlements beyond the Orontes they encroached upon 'Amoritic' territory. The distinct traces of this westward movement of the Hittites are to be found in the Amarna tablets already mentioned. Indeed, the movement forms the key to the political situation of Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. The Assyrian conquerors accordingly, when proceeding to the West, invariably began their campaigns by a passage of arms with the Hittites. This, taken together with the waning strength of the 'Amorites,' led to another change in the geographical nomenclature—the extension of the term Hatti or Hittite to Northern Palestine as far as the Mediterranean, so as to include, therefore, Phœnicia proper. For Southern Palestine the older designation 'Amurru' held its own, and the differentiation thus resulting between 'Hatti' and 'Amurru' assumed a practical significance which was quite independent of the original application of the two terms.

It will have become evident from this sketch of the early fortunes of Palestine that care must be exercised

13. Ethnographical distinctions. in drawing conclusions from geographical nomenclature. The Hittite power does not extend to the sea-coast because of the extension of the geographical term, and so the ethnographical application of Amoritic cannot be determined from the geographical usage.

That 'Amur' originally designated a particular tribe, or possibly a group of tribes, settled chiefly in the Anti-

14. Amorites. libanus district, is one of the few facts to be deduced from the early Egyptian monuments. These Amorites of Northern Palestine are frequently represented by the Egyptians as a blond people with a cast of countenance that marks them off from what are generally considered to be Semitic traits (see Petrie, *Racial Types from the Egyptian Monuments*). It would be hazardous, in the face of our imperfect knowledge, to enter upon further speculations as to their origin. There are good reasons for

15. Heterogeneous population. believing that already at a very early period the population of Palestine presented a mixture of races, and that through intermarriage the dividing lines between these races became fainter in the course of time, until all sharp distinctions were obliterated. Hence the promiscuous grouping—so characteristic in the Hexateuch—of Amorites with Perizzites, Hivites, Hittites, etc., of northern and southern Palestinians, without any regard to ethnic distinctions. The problem of differentiating between these various groups whom the Hebrews encountered upon settling in Palestine is at present incapable of solution. Future discoveries will probably emphasise still more strongly the heterogeneous character of the tribes. Their unorganised condition

16. Their absorption. made them a comparatively easy prey to conquerors and yet difficult to exterminate. The early Babylonian and Egyptian conquerors were content with a general recognition of their supremacy on the part of the inhabitants. Native Palestinians were retained in control, and all that was demanded was a payment of tribute from time to time. When, however, the Hebrews permanently settled in Southern Palestine. about 1200 B.C., the early inhabitants lost much of their political prestige. In the course of time, also, many of the groups were reduced to a state of subjection, varying in degree, but in all cases, except in the case of the inhabitants of the coast, sufficiently complete to prevent any renewal of former conditions. With the successful establishment of the ***b'ne*** *Israel* in the lands to the west of the Jordan, the history of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants comes to an end in Southern Palestine, except so far as the influence of these Canaanitish groups upon the religious life of the Israelites is involved. The Hittites in the north, of course, survive; but the other groups, including the Amorites, gradually disappear,

1 For a discussion of the subject and a somewhat different view, see Schrader, 'Das land Amurru,' *SBAW* Dec. 20, 1894. Cp also Wi. GZ 1('95), 51-54. An analogy for thus indicating 'westward' by a reference to a land lying to the west is to be found in the OT designation of *Negeb* for 'south.'

either sinking into a position of utter insignificance or amalgamating with the Hebrew tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 15 *f.*; ISRAEL, § 8). The frequent injunctions in the Hexateuch warning the people against intermarriage with these conquered gronps are clear indications that such intermarriages must have been common.

17. Philistines. A new element in the ethnographical environment of Palestine that appears simultaneously with, or shortly before, the invasion of the Hebrews is represented by the Philistines, who, coming (it would appear) from some island or coast-land to the west of Palestine, succeeded as a sturdy seafaring nation in making settlements along the inhospitable southern coast of Palestine. Their non-Semitic character has been quite definitely ascertained; but, once in Palestine, they appear to have exchanged their own language for one of the Semitic dialects spoken in the land to which they came. It is rather curious that these Philistines, who generally lived in hostile relations with the Hebrews, and at various times threatened the existence of the Hebrew settlements, were eventually the people to give their name to a district which they never possessed in its entirety. In the latest Assyrian inscriptions, however, *Pilaštu* still appears in its restricted application to the southern coast-land, and it is not until the days of the Roman conquest that the equation 'Palestine = Philistia + Canaan' becomes established.

18. Historical periods. On the basis of the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions and of the OT, the history of Canaan may be divided into three periods: (*a*) the pre-Israelitish period, from about 3800 B.C. to the definite constitution of the Israelitish confederacy; (*b*) the Israelitish supremacy from *circa* 1100 B.C. to *circa* 740; (c) decline of this supremacy, ending with the absorption of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia 587 B.C. After the return of the Hebrews from the so-called Babylonian exile, the history of the north and south becomes involved in the various attempts to found a universal empire, undertaken in succession by Persia, Macedonia, and Rome.

19. Disunion. The characteristic note in the history of Canaan down to the period of Persian supremacy is the impossibility of any permanent political union among the inhabitants. Even the Hebrews, united by a common tradition and by religion, yield to the inevitable tendency towards political division instead of union. This tendency stands in close relationship to the geographical conditions (see G. A. Sm. *Hist. Geogr.*). The land is split up into coast-land, highland, and valleys; in consequence of which, it presents climatic extremes sufficient to bring about equally sharp contrasts in social conditions. The resulting heterogeneous disposition of the population appears to have rendered united action (except in extreme necessity) impossible even among those sections most closely united by blood and traditions. [For further details regarding these three periods of Canaanitish history see the articles ISRAEL, § 6, HITTITES, PHŒNICIA, PHILISTINES, etc.]

M. J., JR.

CANALS (יְאֹרִים), Ex. 7 19 Nah. 3 8 RV$^{mg.}$ See EGYPT, § 6. The Hebrew word denotes the *arms* or *canals* of the Nile (הַיְאֹר). On artificial water-courses in Palestine see CONDUITS.

CANANÆAN (ὁ κανανaιος [Ti. WH], *cananæus* [Vg.], ܩܢܢܝܐ [Pesh.]), the designation applied to Simon the apostle (Mt. 10 4 Mk. 3 18 RV; mg. 'Zealot'). The word does not mean an inhabitant of Canaan (so AV CANAANITE, based upon TR *κανανιτης*), which in Gr. is usually expressed by *χαναναιος* (χ = כ); nor has it anything to do with Cana. It is a transliteration of קַנְאָנַיָּא, the pl. of קַנְאָן (cp Bib. Heb. קַנָּא), which in Lk. 6 15 Acts 1 13 is represented by the Gr. equivalent *ζηλωτής*, ZEALOT (*q.v.*).

CANDACE (κανδακη [Ti. WH]), queen of the Ethiopians (*Αἰθιόπων*), is incidentally mentioned in Acts 8 27. For the kingdom of Ethiopia which continued to maintain its independence against the Roman emperors, see ETHIOPIA. Its queen was often called Candăcè; this seems, indeed, to have been regarded as an official title, somewhat like 'Pharaoh' (or rather 'Ptolemy'?) in Egypt. The name occurs in hieroglyphics on a ruined pyramid near ancient Meroe: see Lepsins, *Denkmäler*, v. pl. 47 (pyram. 20 of Begerauieh). There, a queen is called *Amen-'aryt* and *K(e)nt(e)ky.*[1] It is difficult to say which of the two or three queens called Candace was buried in that tomb.

1. Strabo (820; see also Dio Cass. **53** 29; 54 *5*) speaks of the one-eyed virago Candace (*τῆς βασιλίσσης . . Κανδάκης, ἣ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἦρξε τῶν Αἰθιόπων, ἀνδρική τις γυνὴ πεπηρωμένη τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*) who in 22 B.C. attacked Egypt, overpowered the three cohorts of Roman soldiers stationed at the first cataract and devastated the Thebaid, but was easily defeated by the legate Petronius, and pursued to her northern capital, Napata, which was destroyed. 2. Pliny (*6* 35) seems to refer the reign of Candace ('regnare fœminam Candacem') to the time when Nero's explorers passed through Nubia; his assertion that the name had become somewhat common among the queens of Meroë ('quod nomen multis jam annis ad reginas transiit') is usually pushed much too far against the monumental evidence.

The Ethiopian officer of Acts 8 cannot well have had any connection with the Candace of Strabo; but his mistress may not improbably have been the contemporary of Nero.

Nero's explorers reported the southern capital as in ruins, in consequence of internal wars between the Ethiopians; most likely, the royal residence had already been shifted S. to Wādy-es-Sofra and Soba, where ruined palaces and temples of the latest style have been found, hut the kingdom appears still to have taken its name from the capital Meroe where the kings were, at least, buried.

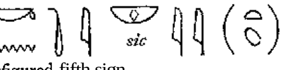
For the condition of the Meroitic kingdom at that time and the part played by the queens (or rather kings' mothers), see ETHIOPIA.

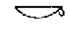
W. M. M.

CANDLE (נֵר; λυχνος), Job 18 6 Mt. 5 15 etc.; cp below, and see LAMP.

CANDLESTICK, the EV rendering of (1) *m^e nōrāh* מְנוֹרָה Ex. 25 31 etc. (λυχνια), the well-known candelabrum of the temple, and (2) Aram. *nebraštā* נֶבְרַשְׁתָּא (deriv. uncert.), Dan. 5 5 (λαμπας [Theod.], φως [𝔊]), to the former of which the present article will confine itself, leaving to the articles LAMP and TEMPLE further remarks upon the use of lights in temples or shrines, and of lights (and 'candlesticks' or rather 'lampstands') for secular purposes.

1. Not pre-exilic. There is no critical evidence to support the supposition that the temple candelabrum described by P in Ex. 25 31 *ff.* 37 17 *ff.* existed before the Exile. On the contrary, an old passage 1 S. 3 3 (written, perhaps, at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. [Bu., *SBOT;* cp SAMUEL, i. § 3 (*a*)]) speaks only of a 'lamp' (נֵר) which seems to have burnt from night-fall until the approach of dawn. Solomon, it is true, is said to have had ten golden *m^e nōrōth* in his temple, five on either side (1 K. 7 49 *ff.*);[2] but they are not mentioned in 2 K. 25 13-17 (in the ∥ Jer. 52 19 their introduction is due to a glossator), nor do we find any trace of them in the temple described by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40 *ff.*), or in the restoration of temple-treasures by Cyrus (Ezra 1 6 *f.*).[3] These facts, as well as internal evidence, support Stade's conclusion that the passage in 1 K. is an interpolation (*ZATW* 3 168 *ff.* ['83], *GVI* 1 230; cp Now. *HA* 2 40 n. 2, and Benz. *ad loc.*). The

1 

; read  for the disfigured fifth sign.

2 Apart from the instruments used in tending this candlestick and the lamps themselves. mention is made only of the 'flowers' (פֶּרַח, 𝔊 in Ki. *λαμπαδ[ε]ια* [in Zech. 4 2 = גֻּלָּהּ, 'bowl'], in 2 Ch. 4 21 *λαβίδες* [*i.e.*, מֶלְקָחַיִם, 'tongs']).

3 Unmentioned also in 2 Macc. 2 5 and the Apoc. of Baruch 6 7 *ff.*

ten candlesticks of the temple of Solomon have probably been evolved from the imagination of a later scribe, who seems to have adopted the number ten to agree with the ten 'bases' (מְכֹנוֹת); cp 1 K. 7 39. Obviously it is no real objection to our view of the critical value of 1 K. 7 49 that the Chronicler mentions candlesticks of gold and silver among David's gifts to Solomon in 1 Ch. 28 15. That this verse in its present form has suffered amplification appears from a comparison with 𝔊.

Tradition held that these ten candlesticks (Jos. augments the number to 10,000! *[Ant.* viii. 3 7]) either were already present along with the Mosaic candelabrum, or were exact copies of it (cp 2 Ch. 4 7, כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם). Naturally Solomon's great wealth was considered a sufficient explanation of the otherwise curious fact that, whereas he employed ten candlesticks, the Mosaic tabernacle and the second temple were content with one. *Bammidbar Rabba*, 15, adds that the candlestick was one of the five things taken away and preserved at the destruction of Solomon's temple.

The candlestick of gold, called also the 'pure candlestick' (Lev. 24 4), is described at length by P in Ex. 25 31 *ff.* (= 37 17 *ff.*). It was placed outside the veil, in front of the table of shewbread (see the Vg. addition to Nu. 8 2). The *m^e nōrāh* comprised the יָרֵךְ (AV shaft),[1] קָנֶה (branch, καλαμίσκος), גָּבִיעַ (AV bowl, RV cup, κρατήρ, *scyphus*), כַּפְתּוֹר (knop, σφαιρωτήρ; Targ. Pesh. 'apple'),[2] and פֶּרַח (flowers, κρίνον [similarly Targ. Pesh. Vg. 'lily']), perhaps collectively 'ornamentation.' The workmanship was @??, 'beaten-work' or repoussé (so @ τορευτός; but στερεός in Nu. 8 4 Ex. 37 14 [17]; Jos., on the other hand, has κεχωνευμένος, 'cast'). From an upright shaft three arms projected on either side. Each branch comprised three cups described as מְשֻׁקָּדִים, 'shaped like [or ornamented with] almonds' (ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυίσκους —see ALMOND), together with *kaftōr* and *pérah*. Under each pair of branches was a *kaftōr* (Ex. 25 35), and four sets of *kaftōr* and *pérah* were to be found 'in the candlestick' (בַּמְּנֹרָה, *i.e.*, on the shaft, *v.* 34). These four may have included the three of *v.* 35, in which case the fourth was between the base and the lowest pair, or near the summit. Possibly, however, the four sets came between the topmost pair of branches and the summit (cp the illustration in Reland *De Spoliis Templi*, facing p. 35). The centre shaft in Zechariah's vision was surmounted by a bowl (4 2 גֻּלָּה λαμπάδιον).

2. Description.

From Jos. *(Ant.* iii. 6 7) we learn that the candelabrum was hollow, and comprised σφαιρία, κρίνα with ῥοίσκοι and κρατηρίδια, seventy ornaments in all.[3] It ended in seven heads 'κατάλληλαι,' and was situated obliquely (λοξῶς) before the table of shewbread, and thus looked E. and S. 𝔊's version of Ex. 37 17 *ff.* (differing widely from the present MT) supplies the interesting statement that from the branches (καλαμίσκοι) there proceeded three sprouts (βλαστοί) on either side 'ἐξισούμενοι ἀλλήλοις. Rabbinical tradition (cp Talm. *Menach.* 28*b*, Abarbanel, Rashi, etc., on Ex. *l.c.*) maintained that the candelabrum stood three ells in height and measured two ells between the outer lights; and that it stood upon a tripod (Maimonides · cp Crenius *Opusc.* fasc. vi. 22 *f.*). The seven lamps were provided with pure olive oil (Ex. 27 20 *f.*), and for the general service were supplied 'tongs' (מֶלְקָחַיִם), 'snuff dishes' (מַחְתּוֹת), and various 'oil vessels' (כְּלֵי שֶׁמֶן).[1] The lamps were to be tended daily (Ex. 30 7 *f.*); but tradition varied as to how many were kept lit at one time.[2] The light was never allowed to be extinguished, and tradition relates that the approaching fall of the temple was prognosticated by the sudden occurence of this mishap (Talm. *Yoma*, 39*b*); cp the lament in 4 Esd. 10 22 (written after the fall of Jerusalem), *lumen candelabri nostri extinctum est.*

It was forbidden to reproduce the candlesticks exactly (cp Onias and the temple of Leontopolis, *BJ* vii. 10 3); but this law could be evaded by making them with five, six, or even eight arms (*Ab. Zara*, 43*a*).[3]

The holy candelabrum is referred to comparatively seldom in subsequent writings.[4] It forms the motive in Zechariah's vision (Zech. 4, cp Rev. 11 4).

3. History. In B.C. 170 Antiochus Epiphanes carried it off along with the golden altar etc. (1 Macc. 1 21, ἡ λυχνία τοῦ φωτός [Aℵ], om. V); but a fresh one (tradition relates that it was of inferior material) was reconstructed by Judas after the purification of the temple (164 B.C., 1 Macc. 4 49). Jesus the son of Sirach employs the λύχνος ἐκλάμπων ἐπὶ λυχνίας ἁγίας as a simile for beauty in ripe old age (Ecclus. 26 17). The same is doubtless the λυχνία ἱερά seen by Pompey *(Ant.* xiv. 4 4), which, with its seven λύχνοι, was one of the three famous objects in the temple of Herod (*BJ* v. 5 5). Its fate at the fall of Jerusalem is well known. The holy candelabrum, or, more probably, a copy of it, was carried in the triumph of Titus (*BJ* vii. 5 5), and was depicted upon the famous arch which bears his name. Vespasian deposited it in the temple of Peace, and after various vicissitudes (see Smith, *DB*(2), *s.v.*) it was placed in the Christian church at Jerusalem (533 A.D.). All trace of it has since been lost. Possibly it was destroyed or carried off by Chosroes II. of Persia, when, in 614, he took and pillaged Jerusalem (see Levesque in Vigouroux, *DB*, *s.v.*).

Curiously enough, Josephus, in his account of the triumph of Titus, states that the workmanship (ἔργον) of the candlestick was not the same as that which had been in the temple.[5] As was the case with other objects in the triumph, it was probably constructed from the descriptions of the captives; besides, such conventional candlesticks were not unknown at that time.[6] The griffin-like figures depicted upon the base of the candelabrum may be possibly ascribed to the artist; so far as can be judged, they do not resemble the mythical symbols from Palestine or Assyria. Consequently, in endeavouring to gain an idea of the original seven-branched candlestick, one must not adhere too strictly to the representation upon the Arch of Titus.

The language employed to describe the sacred *m^e nōrāh* shows that it must have closely resembled a tree.[7] Seven-branched trees are frequently met with in sculptures, etc., from the E,[8] and, as Robertson Smith observes, 'in most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon' (*RS*(2) 488). Since it is only natural to look for traces of Assyrian or

1 יָרֵךְ (Ex. 25 31 37 17 Nu. 8 4) is difficult. RV renders 'base'; so Pesh. (ܟܣܡܣܐ [*i.e.*, βάσις], ܝܪܟܐ); but AV finds support in 𝔊 Vg. (καυλός, *hastile*, *stipes*, and in Ex. 37 17 20 *vectis* [used also of the בַּדִּים 'staves' for carrying the ark]). ירך when used of inanimate objects denotes the 'flank' (cp Ex. 40 22 24 Lev. 1 11 Nu. 3 29 35 2 K. 16 14). The specific mention of the 'base' of the candlestick accordingly seems uncertain, unless perhaps we should read כִּיֹּר, 'stand,' 'base' (cp 2 Ch. 6 13), instead of ירך. On the other hand, the candlestick may have had originally no base (cp above, § 4).

2 Perhaps a pear-shaped ornament: cp Syr. ܟܘܡܬܪܐ and see *BDB*, *s.v.*

3 It is difficult to see how he obtains this number. Six branches each with 3 sets of *gebīa'*, *kaftōr*, and *perah* (32 *f.*), including the shaft with 4 similar sets (*v.* 34) and the 3 *kaftōrīm* (*v.* 35), amount to 69 (54+12+3). Perhaps to this we must add the figure at the summit of the central shaft (possibly ornamented in a different manner). The artist in a Hebrew MS of the first half of the thirteenth century (Brit. Mus., Harley, 5710, fol. 136 *a*), following a different interpretation of Ex. 25 33, assigns only one *perah* and *kaftōr* to each branch, including the shaft. Each of the seven branches has 3 *gebī îm*, and at the extremity a lamp (נֵר). Below the *kaftōr* joining the lowest pair of branches the artist has drawn (reckoning downwards) a *perah*, a *kaftōr*, and a *gebīa'*.

1 Zech. 4 12 mentions also צַנְתְּרוֹת, 'pipes,' for conveying the oil (μυξωτῆρες).

2 Cp Ex. 27 20 *f.* 2 Ch. 13 11 and Jos. *Ant.* iii. 8 3. Rabbinical tradition held that only *one* was lit by day. This, it has been suggested, was the lamp upon the central shaft (called מערבי *73).*

3 Thus, *e.g.*, in the Feast of Tabernacles (see *Succah* 5 2).

4 The evidence for the existence of more than one in post-exilic times rests only upon Jos. *BJ* vi. 8 3. With *Ant.* xii. 5 4 (1 Macc. 1 21) contrast *ib.* 7 6.

5 *BJ* vii. 5 5 [ed. Niese]. The passage is not free from obscurity. Noteworthy is the remark that slender arms (καυλίσκοι) resembling the form of a trident were drawn forth. (See § 4.)

6 Cp their use as symbols in Rev. 1 12 *f.* 2 1 *ff.* 4 5.

7 Cp similarly the candelabrum in the temple of the Palatine Apollo (Pliny, 34 8).

8 A seven-branched palm upon a coin of the Maccabees; see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 71, n. 7.

Babylonian influence in the second temple, it is not improbable that the *m^e^nōrāh* was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree itself, possibly indeed the tree of life.[1] The six arms, instead of coming up and forming a straight line with the top of the central shaft, probably tapered off, the extremities of each pair being lower than those of the pair above it, thus presenting more accurately the outline of a tree. Examples of candelabra with the arms thus arranged are not unknown.[2]

It is not impossible that the *Ethrog* and *Lulab* ('citron' and 'palm-branch'; cp APPLE, § 2 [3]) of the Feast of Tabernacles (wherein candlesticks played so important a part) are to be connected also with this sacred seven-branched tree, from which, it has been suggested, the *m^e^nōrāh* has been evolved. The specific tree represented was one which, for various reasons, was considered the most unique and valuable. The choice may have depended more strictly upon the belief that it was supposed to represent the tree of temptation in the Paradise myth (so at all events in Christian times; cp Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, 80).

See Reland, De *Spoliis Templi*; H. Opitz, *Disquisitio . . . de candelabri . . . structura* (1708); Reinach, *L'Arc* de *Titus* (Paris, 1890); and Vigouroux, *DB*, *s.v.* 'Chandelier,' with the literature there quoted. S. A. C.

CANE, SWEET (קָנֶה), Is. 43 24 Jer. 6 20. See REED, 1 (*b*).

CANKERWORM (יֶלֶק; ΒΡΟΥΧΟϹ or ΑΚΡΙϹ), Ps. 105 34 Jer. 51 14 27 Joel 1 4 [twice], 2 25 Nah. 3 15 16†; in Ps. and Jer. AV has CATERPILLER. The Hebrew *yelek* is usually regarded as denoting a young stage in the history of the locust; but this seems doubtful. See LOCUST, § 2, n. 6.

CANNER (כַּנֵּה), Ezek. 27 23, MT, usually taken for the name of a place in Mesopotamia with which Tyre had commercial dealings, and identified with Calneh (see Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*(2), 1256). Cornill even reads 'Calneh' (כלנה), appealing to a single Heb. MS which reads thus, and to variants of 𝔊—viz., χαλλαν [ΑΘ], χαλκαλ [V]. But the name is really non-existent; the words rendered 'and Canneh and Eden' should rather be 'and the sons of Eden.'

Everywhere else we read either of Beth-Eden or of B'ne Eden; it is not probable that there is an exception here. The χαναα [B], or χανααν [AQ] of 𝔊, is not כננה, hut כנע or כנען, where y or ען is a relic of ערן, and כן a corruption of בני. Most MSS of 𝔊 give only two names, and the second name is not Canneh (as Smith's *DB*(2)), hut a corruption of B'ne Eden. The discovery (for such it seems to be) is due *to* Mez (*Gesch. der Stadt Harrān*, 1892, p. 34). T. K. C.

CANON

INTRODUCTION: THE IDEA OF A CANON (§§ 1-4).

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

The word canon is Greek; its application to the Bible belongs to Christian times; the idea originates in Judaism.

1. Greek terms. The Greek (6) κανών (allied to κάννα, κάνη, 'a reed'; borrowed from the Semitic; Heb. קָנֶה) means a straight rod or pole, a rod used for measuring, a carpenter's rule; and, by metonymy, a rule, norm, or law; a still later meaning is that of catalogue or list.

As applied to the books of Scripture κανών is first met with in the second half of the fourth century: thus, βιβλία κανονικά (as opposed to ἀκανόνιστα) in can. 59 of the Council of Laodicea (*circa* 360 A.D.), and β. κανονιζόμενα in Athanasius (ep. *fest.* 39; 365 A.D.); κανών for the whole collection is still later. The original

2. Usage. signification is still a question. Did the term mean (*a*) the books constituted into a standard; or (*b*) the books corresponding to the standard (*i.e.* of the faith; cp κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, κ. τῆς ἀληθείας, κ. τῆς πίστεως) and measured by it (cp κανονίσαι in Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, *circa* 200 A.D., in Holtzmann, p. 115 *f.*), or perhaps underlying it; or (c) the books taken up into the authoritative catalogue or into the normal number? The subject is discussed with full references to the literature in Holtzmann, pp. 142 *ff.* It is not improbable that the word passed through various phases of meaning in course of time.

The idea involved is clearly fixed; θεόπνευσται γραφαί (Amphilochius, *ob.* 395), πιστευθέντα θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία (Athanasius, *ut* sup.) are expressions concurrently used to convey the same meaning. It was, as we saw above, a loan from Judaism, and within the Christian domain originally applied only to the sacred books of the synagogue—the OT. *So* already in the NT itself (2 Tim. 3 16). The doctrine of the synagogue was that all the writings included in its canon had their origin in divine inspiration, and that it was God who spoke in them (Weber, § 20 1). This canon, with the doctrine attached to it, passed over to the Christian church and became its sole sacred book,[1] until new writings of Christian origin came to be added, and the Jewish canon, as the Old Testament, was distinguished from the New.

The composite expression 'canonical books' has an analogue in the usage of the synagogue. From the first

3. Hebrew terms. century A.D. such books are designated מְטַמְּאִים אֶת הַיָּדַיִם ('that defile the hands':[2] *Yadayim* 3 2 4 5[3] 4 5 6; cp *Eduyoth* 5 3, and

[1] Perhaps originally a symbol of the universe—the tree of life being viewed as distinct in its origin from the sacred mountain of Elōhīm with which in a later myth it was combined. (Cp JACHIN and BOAZ.) It is noteworthy that a seven-branched palm is represented by the side of an altar on an old Greek vase (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. 155, fig. 3).

[2] Cp *PEF Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 154, the representation upon an amethyst reproduced in Reland, De *Spol.*, facing p. 35, also *ib.* facing p. 42. The older form may in time have tended to approach the conventional form represented upon the arch of Titus, which agrees with later Jewish tradition. This form, resembling a trident in its outline, is especially noted by Jos. as a novelty (*BJ* vii. 5 5). For illustrations of the latter variety see Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chrét.* ('77) 113; the plates in Calmet's Dictionary; and one at Ṭabarīyeh (Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Jud.* 1 250).

[1] But see also below, §§ 57-59. [2] See below, § 40. [3] See below, § 53.

Weber, § 21 1). Of this surprising expression still more surprising explanations have been offered.

Thus (*a*) Buhl still prefers that drawn from *Yadayim*, 4 5 6, according to which the designation was intended to prevent profane uses of worn-out synagogue rolls. (*b*) Weber, Strack, C. H. H. Wright and Wildeboer adopt that suggested by *Shabbath* 13*b*, 14*a*. According to this the object was to secure that, as unclean, the sacred writings should always be kept apart, and thus kept from harm such as might arise, *e.g.*, if they were kept near consecrated corn, and so exposed to attack from mice. (*c*) A. Geiger (*Hinterlassene Schriften*, 4 14) actually maintains that only such rolls as had been written on the skins of unclean beasts were intended to be declared unclean.

All such explanations are disposed of by *Yadayim* 3 4, where there is a special discussion of the question whether the unwritten margins and outer coverings of sacred rolls defile the hands. Under none of the above explanations could any such question as this possibly arise. The fact that defilement only of *the hands* is attributed to the sacred writings demands more attention than it has hitherto received.

4. Sanctity. Interpreted in positive terms this can mean only that *contact with them involves a ceremonial washing of the hands*, especially as the ruling in the matter occurs in that Mishna treatise which relates to, and is named from, such hand-washings. The expression would be an unnatural one if it implied a command that the hands should be washed *before* touching (so Fürst, p. 83). As enjoining washing *after* contact it is quite intelligible. The Pharisees (under protest from the Sadducees; cp *Yad.* 4 6) attributed to the sacred writings a sanctity of such a sort that whosoever touched them was not allowed to touch aught else, until he had undergone the same ritual ablution as if he had touched something unclean.[1] The same precept, according to the stricter view, applied to the prayer ribbands on the *tephillîm* (*Yad.* 3 3; see FRONTLETS, end). To this defilement of the hands the correlative idea is that of holiness;[2] both qualities are attributed together, but only to a very limited number of writings, namely the canonical (cp *Yad.* 3 5). See also CLEAN, § 3.

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

I. EXTENT AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE OT CANON.—The extent of the OT canon, so far as the synagogue is concerned, is exactly what we find in our Hebrew printed texts and in the Protestant translations. The original reckoning of the synagogue, however, does not regard the books as thirty-nine.

5. No. of 'books.' The twelve minor prophets count as one book called 'the twelve,' שנים עשר (so already in *Baba Bathra*, 14*b*, 15*a* text), *Dodekapropheton;* so also Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; whilst Ezra and Nehemiah form one book of Ezra. Thus 11 + 3 + 1 = 15 have to be deducted from our 39, leaving only 24.[3] See § 11 *ff.*

The twenty-four canonical books fall into three main divisions: תורה (the law) with five books, נביאים (the prophets) with eight, and כתובים (the writings, Hagiographa) with eleven.[4]

6. Classification. The prophets consist of four historical books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) and four prophetical (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor). Since the Massoretic period (cp Strack, *PRE*(2) 7 439) the first group has borne the name of נביאים ראשונים ('former prophets') to distinguish it from the second, נביאים אחרונים ('latter prophets'). Among the Hagiographa a distinct group is formed by the five (festal) 'rolls'—חמש מגלות—printed in modern impressions in the order of the feasts at which they are read in the synagogue: Canticles (Passover), Ruth (Pentecost), Lamentations (9th Ab, Destruction of Jerusalem), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), Esther (Purim). Only once (in the *Baraytha*[1] *Berachoth*, 57*b*) do we find the three larger poetical books—Psalms, Proverbs, and Job—grouped together as כתובים גדולים, and the three smaller—Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations—as כתובים קטנים. Finally, Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles close the list.

Compass and threefold division of the canon are already taken as fully settled in a very old and authoritative passage in the tradition of the synagogue, viz. the *Baraytha Baba Bathra*, 14*b* 15*a*; but as to the order of the books within their several divisions the same passage gives a decision for the first time.

7. Uncertain order. The explanation of this is that in the oldest times the sacred writings were not copied into continuous codices. Each book had a separate roll to itself.[2] Accordingly, in the preceding Baraytha (*Baba Bathra*, 13*b*), we find the question started whether it be permissible to write the entire Holy Scriptures, or even the eight prophets, on a single roll. On the strength of some precedent or other the question is answered in the affirmative; and this leads up to the further question as to the order in which the single books in the second and the third divisions ought to be written. This plainly shows that there was as yet on the subject no fixed tradition, and therefore too great importance ought not to be attached either to the Mishnic determination of the question or to the departure from Mishnic usage which we meet with.[3] Both, however, are worthy of attention.

The order of the prophets proper, according to our passage, ought to be: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the twelve. The position of Isaiah seems to have struck even the teachers of the Gemara as remarkable, and is explained by them in a fanciful way.

8. Prophets. The Massora gives Isaiah the first place, and in this it is followed by the MSS of Spanish origin (as by the printed texts), while the German and French MSS adhere to the Talmudic order. Just because of its departure from strict chronology, we are justified in assuming that the Talmudic order rests on old and good tradition. We may safely venture, therefore, to make use of it in the attempt to answer the question of the origin not only of the individual books but also of the canon.

For the first books of the Hagiographa, the order given in our printed texts—Psalms, Proverbs, Job—which is that of the German and French MSS, gives place in our passage to this order: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs.

9. Hagiographa. Supposing this to be the original place of the Book of Ruth, we might account for its later change of position by a desire to group together the five festal rolls. This explanation, however, is impossible for the reason that the Massora and the Spanish MSS put Chronicles instead of Ruth in the first place and before the Psalter. Of course, the same purpose is served by either arrangement: each of them prefixes to the (Davidic) Psalter a book which helps to explain it. The Book of Ruth performs this service inasmuch as it concludes with David's genealogical tree and closes with his name; and the Book of Chronicles does so in a still higher degree, inasmuch as, in addition to the genealogy (1 Ch. 2 9 *ff.*), it gives an account of David's life, particularly of his elaborate directions for the temple service and temple music. Thus the claim of the Psalter to the first place

[1] See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 161, 452. He well adds that the high priest on the Day of Atonement washed his flesh with water, not only when he put on the holy garments of the day, but also when he put them off (Lev. 16 24; *Yoma*, 7 4).

[2] With this corresponds the Mishnic name of the canon כתבי הקדש, while the names הספר, ספרים tacitly supplement the idea of holiness. To these exactly answer the NT expressions γραφαὶ ἅγιαι, ἱερὰ γράμματα, ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί. For other names see below and for fuller details cp Strack, 438 *f.*

3 Hence a very common old name for the collection, still frequently in use: 'the twenty-four books,' עשרים וארבעה ספרים, written also כ״ד ספרים.

4 Hence the old collective title תורה נביאים וכתובים with its Massoretic contraction תנ״ך.

1 Baraytha (בָּרַיְתָא) is a Mishna tradition which has not been taken into the canon of the Mishna, but comes from the same period (about 200 A.D.). On the very important passage referred to cp Marx, *Traditio etc.*

[2] The Law was an exception; its five books as a rule constituted but one roll, although the five fifths (חומשין) were to be met with also separately (cp *Megilla*, 27*a*).

3 Cp the excellent synoptic table in Ryle (*Canon of OT*, 281).

is only confirmed by both variations (that of the Talmud and that of the Massora) from the usual order.[1] On the other hand, the Massora and the Spanish MSS support the order, Psalms, Job, Proverbs (Job before Proverbs), which therefore must be held *to* be the older arrangement, the other being explained by the desire to make Solomon come immediately after David.

The arrangement of the five "rolls" in the order of their feasts is supported only by the German and the French MSS. The Massora and the Spanish MSS have—Ruth, Cant. Eccl. Lam. Esth., whilst *Baba Bathra*, after transposing Ruth in the manner we have seen, gives the order—Eccl. Cant. Lam., then introduces Daniel, and closes the list with Esther. We may venture to infer from this (1) that the arrangement of the Megillōth in the order of their feasts in the ecclesiastical year is late and artificial; (2) that about the year 200 A.D. they had not even been constituted a definite group; (3) that the inversion of the order of Daniel and Esther, and the removal of Ruth from the head of the list, were probably designed to effect this, the position of Daniel before Esther having thus a claim to be regarded as the older;[2] and (4) that the original position of the Book of Ruth is quite uncertain, because the first place among the rolls may have been assigned to it by the Massora simply because it had been deposed from the first place among the Hagiographa. We may, further, regard it as probable that Proverbs was originally connected, as in *Bada B.*, with the other Solomonic writings. Finally, it may be taken as perfectly certain that Ezra and Chronicles closed the list.[3]

10. The LXX. The definition, division, and arrangement of books as given above, which rests on real tradition, and must constitute the basis for our subsequent investigations, is violently at variance with that of the LXX. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the differences here, for, as compared with the canon of the synagogue, that of the LXX represents only a secondary stage in the development.

(1) The arrangement of the LXX is apparently intended to be based on the contents of the books. The poetical books are, on the whole, regarded as didactic in character, the Prophets proper as mainly predictive, whilst the Law leads up to the historical books and is closely connected with the Former Prophets. As the Prophets are placed at the end, the progress of the collection is normal—from the past (historical books) to the present (didactic books) and the future (boobs of prophecy).

Certain, however, of the miscellaneous collection which forms the Hagiographa—those, namely that are historical—are transferred to the first division, where a place is assigned them on chronological principles. Ruth (cp 11) is inserted immediately after Judges, whilst Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther are appended at the end. Lamentations, on the other hand, regarded as the work of Jeremiah (cp 2 Ch. 35 25 and the opening words of the book in 𝔊), is transferred to the third division (prophetic hooks) and appended to Jeremiah; whilst Daniel closes the entire collection. Lastly, Job, regarded as a purely historical hook,[4] serves to effect the transition from the historical to the didactic writings. Of the prophetical hooks, the Dodecapropheton heads the list (in a somewhat varying order of the individual hooks), presumably on account nf the higher antiquity of the writings which open it.

(2) Samuel and Kings together are divided into four books of Kings. Chronicles is divided into two books, as is also (subsequently) Ezra. (3) In varying degrees new writings unknown *to* the Hebrew canon are interpolated.

[1] Cp also 2 Macc. 2 13 *f.*; Lk. 2444.

[2] This is supported by Jerome in *Prol. Gal.* (cp the text in Ryle, 287 *ff.*). Other variations, it is true, occur in the same author.

[3] It should be added that the MSS show the utmost irregularity in their arrangement of the Hagiographa, cp Ryle, *Excursus* C, 281 *f.*, and, for some important details, A. Rahlfs, 'Alter u. Heimat der vaticanischen Bibelhandschrift,' *GGN*, 1899, Heft 1 (Philol.-hist. Klasse).

[4] There is, however, considerable vacillation as to its position. For other variations, which are very numerous, cp Ryle, 213 *ff.*, and the table appended to 281.

11. Ruth and Lam. The very various arrangements of the Hebrew canon which have been adopted in the Christian Church can all be traced back to the LXX, with more or less far-reaching corrections based on the canon of the synagogue. Among all the divergences of the LXX from the synagogue arrangement, there is only one concerning which it is worth while considering whether it may not possibly represent the original state of things as against the synagogue tradition: Ruth is made to follow Judges, and Lamentations Jeremiah. If the actual state of the case be that these two books ranked originally among the prophets, but were afterwards transferred to the Hagiographa, the historical value of the threefold division of the canon is very largely impaired. Now, this order of the books is supported by the oft-recurring reckoning of twenty-two books instead of twenty-four (cp above, § 2), a reckoning which can be explained only on the assnmption that Ruth and Lamentations were not

12. Josephus. counted separately, being regarded as internal parts of Judges and Jeremiah. Our sole Jewish witness to this is Josephus (c. *Ap.* i. 8; *circa* 100 A.D.). He gives the total as twenty-two, made out as follows: Moses, 5; Prophets after Moses, 13; hymns to God and precepts for men, 4. The last-named category doubtless means the Psalms and the three Solomonic writings. Thus Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles, and even Job, are, as historical books, reckoned with the prophets, and Ruth and Lamentations are not counted at all—that is to say, they are included in Judges and Jeremiah.[1] Here clearly a compromise has been struck between the threefold division of the synagogue, which places the prophets in the intermediate position, and the division of the Alexandrians, which arranges the books according *to* subjects. The Alexandrian canon is obviously in view also in the pointed addition [βιβλία] τὰ δικαίως πεπιστευμένα,[2] by which the books not contained in the canon of the synagogue are excluded. We may conclude, therefore, that also the reason why Ruth and Lamentations are not reckoned as separate books is that the LXX is followed; and thus we have no fresh testimony here. There is a further remark to be made. That the seven books just mentioned should be removed from the prophetic canon,'if they once were there, to a place among the Hagiographa[3] could be explained only by a desire to have the festal rolls beside one another. In the oldest tradition, however, there was no such group of rolls (see above, § 9).

13. Origin of No. 22. The supposed motive, therefore, could not have been operative. On the other hand, the number twenty-two has an artificial and external motive, not indicated by Josephus, but mentioned by all the Church fathers from Origen downwards:[4] there is thus one book for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. This childish fancy is carried to an extreme point when the books are reckoned as twenty-seven (an alternative which is offered by Epiphanius and Jerome) to do justice *to* the five final letters also: the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra are divided, the fifth being supplied in Epiphanius by Judges *and* Ruth, in Jerome by Jeremiah *and* Lamentations. That this is mere arbitrary trifling is obvious.

14. Jerome, etc. On the other hand Jerome gives also the number twenty-four (*Prol. Gal.*), cautiously describing it as a reckoning accepted by 'nonnulli,' Ruth and Lamentations thus being

[1] For various blundering attempts to put another meaning on the canon of Josephus, cp Strack, 428, Ryle, 166. Briggs (see *op. cit.* below, § 75, p. 127 *f.*) inclines to the opinion that Josephus did not recognise as canonical the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. See, on this point, below, § 52 *ff.*

[2] The word θεῖα after δικαίως is disallowed by Niese as an interpolation.

[3] A thing improbable in itself, as implying a degradation. See below, § 43.

[4] Cp the passages in Ryle, 221, and still more exhaustively in Strack, 435 *ff.*

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counted among the Hagiographa. A symbolical sense, based on Rev. 4 4 10. is found for this number also. In the Prologue to Daniel, however, Jerome adopts 24 as *the only* reckoning : he counts 5, 8, and 11 books to each of the divisions respectively, though he does not mention the total, Support is given to the *Baraytha Baba B.* 146, 15*a* in like manner by the contemporary testimony of *Berachoth* 576, which quotes Cant. Eccl. and Lam. as 'writings,' and by the Targum of Jonathan on the prophets, where Ruth and Lam. are wanting. Finally, our oldest witness—4th Esdras, probably written under Domitian (85-96 A.D.), and therefore contemporary with Josephus — represents Ezra as writing at the divine command 94 books (chap. 14)—*i.e.*, after deduction of the 70 esoteric books, the 24 books of the canon.[1]

The number twenty-two, therefore, certainly comes from a Jewish source; but it is a mere play of fancy. The original place of Ruth and Lamentations, accordingly, was in the third part of the canon.

II. TRADITION RELATING TO THE CLOSE OF THE CANON.—Even had there been a binding decision of a qualified body by which the number of books (twenty-four) was declared to be canonical and all other books were excluded from the canon, there could hardly have been any tradition of it.

15. No canonization.

According to the idea of the meaning and origin of canonicity entertained by the synagogue (the sole custodian of tradition), and inherited from it by the Christian Church, canonicity depends on inspiration, and this attribute each of the twenty-four books brought with it into the world quite independently of any ruling, and in a manner that unmistakably distinguished it from every other writing. The growth of the canon was represented as being like that of a plant; it began with the appearance of the first inspired book, and closed with the completion of the last. The question accordingly was simply this: When was the latest canonical book composed? or, if this admits of being answered, Who was its human author?

16. Baba Bathra.

To this question the tradition of the synagogue actually offers an answer,—in the same *Baraytha Baba Bathra* 14*b* 15*a* in which the order of the Prophets and the Writings is determined. The passage proceeds thus :—'And who wrote them?'—and names the writers of the several books in exact chronological sequence. The last of them is Ezra. With him, therefore (*i.e.*, according to traditional chronology, about 444 B.C.), the canon closed.[2]

One can easily understand that, once Ezra had been named as the latest author of any biblical book, men did not remain content with the assertion (quite correct, if we admit its premises) which attributed to him the closing of the canon merely *de facto*, without deliberate act or purpose. Rather did each succeeding age, according to its lights, attribute to him (or to his time) whatever kind of intervention it conceived to be necessary in order to secure for the canon a regular and orderly closing.

17. 4 Esdras.

The oldest form of this kind of tradition, so far as known to us, goes back earlier by a whole century than the tradition of the synagogue. It is to be found in the passage of 4 Esdras (chap. 14) that has been referred to already.[3] Ezra (*v.* 18 *ff.*) prays God to grant him by his Holy Spirit that he may again write out the books here called 'the law,' *torah*, in which perhaps lingers a trace of an older form of tradition) which had been burnt (with the temple, one understands). God bids him take to himself five companions, and in forty days and nights he dictates to them ninety-four books (see above, § 14), of which seventy are esoteric writings, and the remaining twenty-four are the canon of the OT. Of this legend no further trace has hitherto been found in the remains of Jewish literature;[1] but within the Christian Church it shows itself as early as the time of Irenæus, frequently recurs in certain of the fathers (so Tertullian, Clem. Al., Orig., Euseb., Jerome, etc.), and is prevalent throughout the scholastic period, although there it is weakened by references to the powers of ordinary human memory.

The period of the humanists and of the reformation extinguished this as well as many other legends;[2] but if the old legend disappeared, it was only to make way for a modern one, not mystic but rationalistic in character.

18. 'The Great Synagogue.'

This latter obtained credence through Elias Levita (*ob.* 1549), who says[3] that Ezra *and the men of the great synagogue* (אנשי כנסת הגדולה), among other things, had united in one volume the twenty-four books (which until then had circulated separately) and had classified them into the three divisions above mentioned, determining also the order of the Prophets and the Writings (differently, it is true, from the Talmudic doctors in *Baba Bathra*). This assertion satisfied the craving of the times for a duly constituted body, proceeding in a deliberate manner. Accordingly the statement of Elias Levita, especially after it had been homologated by J. Buxtorf the elder in his *Tiberias* (1620), became the authoritative doctrine of the orthodoxy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To it were added, as self-evident, though Levita said nothing of them, the authoritative *decree* (Hottinger), and the *separation* of the non-canonical writings (*so* already Buxtorf, and after him Leusden and Carpzov).[4]

It is vain to seek for the tradition on which Elias Levita based his representation. The Talmud, which says a great deal about 'the men of the great synagogue,' has not a word to say about this action of theirs with reference to the whole body of Scripture. The mediaeval Rabbins also touch on the matter but lightly. We conclude therefore that, to suit the needs of his time, Levita merely inferred such an action from the existence of the body in question.[5]

The evidence for the very existence of a body of the kind required, however, is extremely slender.

19. Its true nature.

From the middle of the seventeenth century it was continually disputed anew. If even we moderns must admit that there was a body of some kind, the kind of existence that we can accord to it supplies the strongest refutation of the statement of Elias Levita. The question as to what we are to understand by 'the men of the great synagogue' (or

[1] The numbers differ in the various forms of the text. Besides 94 we find 904, 204, 84, 974. All, however, agree in the decisive figure 4; cp Ryle, 156 *ff.* 285.

[2] The real date of Ezra and the promulgation of the law related in Neh. 8-10 will be considered elsewhere (see CHRONOLOGY, § 14; NEHEMIAH). The results of the present article would not be altered essentially by fixing it, *e.g.*, in the year 427 or even 397, instead of 444. In what follows, therefore, 444 B.C. means simply the date of Neh. 8-10. A full discussion of the point and a survey of recent literature will be found in C. F. Kent, *A History of the Jewish people during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek periods*, New York, 1899, pp. 195 *ff.* 354.

[3] For what follows cp Ryle, *Excursus* A, 239 *ff.*, where a very copious literature with fully translated quotations is given. Strack gives the originals of the most important passages; cp also Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus VT* 1 (1713), 1153 *ff.*, 2 (1722) 289 *ff.*

[1] Cp, however, the elucidation of the passage in *Bada* B. 14*b* 15*a* below, § 21.

[2] See, for the attacks directed against it on rationalistic grounds in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic church, Ryle, 247 *ff.*

[3] See third preface to *Massoreth hammassoreth* (1538, ed. Ginsburg, 1867, p. 120); cp Strack, 416.

[4] Cp the passages quoted in Ryle 251 *ff.* It should he added that the same step had been taken already in the late post-Talmudic tractate *Aboth de R. Nathan* (chap. 1) where it is said of 'the men of the great synagogue' that they decided on the reception of Proverbs, Canticles and Ecclesiastes, against objections that had been urged (see the passages in C. H. H. Wright, *l.c.*). We shall see below that an artificial antedating can be clearly demonstrated here,

[5] When Levita points out that the order of the Prophets and the Writings, as fixed there, was different from that in *Baba B.*, this only goes to show that the sages of the Mishna still found something for them to give decisions about. Elias Levita forgets that these sages found the hooks written on separate rolls, and that, therefore, there was not yet any order to fix. Cp above, § 7.

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rather 'assembly') in the sense in which the expression was originally used, may be regarded as now fully cleared up. By a brilliant application and criticism of all that tradition had to say and all the work of his modern predecessors, Kuenen[1] demonstrated that this 'synagogue' is no other than the great assembly at Jerusalem described in Neh. 8-10 : the assembly in which the whole body of the people, under the presidency of Nehemiah and through the signatures of its representatives, pledged itself to acceptance of the law-book of Ezra. This assembly, as the latest authority mentioned in the OT, was afterwards, by the tradition of the synagogue, made responsible for all those proceedings of a religious nature not referred to in the OT, which, nevertheless, so far as known, dated from a period earlier than the tradition laid down in the Talmud. Since this last, however, with its most ancient (and almost mythical) authorities, the five 'pairs' and Antigonus of Socho, does not go back farther than the second century B.C., there gradually grew out of the assembly, whose meetings began and closed within the seventh month of a single year, a standing institution to which people in that later time, each according to his needs and his chronological theories, attributed a duration extending over centuries. This was made all the easier by the chronology of the Talmud bringing the date of the Persian ascendency too low by some 150 years, and thus bringing the beginning and the end closer together.[2]

The activity as regards the canon, then, which Elias Levita and his followers ascribe to 'the men of the great synagogue, implies for the most part a comparatively late and false conception of the character of that supposed body. What ancient tradition has to say about it remains well within the limits of time assigned to it by criticism. In *Baba B.* 14*b* 15*a*, 'the men of the great synagogue' have assigned to them a place immediately *before* Ezra; they ***write*** Ezekiel, the Dodecapropheton, Daniel, and Esther. When, therefore, Ezra had contributed his share (Ezra and Chronicles), forming the closing portion of the series of the twenty-four books, the canon was forthwith complete. It is evident (1) that here the activity of 'the men of the great synagogue' does not extend below Ezra's time; and (2) that it extends only to four books, not to the whole canon. Therewith the absolute untenableness of Levita's assertion becomes apparent. Expedients have been

20. 'Writing' of books.

resorted to in vain; as, for example, that כתב, 'to write,' means in the *Baraytha* to 'collect,' or to 'transcribe and circulate,' or both together (cp Marx, **41**). 'The writer' of the Mishna most certainly means ***the author of the books***—so far as there can be a question of authorship where, in the last resort, the author is the Holy Spirit. Of authorship nothing but writing is left. This, accordingly, is the sense assumed by Gemara and by rabbinical exegesis. What we are told concerning 'the men of the great synagogue' is not more startling than it is to learn that Hezekiah and his companions wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes,—books of which tradition is unanimous in saying that the last two were

[1] ***Over de mannen der groote Synagoge*** (Amsterdam, 1876), translated into German by K. Budde in his edition of Kuenen's collected essays (*Gesammelte Abhandl.*, **1894**, p. 161 *ff.*).

[2] Kuenen's proof has, in Great Britain, been accepted (among others) by Robertson Smith (*OTJC*(2) 169 *f.*), Driver (*Introd.*(1) xxxiii), and (at least in all essentials) by Ryle, to whose very carefnl *Excursus* ***A (239-272)*** the reader is especially referred. It has indeed found an uncompromising opponent in C. H. H. Wright (***Koheleth***, 5 *ff.* 475 *ff.*), whose arguments, however, amount to little more than this—the necessity (which in fact produced the legend) for some corporate body by whom the religious duties of that time could have been discharged. This, however, cannot convert what is demonstrably legend into history. Whatever has to be conceded is granted already by Kuenen (*Ges. Abh.* 1 156, 158); and writers like Strack (*PRE*(2) 18 330, footnote*) are skilful enough to reconcile the demand for such 'organised powers' between Ezra and Christ with Kuenen's results. The most recent apology for the tradition is that of S. Krauss ('The Great Synod,' *JQR*, Jan. '98, p. 347 *ff.*). Of course he does not defend the theory of Elias Levita.

wholly, and the second in great measure, written by Solomon two centuries before Hezekiah. Here, in fact, it is the miraculous that is deliberately related. The meaning is that Solomon had only ***spoken*** (cp 1 *K.* 5 12 *f.*) what is contained in these books, and that 200 years later, divine inspiration enabled the men of Hezekiah to ***write it*** *out*, and so make it into canonical books. By exactly the same operation 'the men of the great synagogue' were enabled to write out what an Amos and a Hosea, a Micah and a Nahum, and so forth had spoken in the name of God. There is nothing to surprise us about such a view as this, if we remember what we have already found in connection with 4 Esdras (above, **§ 14**). In the present instance, indeed, it is only a portion of the OT that comes into question, not the whole mass as in **4** Esdras; but, on the other hand, in **4** Esdras it is only the reproduction of books that had been lost that is spoken of, whilst here it is their very composition.[1]

That stories such as these should ever have passed current as real historical tradition resting upon facts is

21. Origin of fancy.

surprising enough. Almost more astonishing is it that such baseless fancies should not yet have been abandoned, definitely and for good, by the theology of the Reformed Churches.

Whether the tradition is genuine need no longer be asked. The only question is, How was it possible that the Mishnic doctors, and perhaps those who immediately preceded them, arrived at such a representation? This question in some cases already greatly exercised the exegetes of the Gemara, and even led them to attempted corrections; and Rashi (*ob.* **1105**) gives a solution of some of the knottiest points which, if we are to believe Strack,[2] represents the view of the Baraytha. According to this explanation, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther did not write their own books, because they lived in exile, and outside the borders of the Holy Land it was impossible for any sacred book to be written. Even, however, if this view had some element of truth in it, it hardly meets the main point. The ***writing*** of each book the scribes, as was natural to their order, sought to assign to a writer like themselves, a veritable *sōphēr* (see SCRIBE), and attributed the authorship of any book only to one to whom writing could be assigned on the authority of a proof text. In the case of books whose reputed authors could not be shown to have been *sōphĕrīm*, the authorship was attributed to the writers of such other books as stood nearest to them in point of time.

That Moses was a scribe was held to he shown by Dt. 31 9 ***24*** (the Book of Job also was attributed to him on account of its supposed antiquity), and the same is true of Joshua (Josh. 24 *26*). Similar proof was found for Samuel in 1 S. ***10 25***, and to him accordingly was assigned, not only the book that bears his name, but also Judges and Ruth. In the case of David, if the words לְלַמֵּד in 2 S. 1 18 were not enough, there was at all events sufficient proof in 1 Ch. 23 *ff.* and especially in 28 11; means were found also for reconciling the tradition that he wrote the whole Psalter with the tradition (oral or written) which assigned certain psalms to other authors. It was declared that he wrote the psalms, hut עַל יְדֵי of those other writers. Of Solomon **all** that was said in 1 K. 5 12 was that he ***spoke*** not that he *wrote*; but no one felt at any loss, for in Prov.' 25 1 the production of **a** portion of his Book of Proverbs is attributed to *the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah*. These genuine scribes were utilised to the utmost. They had ascribed to them not only all the Solomonic hooks, but also the book of their contemporary Isaiah, although Is. 8 1 might well have been taken as saying something for the prophet himself. Whether in this instance some special cause contributed to the result, or whether it was merely that prophet and scribe had at any cost to be kept separate, it is impossible to say. For Jeremiah, the one prophet in the narrower sense of the word amongst those who are named, Jer. **36** spoke too distinctly to be ignored; that Kings also should have been attributed to him *is* at once sufficiently explained by 2 K. **24** 18, and chap. 25 compared with Jer. 52. Next in order as biblical authors come '***the men of the great synagogue***,' who, as contemporaries of Ezra the scribe *par* ***excellence*** (himself also one of their number) but at the same

[1] That the two legends have an intimate connection is by no means improbable.

[2] *Op. cit.* **418**, with the quotation there given; cp **also** Ryle, 263 *f.*

time also as signatories of the act in Neh. 10 1, were expressly called to this. Why Ezekiel (the scribe if any scribe there was among the prophets), to whom the act of writing is repeatedly attributed (37 16 *ff.* 43 11), should not have been credited with his own book, may perhaps be rightly explained by Rashi. The twelve prophets could not have written severally their own books because all the books together form (see § 6) but one book (a somewhat different turn is given to this in Rashi), and as the latest of them belonged to the period of the great synagogue, and, indeed, according to tradition, were actually members of that body the assignment of the authorship to it presented no difficulty. Finally Daniel and Esther, regarded as books of the Persian period, easily fell to their domain. Ezra, with his account of his own time, closes the series. Some explanation is needed of the fact that whilst 'the genealogies in Chronicles down to himself' (this is no doubt the easiest explanation) also are assigned to Ezra no account is taken of the remainder of that work. The most likely reason is that the main portion of Chronicles was regarded as mere repetition from Samuel and Kings, the origin of which had been already explained.

It is not of the slightest importance to consider how far this attempted explanation of the origin of the various books is in agreement with the real thought of the Baraytha; in any case it remains pure theory, the product of rabbinical inventiveness, not of historical tradition. Apart from a fixed general opinion about certain individual books and about the Pentateuch, the tangible outcome of the beliefs of the whole period with which we are dealing is that the canon was held to have been closed in the time of Ezra. The theory upon which this belief proceeded will occupy us later (§ 44 *f.*).

As against this congeries of vague guesses and abstract theories, science demands that we should examine each book separately, and endeavour, with the evidence supplied by itself, and with continual reference to the body of literature as a whole, to ascertain its date and to fix its place in the national and religious development of the Jews. This is the task of 'special introduction'; but its results must always have a direct bearing on the history of the canon. This history must give close attention also to all the external testimonies relative to the formation and to the close of the canon, and, after weighing them, must assign to them their due place. Above all, it must trace out all general opinions and theories, such as we have been considering, ascertain their scope and meaning, and satisfy itself as to the period at which they arose, and as to their influence on the formation of the canon. In so far as we succeed in these endeavours, we shall arrive at a relatively trustworthy history of the canon.

22. Scientific method.

III. HISTORY OF THE OT CANON.—(1) *The first canon: the Law.*[1]—Whatever difficulties we may have in dealing with the later stages of the history of the canon and with its close, there is no obscurity about its commencement. It was indeed by those 'men of the great synagogue,' to whom orthodoxy assigns the close of the canon, that its foundations were laid, in the clear daylight of well-authenticated history. From the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the year 444 B.C. onwards, Israel possessed a canon of Sacred Scripture. It was on this day that the great popular assembly described in Neh. 9 *f.* solemnly pledged itself to 'the Book of the Law of Yahwè their God' (9 3), 'which had been given by the hand of Moses the servant of God' (10 30), and had been brought from Babylon to Jerusalem shortly before by Ezra the scribe (Ezra 7 6 11 14 Neh. 8 1 *f.*). In virtue of this resolution the said law-book at that time became canonical; but only the law-book.

23. The Torah.

Already, indeed, in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, between 623 and 621 B.C., there had been a solemn act of a similar character, when the king and people pledged themselves to the law-book that had been found in the temple, the 'book of the covenant' (2 K. 23). The entire editorial revision of the Books of Kings, and especially the express references to the law-book (1 K. 2 3 2 K. 23 25, and above all, 2 K. 14 6 compared with Dt. 24 16), clearly prove that it had canonical validity during the exilic period, whilst the book of Malachi (cp esp. 2 4 *ff.* 3 5 8 *ff.* 22) shows that also in the post-exilic period down to the time of Ezra it continued to hold this place in Jerusalem.[1] The critical labours of the present century, however, have conclusively established that this first canonical book contained simply what we now have as the kernel of our Book of Deuteronomy.

The law canonised in 444 was a very different document. The only possible question is whether it was the entire Pentateuch as we now have it, or only the Priestly Writing, the latest and most extensive of the sources which go to make up the Pentateuch. The latter is, so far as we can at present see, the more likely hypothesis. In that case what happened in 444 B.C. was that the Deuteronomic Law, which had until then ruled, was superseded by the new Law of Ezra. A determination of this kind, however, was unworkable in view of the firm place which the older book that had been built up out of J E and D[2] had secured for itself in the estimation of the people. Accordingly, the new law was revised and enlarged by the fusing together of the Priestly Writing and the earlier work, a process of which our Pentateuch, the canon of the Law, was the result.

24. Its extent.

This last stage was most probably accomplished in the next generation after that of Ezra, and completed before 400 B.C. We have evidence of this in the fact that the schismatic community of the Samaritans accepts the entire Pentateuch as sacred. It is true that the solitary historical account we possess (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 2-8 4) places the separation of this community from that of Jerusalem as low down as the time of Alexander the Great (about 330 B.C.); but the cause that led to

25. Samaritan Torah.

[1] W. J. Beecher (see below, § 75) offers a solemn protest against the fundamental proposition of this article (as of all modern discussions of the subject)—a triple canon, collected and closed in three successive periods. He denies that there is any evidence of a time when the Law alone was regarded as canonical, or of a time when the Law and the Prophets stood in authority above the Writings. He denies that the other OT writings were originally regarded as less authoritative than the Pentateuch. He sees in the canon of the OT an aggregate of sacred books growing gradually and continually to a definite time when the part written latest was finished and the collection was deemed complete. Law [or rather, Message], Prophets, and Writings are nothing but three different names for the same books—*e.g.*, the prophetic writings. We are not told how these terms came to be the names of three different parts of this collection. The fundamental fact that the Law alone was promulgated and made authoritative by Ezra and Nehemiah, is obscured by Beecher by the statement that the term 'book of Moses' is applied to an aggregate of sacred writings including more than the Pentateuch. His only proof is Ezra 6 18, where 'we are told that the returned exiles set up the courses of the priests and Levites, "as it is written in the book of Moses." The Pentateuch contains nothing in regard to priestly or Levitical courses. Possibly the reference is to written precepts now found in 1 Chronicles.' Beecher does not translate accurately. The text runs: 'They set up the priests *in* (*by*) *their courses* and the Levites *in (by) their divisions*. This means that the priests and the Levites are set up 'as it is written in the book of Moses'; but it does not necessarily mean that their courses and divisions were based on the same authority. Beecher never mentions the fact that the Samaritans accepted only the Law (see below, § 25), nor does he investigate what grain of truth is contained in the same statement as to the Sadducees (see below, § 38), or consider the reason why the Law is wanting in 2 Macc. 2 13 (see below, § 27). On the other side, it may be hoped that he will find the difficulty caused by the Book of Joshua, a difficulty greatly exaggerated by himself, removed (in fact turned into a help) in 5 28 *f.* of this article, written two years before his paper was published. This is only one of many instances. The theory of the triple canon of the OT, based on incontestable facts, is not as mechanical as Beecher represents it. It is able to satisfy every demand for organic growth in the collection of OT writings. Beecher's paper (a total failure, it seems to the present writer, in the main point) may do much good in cautioning against too mechanical a conception; but it did not furnish to the present writer any occasion to alter the views developed in this article.

[1] The reasons for saying that the references in Malachi are to Dt. and not to Ezra's law-book cannot be given here (see Now. *Kl. Proph.* 391; but cp MALACHI).

[2] On this and on the larger critical question cp HEXATEUCH.

the separation — the expulsion of the high priest's son, the son-in-law of Sanballat, who founded the community and sanctuary of the Samaritans — is rather, according to Neh. 13 28, to be referred to the period of Nehemiah (about 430 B.C.). It has already been mentioned (§ 19) that Jewish chronology has dropped a whole century and a half, so bringing the periods of Nehemiah and Alexander into immediate juxtaposition ; and this is the explanation of the confusion found in Josephus. We may suppose that before the final separation of the Samaritans there elapsed an interval of some decades which would give ample time for the completion of the Law.[1] This does not exclude the possibility that adjustments may have been made at a later date between the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of Jerusalem, or that later interpolations may have found their way into the Samaritan law. The compass of the work, however, must have remained (to speak broadly)[2] a fixed quantity, otherwise the Samaritans would not have taken it over.[3]

At the same time the Samaritan canon, which contained nothing but the (complete) law, is our oldest witness to a period during which the canon consisted of the Law alone, canon and Law being thus coextensive conceptions.

26. Torah = entire canon.

If alongside of the Law there had been other *sacred* writings, it would be inexplicable why these last also did not pass into currency with the Samaritans. There are other witnesses also to the same effect. The weightiest lies in the simple fact that the name Torah or Law can mean the entire canon, and be used as including the Prophets and the Writings. We find it so used in the NT (Jn. 10 34 12 34 15 25 1 Cor. 14 21), in the passage already cited from 4 Esdras (14 20), and, at a later date, in many passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Rabbins (cp Strack, 439). This would have been impossible if the words 'canon' and 'law' had not originally had the same connotation, other books afterwards attaining to some share in the sanctity of the Law.

27. 2 Macc. 2 13.

The same thing is shown by an often-quoted and much-abused passage in 2 Macc. (2 13). There we read that Nehemiah, in establishing a library, brought together the books concerning the kings and prophets (τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν) and the (poems) of David (τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ) and the letters of kings concerning consecrated gifts (to the temple : ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων). The passage occurs in a letter from the Jews of Palestine to their compatriots in Egypt, and is an admitted interpolation in a book which is itself thoroughly unhistorical ; it is thus in the highest degree untrustworthy (cp MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7). As evidence of what could be believed and said at the time of its composition, however, in the first century B.C., it is unimpeachable. When we find the Former and Latter Prophets and the Psalms catalogued as forming part of a library, and, alongside of them and on the same level, letters of kings (heathen kings of course), it is clear that there is no idea of sacrosanct books. The Law is not mentioned in the same connection ; as the sacred canon, it receives a place to itself and has nothing to do with the library. Whether all the contemporaries of this author shared his view is another matter ; in any case, the possibility of such a view being held is proof of the original isolation of the Law. Moreover, it appears from this passage that at the time when it was written, or within the writer's circle, the legend of the closing of the canon by Ezra can have been prevalent only in the (narrower and historically much more accurate) sense that the canon of the Law received its validity as such by Ezra's action. The fact, moreover, that in the LXX the version of the Law appears to be distinctively an official work, not the result of private enterprise, confirms the inference already drawn from the exclusive attention given to the Law in the period represented by Ezra.'

(2) *The second canon: the Prophets.*—The nucleus for a second canon was laid to the hand of the scribes of the fifth century in the very fact that the canon of the Law had been set apart to a place by itself.

28. J E D.

It is one of the certain results of the science of special introduction that the Priestly Document on which Ezra's reform rested, followed the history of Israel, including the division of Canaan, down to the end of the Book of Joshua : the portions derived from it can still be distinguished in our present Book of Joshua. The same holds good for J E D. We can go further. It may still be matter of dispute, indeed, whether the material for the subsequent books (Judges, Samuel, Kings) also was derived from J and E ; but so much is indisputably certain, that the Deuteronomic redaction embraced these books also, in fact, the whole of the Former Prophets, and that at the end of Kings the narrative itself is from Deuteronomistic hands. As even now each of these books is seen to link itself very closely to that which precedes it, it follows that J E D, ultimately at least, in the form in which the work was used in the fifth century, included the Law *and* the Former Prophets. That the Law might attain its final form as a separate unity, therefore, it was not enough that P and J E D should be worked up into a single whole.

29. Pentateuch.

This whole must be separated from the history that followed it. How and when this was effected we can imagine variously. According to the view taken above, what is most probable is that in 444 the entire Priestly Writing, including the closing sections relating to the entrance into Canaan and the partition of the country, was already in existence and canonized in its full extent.[1] Not until its subsequent amalgamation with the corresponding sections of J E D did the hitherto quite insignificant historical appendix to the 'law,' strictly so called, acquire such a preponderance that the division was found to be inevitable. It was made at the end of the account of the death of Moses, and thus a portion of the Priestly Writing also (as well as of J E D) was severed from the body to which it belonged. In any case, however we may reconstruct the details, the great fact abides that, after the Law had been separated, there remained the compact mass of writings which afterwards came to be known as 'the former prophets,' a body of literature which from the very first could not fail to take an exceptional position from the simple fact that it had once been connected with the sacred canon, and must necessarily have been prized by the community as a possession never to be lost.

30. 'Former Prophets.'

Equally certain is it that by far the larger proportion of the 'latter prophets' was already in the hands of the scribes of the fifth century. In these books God spoke almost uninterruptedly by the mouth of his prophets — in itself

31. 'Latter Prophets.'

[1] This explains why the Book of Nehemiah closes with the expulsion of the son-in-law of Sanballat, but says nothing as to the setting up of the temple and church of the Samaritans. There is no occasion for scepticism as to the entire story in Josephus (as in Kautzsch, *PRE*(2), art. 'Samariter,' 343 *f.*).

[2] See below, § 37.

[3] Against the completion of the law at this date Duhm (*Jesaia*, 1892, p. v *f.*) urges objections. He thinks that as late as the time of the Chronicler (third century B.C.) the so-called Priestly Document had not yet been fused with J E and D ; for the intention of the Book of Chronicles is, in his opinion, to continue the Priestly Document (which comes down only to the end of Joshua), not the older work embracing the Book of Kings, which indeed it sought to supersede. Neither intention however, can be attributed to the Chronicler. In fact, he begins with the creation, his method being to write out at full length the genealogies from Adam downwards, taking them from the work that lay before him (J E D P). Since, however, he is writing a history only of Jerusalem and the temple, he passes over all that does not relate to this. At the same time, even if the Chronicler had used nothing but P, this would not prove more than that, after its fusion with the other sources, P continued to be used also separately for a long time.

[1] A last trace of some reminiscence of this short period during which the Book of Joshua still belonged to the 'law' may be seen in the Apocryphal Book of Joshua of the Samaritans.

reason enough for assigning to them the attribute of holiness. If, nevertheless, the books were not reckoned to the canon, the explanation is to be sought in the practical character of the first canon : Ezra gave to the community in the canon of the Law all that it required. It was not new when he gave it ; he only gave over again what God had once already given through Moses to the people as his one and all. If the people had remained true to this Law, not only would they have escaped all the disasters of the past, but also they would never have needed new revelations from God through his prophets. These prophets contributed nothing new ; they were sent only to admonish the unfaithful people to observe the Law, and to announce the merited punishment of the impenitent. The Law thus had permanent validity, whilst the work of the prophets was transitory; the Law addressed itself to all generations, the prophets each only to his own, which had now passed away. The generations that had sworn obedience anew to the Law under Ezra, therefore, had no need for the prophets. Should similar circumstances recur, it might be expected that God would send prophets anew; but the prevailing feeling was, no doubt, that the time of unfaithfulness, and consequently of the prophetic ministry, had gone for ever.[1]

32. Provisional.

The view here set forth is that of the OT itself, preeminently that of the Deuteronomistic school, where it is constantly recurring.! Indeed, since the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Laws alike, each in its own way, had assimilated the results of the work of the prophets, this view must be called, from their point of view, the right one. Accordingly it has throughout continued to be the view of the synagogue, as can be proved from many passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim.[3] It explains at the same time why it is that the historical books (Joshua-Kings) are called 'prophets.' They speak just in the manner of the prophets of the unfaithfulness of past generations to the law, and of the divine means—chiefly the mission of prophets—used to correct this. Both relate in a similar way to the past. For the same reason the prophets, conversely, are called history ; for 'tradition' in the sense of 'history' is what is meant by אשלמתא (*ashlemta*), the Massoretic term for the canon of the prophets, the נביאים (*nĕbī'īm*), as a whole (cp further, Strack, 439).

33. Historical books 'prophetic.'

We can thus very easily understand how it was that the Prophets could not be canonized simultaneously with the Law. To pledge people to the Prophets was not possible, and the obligation to the Law would only have been obscured and weakened by a canonization of the Prophets at the same time. The idea of canonicity had first to be enlarged ; it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.[4]

34. Not yet canonized.

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this ; and the same result follows from the established facts of 'higher criticism.' Of the Prophets properly so called, not only are Joel and Jonah later than the completion of the Law, but also the older books, over wide areas of their extent, bear more or less independent evidence of a secondary literary activity.[1] These phenomena are so manifold, and there are traces of periods so widely separated, that we must believe not a few generations to have borne a part in bringing the prophetical books to their present form. Yet these extensive additions and revisions, at least most of them, must of course have taken place before the canonization.

35. Freely edited.

This obvious conclusion is indeed contradicted by the tradition of the synagogue, which tells us that the books of the prophets were written by 'the men of the great synagogue,' on which view the canon of the prophets was already complete in 444 B.C. Nor does this assertion, the baselessness of which we have already seen, stand alone. It is backed by others. Josephus (*c. Ap.* 18) says expressly that it was down to the time of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes (*i.e.*, Artaxerxes I., Longimanus, 465-424) that the literary activity of the prophets continued. The passage in the Mishna in which the unbroken chain of tradition is set forth (*Pirḳē Abōth*, 1 1) represents the Law as having been handed down by the prophets to the men of the great synagogue; which again brings us to the same date, and dispenses with the need of any further testimony.

36. Gap in tradition.

It is exactly this chain of tradition, however, that supplies the interval of time that we need. The passage goes on to say : Simon the Just was one of the last survivors of 'the men of the great synagogue' ; he handed on the tradition to Antigonus of Socho, by whom[2] in turn it was transmitted to Jose b. Jo'ezer and Jose b. Johanan, the first of the so-called 'pairs.' That the chronology of this section leaves much to be desired is clear.[3] It seems to be as good as certain, however, that the fourth of the five pairs lived about 50 B.C., the third about 80 B.C. The same ratio would bring us to somewhere about 140 or 150 B.C. for the first 'pair,' whilst the time of Antigonus and Simon would fall about 200 B.C., or a little earlier. In that case, Simon the Just would be the high priest Simon II. b. Onias who is briefly mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4 10). The cognomen of 'Just,' however, is given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2 5 4 1) to Simon I. b. Onias, who lived almost a century earlier, soon after 300. If we must consider that he is the Simon who is meant, it is clear that the alleged chain of tradition is defective in its earlier portion, only a single name having reached us for the whole of the third century. Further, Simon the Just is the connecting link with 'the great synagogue,' and as the assembly that gave rise to this name was held in 444, there is again a gap, this time of a century, even if we concede that Simon reached a very advanced age. The long interval between Simon the Just and 444 B.C., however, is not to be held as arising from a different view about the synagogue ; it is to be accounted for by the hiatus (already referred to, §§ 19, 25) in the traditional chronology between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great. similar to that which brings Zerubbabel into immediate relation with the time of Ezra.[4] It is within this vacant period that we must place those redactions, the fact of which has been so incontestably proved by critical inquiry. The main reason why the synagogue has no recollection of this period, is that during this time the activity of the scribes (with the history of which alone the chronology busies itself from Ezra onwards) had no independent life, but devoted itself almost exclusively to the sacred writings of the past, and left its traces only there, so that whatever it

37. Activity in interval.

1 With every reservation let it be noted here that in Mal. 3 23 the promise is not of a new prophet, but only of the return of Elijah, and that in Zech. 13 2 *ff.* to come forward as a prophet is to risk one's life.

2 Compare also, however (especially), the confession of sin which in Nehemiah precedes the taking of the covenant (particularly *vv.* 16 *ff.* 26 29 *f.* 34).

3 See Weber, 18 *f.* 78 *f.*

4 Cp the passage (2 Macc. 2 13), already spoken of, in which such a historical interest appears, but leads only to the foundation of a library, not to the canonizing of its contents.

1 This is true especially of Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah ; but most of the other books show the same thing in some degree. The details belong to the special articles.

2 'By whom' is plural according to the text, the reference including perhaps Simon the Just. Zunz (37 n.) would interpret 'from the successors of Antigonus, mediate or immediate ; but this is hardly permissible.

3 See Schürer *GJV* 2 292 *ff.*

4 Cp also Jos.' *Ant.* xi. 6 1, with 7 1 and 8 1.

accomplished was put to the credit of the earlier times. This holds good, in the first instance, of the Law, to which considerable additions were still made as late as the third century (see above, § 25). Still more extensive was this activity in the case of the prophetical books; it was now that they took their final literary shape.[1] The additions naturally corresponded to the thoughts and wishes of the age in which they arose; on the lines of older models, the elements of hope and of comfort received a much fuller development, and thus the prophets were made of practical interest for a present time that, contrary to expectation, had turned out badly.[2]

It is possible that we even possess a proof that the canonization of the prophets did not take place quite without opposition and dispute, a thing in itself not improbable. In the Church fathers we meet with the very definite assertion that the Sadducees had scruples about acknowledging any sacred writings (especially the Prophets) in addition to the Law.[3] It cannot be siipposed that there is here any confusion with the Samaritans, who are expressly named along with them as sharing the same view; a somewhat easier view is that what is referred to is their rejection of the oral legal tradition.[4] Let it be borne in mind, however, that we here have to do with our best Christian authorities on matters Jewish — Origen and Jerome, the former of whom was contemporary with the period of the Mishna. That neither the Mishna itself, nor yet Josephus, has a word to say on such a dangerous subject, is intelligible enough. It is, of course, not for a moment to be supposed — even though this is suggested by some of the passages cited — that the Sadducees rejected the prophets, or, in other words, refused to recognise them as having been channels of divine communications. On the other hand, it is not difficult to believe that these conservative guardians of the old priestly tradition should have resisted the addition of a second canon to that of the Law, which until then had held an exclusive place. In doing so, they would only have been maintaining the position of **444 B.C.**, whilst in this, as in other matters, the Pharisees represented the popular party of the time. The controversy

38. Canonization perhaps opposed.

1 Cp We. *IJG* 155 *ff.* 2nd ed. 190 *ff.*; Montefiore, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (*Hib. Lect.* 1892), **401** *ff.* The assertion, frequently repeated in the tradition of the synagogue, that it was expressly prohibited to commit to writing the traditional law cannot of course, strictly speaking, be maintained (cp Strack, art. 'Thalmud' in *PRE*(2) 18331 &). Still it is, not impossible that there lies at the bottom of it a true reminiscence. Hardly, indeed, such a one as Strack supposes (p. 333 *f.*); but rather this: that the addition of all sorts of *novellæ* to the canonical Law was definitely put a stop to, and that, as a reaction against this tendency to add, there arose, some time (say) in the course of the second century a certain reluctance to write the further developments of the) law—the Halākōth—until at last the codification of the Mishna put an end to this.

2 Ryle's conjecture (p. 117) that the gradual admission of the Prophets to a place in the public reading of the synagogue preceded and led to their canonization, rests unfortunately on an insecure foundation, as we do not know whether the Haphṭārā goes back to a sufficiently early date. The first mention of the public reading of the Prophets is in the NT (Lk. 416 *f.*; Acts **13** 15 27), the next, in a very cursory and obscure form, is in the Mishna (*Megilla*, **3** **4** 6), and, very full and clear, in the Tosephta (*Megilla*, 4 [3], ed. Zuckermandel, 225 *ff.*). This much may be taken for certain, that the reading of the Proohets came in very considerably later than that of the Law. That what led to it was the destructive search after copies of the Law in the time of Antiocbns Epiphanes (1 Macc. **157**) is pure conjecture. Even if proved it would be insufficient for Ryle's purpose. For the age of the Haphṭārōth, see Zunz, 5 *f.*, Ryle, 116 *f.*; and on the Haphṭārōth in general, see Schürer, 2 379 *f.* It is necessary to raise a note of warning as to Gratz, 156 *ff.*

3 See the passages textually quoted in Schiirer, **2 342** : Orig. *c. Cels.* 149 (ed. Lommatzsch, 1893); *Comm. in Matth.* 17, chap. 85 *f.* on chap. **22** 29 31 *f.* (ed. Lomm. 4 166 169); Jer. *Comm. in Matth.* 22 31 *f.* (Vall. 7 1 179); *contr. Luciferianos*, chap. **23** (v. 2 197); *Philosophumena*, **9** 29; Pseudo-Tert. *adv. Hær.* chap. **1**.

4 Yet in the last-cited passage there follows immediately: 'Prætermitto Pharisæos qui additamenta quædam legis adstruendo a Judæis divisi sunt.'

about defiling the hands (**M.** *Yadayim*, 46) may have been a last echo of this.[1]

Lastly, we must endeavour to fix an inferior limit for the date at which the prophetical canon was fixed. For the literary close of the prophetical collection, we fortunately have an external testimonv almost three centuries older and much more exhaustive than **4** Esdras and Josephus, namely the hymn to the great men of the past with which Jesus b. Sira (Ecclesiasticus), in chaps. **44-50,** concludes his didactic poem. From Enoch downwards all the righteous are panegyrised, exactly in the order in which they occur in the Law and the Former Prophets. The kings are treated quite on the Deuteronomistic lines. David, Hezekiah, and Josiah receive unqualified praise; Solomon is commended only half-heartedly, whilst Rehoboam is spoken of as a fool, and Jeroboam as a seducer. Elijah and Elisha find their place in the series immediately after these two kings, whilst between Hezekiah and Josiah comes Isaiah.[2] Of him we are told in one and the same sentence what we read in chaps. **36-39** (=2 K. 15-20), and that under mighty inspiration he foresaw the far future and 'comforted them that mourn in Zion' (cp 40 1). This proves that not only chaps. **36-39,** but also chaps. 40-66, already were parts of the Book of Isaiah, and thus that the last essential steps to its final redaction had been made (cp Che. *Intr. Is.* xviii.). Still more significant is it that after Jeremiah (who is associated with Josiah, as Isaiah is with Hezekiah) and after Ezekiel, the twelve prophets (οἱ δώδεκα προφῆται) are mentioned, and disposed of collectively in a single panegyric. Here already, that is to say, we have the same consolidation as we have seen (§ 21) in the Mishna (where a single authorship in the persons of 'the men of the great synagogue' has to be found for the one book of the twelve). We may be sure that Jesus b. Sira found the twelve books already copied upon a single roll, and thus in their final form. By his time the prophetic canon had been closed.[3]

39. Inferior limit=Ecclus.

The conclusion of this hymn (chap. 50) answers the question as to the date of its author. It is the panegyric on Simon b. Onias who was high priest in Jesus b. Sira's own day. In this instance, it is certainly not Simon the Just (cp § *36*) that is intended, if it were only on account of the absence of the surname distinctively given in Josephus and the Mishna. The question is decided for Simon **11.** *(circa zoo)* by the prologue of the translator, grandson of the author, who made his version later than 132 B.C. (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 8).[4] We therefore

1 The arguments for utter rejection of this statement can best be read in Winer, *HWB*(3) **2** 353 *f.* The view taken in the text seems to be shared by We. when he writes (*IJG* 251; 2nd ed. 286; 3rd ed. **297**): 'They (the Pharisees) stood up against the Sadducees for the enlargement of the canon.' Another view is expressed in *Einl.*(6) 514.

2 The precedence here given him has no bearing on the place assigned to his book in the Prophetic canon (cp above, § 8). It is the chronological succession of the persons that is being dealt with.

3 The doubt raised (not for the first time) by Böhme (in *ZATW* 7 280 ['87]) against the genuineness of 49 10*a*, where the XII are referred to, was excellently disposed of by Nöldeke (*ZATW* 8 156 ['88]), by the evidence of the Syriac translation (which rests immediately on the Hebrew), and by showing that in *v.* 10*b*, according to Cod. A and others, the correct reading is the plural παρεκάλεσαν (followed by γάρ instead of δέ), and ἐλυτρώσαντο, so that 10*b* refers not to Ezekiel hut to the XII. Another circumstance ought to be noted. If the praise of Ezekiel is completed in *v.* 8 *f.*, it agrees in length and substance exactly with that of Jeremiah in *v.* 7, with that of Hezekiah (apart from Isaiah) in 48 **24** *f.*, and finally with that of the XII, if *v.* 10 is taken as applying wholly to them. To place 10*b* before 10*a* as Zöckler (*Die Apokryphen des AT*, etc., 1891, p. 348 *f.*) silently does is quite inadmissible. To all this must now be added the testimony of the lately discovered Hebrew. The genuineness of 48 23 *ff.* is doubted by Duhm (*Jesaja*, 1892, p. vii), but without any reasons being given. On p. xiv. he appears to be able to accept the genuineness.

4 The arguments by which J. Halévy (*Étude sur la partie du texte Hébreu de l'Ecclésiastique récemment découverte*, 1897) endeavours to prove that Simon **I.**, the Just, is the hero of chap. 50, have failed to convince the present writer. Still it should be kept in mind that even if Halévy were right the

conclude — and the conclusion agrees with the course of the development traced above — that the prophetic collection already existed as such, pretty much in its present form, about the year zoo B.C.[1]

Notable reasons for the same conclusion are supplied by the Book of Daniel (written about **164** B.C.). In the first place there is a reason of a positive character: in 9 2 we find Jer. 25 11 *f.* cited as הַסְּפָרִים ('in the [Holy] Scriptures'). Of greater weight, however, is a negative reason: the Book of Daniel itself found a place — not among the Prophets, but — among the Writings. Other reasons for this might be conjectured;[2] but the most probable one still is that at the time of its recognition as canonical the canon of the Prophets had in current opinion been already definitely completed. The time of admission, however, must be taken to have been considerably later than the date of composition (**164** B.C.), and so this evidence does not go for much. Still less impartant is the further fact, that the work of the Chronicler (composed during the first half of the third century) is not included among the Former Prophets. Its special character as a Midrash to already accepted biblical books must long have prevented its attaining the dignity of canonization; but a further circumstance helped to impede its recognition. The immediate contiguity of the Former Prophets and the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (brought to their final form at an early date) must comparatively soon have come to be regarded as fixed and unalterable,[3] whilst, on the other hand, to append Chronicles to the later prophets was plainly impossible.

40. Other evidence.

It remains, then, that the completion of the *collection*— we might almost say also of the canon — of the Prophets took place in course of the third century. This, however, does not yet bring us to an altogether unambiguous finding with reference to their 'canonization.' It is only misleading if we allow ourselves, without qualification, to carry back the idea of 'canonicity,' in the fully-developed form which it finally reached, to the earliest beginnings of the formation of a canon. It was impossible for the Prophets ever to receive a canonical value in the same sense in which this was given to the Law; the subordinate character of the Prophetic canon remains fixed for all coming time.[4] Holiness was, and continued to be, a relative conception, and we do not need to give to the designation הספרים in Dan. 9 2 the same fulness of meaning that it has in the Talmud. The gulf between the Law and all the remaining books could be bridged only artificially, and we know with certainty that the bridging idea — the idea of a property common to all holy books, that of 'defiling the hands' — was an invention of Pharisaic scholasticism, withstood by the Sadducees even after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Yad.* 46). Until this bridge had been securely constructed there was no idea of a canonicity that included all three portions equally. This is proved by a fact to which we have already referred, — the Sadducean recognition of nothing but the Law. Before a definitive union of the Prophetic canon with that of the Law could be effected the way had to be prepared by a continually rising appreciation of the prophetic literature, and by an ever-growing conception of its sanctity. To this result the Maccabean period must unquestionably have contributed much. Such passages as 1 Macc. 4 46 9 27 14 41 and the Song of the Three Children (*v.* 14; cp Ps. **749**) show not only how far people then felt themselves to be removed from the prophetic times, but also how highly those times were thought of. Still we must bear in mind the passage in 2 Macc. (213) already referred to (§ 27), which seems to show that, even in the last century B.C., it was still possible to speak of the Prophets and of profane writings, in the same breath, as parts of the same library.

41. Prophetic canon subordinate.

On the other hand, it can be shown that there was once a time in which the Prophets, but not the Hagiographa, could be spoken of along with the Law as included among the sacred writings. As the name 'the Law' can be used to designate the whole tripartite canon (see above, § **26**), so also can the double name 'the Law and the Prophets.' (Cp, in NT, Mt. 517 7 12 Lk. 16 16 29 31 Acts 2823, and, in the tradition of the synagogue *Rosh hash-Shana*, 46; *Baba B.* 8 14; Talm. J. *Megilla*, **3** 1; also *Baba B.* **13** *b*).[1] It may also be pointed ont that the name *Ḳabbālā* ('Tradition') includes the Prophets *and* the Writings (cp the numerous passages in Zunz, **44** n. *a*), but the synonymous expression *Ashlemta* (see above, § **33**). if we are correctly informed (Strack, **439**), the prophets only.

42. Prophets preceded Hagiograpna.

(3) ***The*** *third canon*: ***the*** *Hagiographa.* — Here, again, there is no possibility of doubt that, at the time when the prophetic collection was closed, much of what we now find in our third canon was already in existence, and yet it did not gain admission into the collection and found no place in the canon of that day. At bottom the reason is self-evident; it was a collection of prophets that was being made, a collection, that is to say, of writings in which God himself spoke, enforcing the Law by the mouth of his messengers. Such other writings as were then extant did not profess to be נאם יהוה ('oracle of Yahwè,' EV 'thus saith the Lord'), the immediate utterance of the God of Israel. One of them, indeed, the earlier nucleus of the Psalter, was in use as the hymn-book of the Temple services; but to have admitted it into the canon on that account would have been very much the same as if now a Christian church were to place its hymnal among its symbolical books. There was necessary, accordingly, a further (cp § 34) extension of the idea 'Sacred Writings' or (using the word with caution) of the idea of the 'canon,' and (so to say) a reduced intensity, before any further books could find admission, not of course into either of the canons already existing, but into a third, subordinate in rank to these. It is obvious, further, that again a considerable period must have elapsed before this extension of the idea could make way, and thus render possible the admission of books which, at the time when the prophetic canon was closed, were still unwritten.

43. Distinction between them.

Besides the (obvious) condition of a book's having a religious character, the only remaining condition demanded by the test implied in the expanded idea of canon is the condition of date. Those books were accepted which were considered to have been written during the prophetic period.

44. End of prophetic period.

Our earliest witness to this is Josephus. In the passage already referred to above (c. *Ap.* 18), after setting forth his tripartite division of the sacred writings (5+13+4), he goes on to say:— ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου p i x +oc *rag* $+is χρόνου γέγραπται *p a* ~ ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν. That is to say, the prophetic period closes with Artaxerxes (Ezra and Nehemiah),

date of Ecclesiasticus ought not to be pushed back more than fifty or sixty years. The author may be describing in his old age remembrances from his early youth. See Kautzsch in *StKr*, 1858, p. 198 *f.*

[1] The possibility of much later additions to the books admitted to this canon is unfortunately by no means excluded, as is sufficiently evidenced by the simple fact that even the Pentateuch continued to he added *to* long after its canonization (see § 37). Thus there is nothing in the nature of the case to prevent us from attributing the appendices to Zechariah (chaps. 9-14) to the later Maccabean period, as We. (*IJG* 228, n. 2, 3rd ed. 274, n. 2) appears to do (cp ZECHARIAH ii.), or admitting the interpolation of passages in Isaiah (already enlarged by the addition of chaps. 40-66) as is indicated by Duhm's results. In these cases, however, we are justified in demanding very conclusive arguments.

[2] Cp, for example, Duhm, *op. cit.* vi. n. 1.

[3] Hence also the exclusion of the **Book** of Ruth.

[4] **As** to this cp the very significant passage (*Megilla*, 27*a*) quoted in Marx, 29, n. 3.

[1] **Gratz**, 150 *f.*, wishes to exclude the Hagiographa in both cases. It must be conceded that the evidence for their inclusion cannot be regarded **as** being so certain in the case of the 'Law and the Prophets' **as it is** in that of the 'Law' alone.

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and canonicity (even in the case of non-prophetical books) is guaranteed only by contemporaneousness with the continuous series of the prophets. This view is confirmed by the 'Talmudic tradition. Tos. Yadayim, 2 13 (p. *683)* rules that 'hooks such as Ben Sira [Ecclesiasticus] and **all** hooks written מכאן ואילך do not defile the hands.' This מִכָּאן וְאֵילָךְ—*i.e.*, 'from that time forward'—is the standing expression for the cessation of the prophetic period. Corresponding with it is the other phrase עד כאן ('until then'), denoting this period. Further confirmation is found in *San.* 28*a* : 'Books like Ben Sira and similar hooks written *from that time onwards* may be read as one reads a letter (cp on this, Buhl, § 2). The point of time is fixed by **a** passage **in** *Seder olam rabba*, 30, as the time of Alexander the Macedonian : "The rough he-goat (Dan. 8 21) is Alexander the Macedonian, who reigned **twelve** years ; ***until then*** the prophets prophesied by the Holy Spirit ; *from that* ***time*** *forward* incline thine ear and hearken to *the* ***words*** *of the wise*.'[1] If Alexander the Great here takes the place of Artaxerxes in Josephus, the explanation is simply that, according to the Jewish chronology and conception of history, Haggai and Zechariah, Ezra and Malachi all lived at the same time, which is contiguous with that of Alexander.[2]

We now know, therefore, that it is not out of mere caprice, but in accordance with a settled doctrine, that 4 Esd. **14** and *Baba Bathra* 15*a* declare all the canonical books to have been already in existence in Ezra's time. The time limit was 'a fixed one ; difference of view was possible only with regard to the person of the author. From this doctrine we deduce the proposition : *Into the third canon, that of the Hagiographa,* ***were*** *received* ***all*** *books of a religious character* ***of*** *which the date was believed to go back as* ***far*** *as to the Prophetic period, that* **is**, *to the time* ***of*** *Ezra and the* ***Great*** *Assembly.*

The reason for the setting up of such a standard is easily intelligible. Down to the time of the Great

45. Reason of limit.

Assembly, the Spirit of God had been operative not only in the Law but also outside of it, namely in the Prophets ; but 'from that time onwards' the Law took the command alone. 'Until then' it was possible to point to the presence of the factor which was essential to the production of sacred writings, but 'from that time onwards' it was not. Hence the conviction that the divine productive force had manifested itself even in those cases where the writing did not claim to be an immediate divine utterance ; but only down to the close of the prophetic period. The proposition we have just formnlated is sufficient to explain the reception or non-reception of **all** the books that we now have to deal with. Job was received as, according to general belief, a book of venerable antiquity ; Ruth as a narrative relating to the period of the judges, and therefore (as was invariably assumed as matter of course in the case of historical narratives) as dating from the same time ; the Psalms as broadly covered by the general idea that they were 'David's Psalms' ; Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes as resting on Solomon's name ; Lamentations as resting on that of Jeremiah; Daniel as a prophet of the Persian period (which in its whole extent was supposed to fall within the prophetic age) overlooked in the earlier collection. The same consideration held good for Esther, regarded as a history book. At the close comes the Book of Ezra—separated from the general work of the Chronicler[3]—which, in its account of the Great Assembly, contained the original document on the close of the Prophetical period and so, as it were, puts the

46. Appendices.

colophon to the completed canon. Had what we now call Chronicles—*i.e.*, the first part of the Chronicler's work—been incorporated with the canon simultaneously with the incorporation of its second part, the Book of Ezra, the two would never have been separated, and even arranged in an order contrary to the chronological (cp HISTORICAL LITEKATURE, § 15). We may therefore say with all confidence that Chronicles did not come in till afterwards, as an appendix to the canon. The reason for its original exclusion was no doubt the consciousness that, strictly, it was but a Midrash to other canonical books. The second part of the Chronicler's work, once canonized, tended to take the other along with it ; possibly too the Book of Chronicles may have been helped by the minuteness with which it goes into the temple service—a feature to which at a later date, in the Massoretic arrangement (see above, § 8), it was indebted for a first place among the Hagiographa. From this one certain case, the last, may be inferred the possibility that other books also, especially the immediately preceding ones (Ezra, Esther, Daniel ; perhaps also Ruth : see above, § 9), were only gradually added, one by one, to the third canon by way of appendices. At least, they all of them have the appearance of being, as to their contents, appendices to the two halves of the Prophetic canon, whilst the remaining six books form a class by themselves. We are not, however, in a position to speak with certainty here.

Conversely, all other writings, so far as not excluded by reason of their language or some exception taken

47. Excluded books.

to their contents, may safely be supposed to have been excluded either because, manifestly and on their own confession, they did not go back to the Prophetic time, or because their claim to do so was not admitted.[1] The first-mentioned reason must have been what operated in the case of works of so high a standing as 1 Macc. and Ecclesiasticus; as instance's of the application of the second principle, we may take (in contrast to Daniel) the books of Baruch and Enoch.[2]

The attempt to determine the date at which the canon of the Hagiographa, and with it that of the

48. Date, inferior limit.

entire OT, was finally closed, is again surrounded with the very greatest difficulty. Let us, to begin with, fix the *terminus ad quem*. It is given us in the passages, frequently referred to already, in Josephus (*c. Ap.* 1 8) and 4 Esdras (chap. 14), where the entire corpus of the OT Scriptures, in twenty-two or twenty-four books, is set apart from all other writings. As to the extent of the canon, unanimity had been reached by at least somewhere about the year 100 A.D.

For a superior limit we shall have to begin where our investigation as to the prophetic canon ended—with

49. Superior limit.

the son of Sirach. In his hymn he commemorates, as the last of the heroes of Israel, Zerubbabel and Joshua as well as Nehemiah, thereby conclusively showing that he was acquainted with the work of the Chronicler (**49** 11 *ff.*). Moreover, he makes use of passages from the Psalms. Neither fact proves anything for a third canon; the fact that he found his ideal and pattern in the prophets is rather against this (**24** 33: *ἔτι διδασκαλίαν ὡς προφητείαν ἐκχεῶ*). The prologue of his descendant (later than 132 B.C.) shows still more unmistakably that no definite third canon was then in existence, even although already a certain number of books had begun to attach themselves to the Law and the Prophets. Three times he designates the whole aggregate of the literature which had been handed down, to which also his ancestor had sought to add his quota, as 6 *νόμος καὶ οἱ* **προφῆται καὶ** *τὰ* **ἄλλα** *τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς* **ἠκολουθηκότα** ; 6. ν. κ. οἱ πρ. κ. τὰ **ἄλλα πάτρια** βιβλία ; 6. ν. κ. αἱ **προφητεῖαι (οἱ προφῆται** [C]) κ. τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν **βιβλίων**. What is thus designated by three different indeterminate expressions cannot have been a definite collection. That of these books, in whole or in part, there were already Greek translations we can gather from the Prologue ; but we get no help either from this or from the LXX generally.

1 'The wise' are the (post-canonical) scribes; cp Weber, 121 *ff.*

2 Cp copious proofs for this point already more than once touched on above, in Marx (see below: § 75), 53, n. 4.

3 Cp CHRONICLES, § 2 and EZRA, § 8.

1 'Some found their way in, others not, on grounds of taste—the taste of the period,' says Wellhausen (*Einl.*(4) 552, 6th ed. 512). No doubt considerations of taste must have had influence on the decision whether the books in question came up to the standard ; hut it was the doctrine that formally decided.

2 As to Ecclesiasticus note the express testimony of Tosephta and Gemara (above, § 44).

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In 1 Macc. 7 16 *f.* we find Ps. 79 2 *f.* cited with the formula κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν (τοὺς λόγους οὓς [A]) ἔγραψε, in other words, as Holy Scripture. In 2 59 *f.* Daniel and his three friends are named as patterns in immediate connection with Elijah, David, Caleb, and others; 1 54 seems to quote Daniel's prediction (Dan. 927). We here see, somewhere about the close of the second or the beginning of the last century B.C., the Book of Daniel for the first time coming into evidence as a fully accredited authority—we could not possibly have expected so to find it at any earlier date.

Unfortunately these testimonies, such as they are, are followed by a very wide hiatus. Philo (06. *circ.* 50 A.D.) is our next resort; but, great as is the extent of his writings (all proceeding uncompromisingly on the allegorical method of biblical interpretation), they do not yield us much that is satisfactory in our present inquiry.[1] Nowhere do we find a witness to a tripartite canon.[2] Of the canonical books he nowhere quotes Ezekiel, any of the five Megilloth, Daniel, or Chronicles.[3] The blank is a great one. Still we may find some compensation in the fact that at least the Book of Ezra is cited with the solemn formula applicable to a divinely inspired writing.[4] A certain conclusion as to the incompleteness of the canon cannot be drawn from this silence regarding many books. On the other hand, real importance attaches to the following piece of negative evidence: Philo, although (as an Alexandrian) he must have been acquainted with many non-canonical books, and indeed actually betrays such acquaintance, in no instance uses them in the same way as the canonical. This allows as probable the inference that a definitely closed canon **was** known to him; only we are not able to say from any data supplied by him what was the extent of that canon in its third part.

50. Philo.

Our next witness is the NT. In Lk. 24 44 we have evidence of the tripartite division, for 'the psalms' probably stands *a potiori* for the whole of the third canon. Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and Ezra are not referred to at all. Of course here again nothing certain is to be inferred from the silence; but, if other considerations came into play, this fact also ought to be taken into account. On the other side, the certain reference to Chronicles in Mt. 23 35, Lk. 11 51[5] is entitled to have weight. The quotation of Dan. 7 22 in 1 Cor. 62 also must be referred to.[6]

51. NT.

There thus remains a space of something like two centuries—say from the end of the second century B.C.

[1] Cp Homemann (*Observationes ad illustrationem doctrine de canone VT. ex Philone*, 1775, copious extracts from which are given in Eichhorn's *Einl.*(4) 1 123 *ff.*). Till the appearance of Prof. H. E. Ryle's ***Philo** and the Holy Scripture* ('95), the statements of Hornemann had never been verified with sufficient care; though, on the other hand, they had not in any point been shown to he inaccurate. Prof. Kyle's results do not, however, differ much from those of Hornemann.

[2] Apart from *De Vit. Contempl.*, § 3, probably a work of a much later time. Cp Lucius, *Die Therapeuten*, 1879, and Schürer's review of Conybeare's ***Philo** about the Contemplafive Life* *TLZ*, 20th July 1895.

[3] 'khat 1 Ch. 7 14 is quoted in the tract ***De congr. quær. erud. gratia***, 8, is asserted by Herzfeld (*CVZ* 396 [1857]; but cp also Richter's edition of Philo, 1828), and has been taken over from him hy all subsequent writers; but it is rather 𝔊's enlarged form (enlarged perhaps from Ch.) of Gen. 46 20, which varies from Ch. Ryle (*Philo*, etc., p. 289) finds 1 Ch. 9 1 *f.* quoted ***(De Præm. et** Poen.* **§ 13, ii. 420)**; hut there is very little likeness between the two passages (see, however, the next note). Of the minor prophets only Hosea, Jonah, and Zechariah are made use of; hut this guarantees the entire Dodekapropheton.

[4] Unless here (*De conf. Linguarum*, § 28, 1 *f.*) the whole of 1 Ch. 3 he intended, rather than (as is universally assumed) Ezra 8 2 (see in 1 Ch. 8 22 the one descendant of David mentioned in Ezra 8 .). Cp the plur. οἱ ἀκμάσαντες κ.τ.λ. and ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις.

[5] By many the expression 'from . . . to' there used **is** actually taken to mean 'from the first hook to the last hook of the OT.' Then the passage would prove the close of the canon with the Book of Chronicles, and, in fact, its close altogether; but the expression may refer to the sacrilege implied in the locality of Zechariah's murder.

[6] Cp Ryle, p. 143 *ff.*

to about 100 A.D.—within which we are unable to point out any sure indications of the close of the third canon.

Ryle (p. 173 *ff.*) thinks it can be made out with a very high degree of probability that the close took place as early as the second century B.C., between 106 and 105, the year of the death of John Hyrcanus II. His one positive reason[1] is that the civil wars and scholastic controversies of the last century B.C. must have withdrawn interest from such things and made impossible any union of schools or any public step that could alter the *status quo*. That there ever was a union of schools, however, we have every reason to deny; the extension of the canon was in all probability only one of the internal affairs of the Pharisaic school (cp above, § 37). From this it necessarily follows that there is no question about any public step being taken—say a deliberate decision, reached once for all, or a decree of any authoritative assembly..

52. No decision, 2nd cent. B.C.

We actually have express information, however, of such a decision at a much later time. It is obvious that no such thing would have been necessary if a binding decision had already been long in existence. We refer at present to the controversy of which we read in the Mishna (*Yad.* 3 5; cp *Eduyoth*, 63).

53. Mishna.

The general proposition there laid down runs as follows: 'All holy scriptures (כתבי הקדש)[2] defile the hands' (cp above, § 3); next follows the particular: 'Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands.' Then we have the Controversy. 'R. Juda said: Canticles indeed defiles the hands; as regards Ecclesiastes opinion is divided. R. José said: Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, but as regards Canticles opinion is divided. R. Simon said: About Ecclesiastes the school of Shammai gives the laxer the school of Hillel the severer decision (here compare the elucidation in *Eduyoth*, 5 3, that according to the former [Shammai] Ecclesiastes does *not* defile the hands, according to the latter it does).[3] R. Simon h. 'Azay said: To me it has been handed down from the mouth of the seventy-two elders that on the day on which R. Eliezer h 'Azarya was made supreme head: it was decided that (both) Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands. R. 'Akiha said: God forbid that there should ever have been difference of opinion in Israel about Canticles, as if it did not defile the hands; for the entire world, from the beginning until now, does not outweigh the day in which Canticles was given to Israel. For indeed (כי) all Scriptures (כתובים) are holy (קדש), but Canticles is holy of holies (קדש קדשים). If people were divided in opinion, it was as to Ecclesiastes alone. R. Johanan h. Jehoshua, the son of R. 'Akība's father-in-law, said: As the son of 'Azay says, people ***were*** thus divided in opinion, and it is thus that the matter has been decided.'[4]

It has been contended that the dispute here was not about the question of canonicity, both books being clearly included in the opening sentences under the category of holy, and that the word גנז, 'to preserve, lay aside, hide,' the technical expression for the treatment with which the books in question were threatened, does not mean 'to pronounce apocryphal' but only something like 'to exclude from public reading.'[5] Both contentions are incorrect. The word in question is not used with reference to Ecclesiasticus or other apocryphal works, simply because no one had ever spoken of canonizing them, and thus there could not possibly be any question about doing away with them or removing them. And that our passage certainly is discussing the question whether the two books are Holy Scripture or not, is

54. Meaning of dispute.

[1] A second argument adduced by Ryle, that obtained by reasoning backwards from the position in Josephus, is toned down by Buhl (p. 27) to the more moderate view that 'the third part . . . had already received its canonical completion before the Christian era.

[2] By this we are certainly, in accordance with 3 2, to understand the entire canon. On the other hand, the כתובים mentioned later *may* mean merely the Hagiographa.

[3] One easily **perceives** that in point of fact here also the stricter school of Shammai remained true to its reputation, and no less so the laxer school of Hillel.

[4] The tract, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (chap. 1) as we saw above (§ 18), carries this decision hack, as also in the case of Proverbs, to the time of 'the Great Synagogue.'

[5] Cp especially Buhl, 7 *f.* 26, and Ryle, 187 *f.* On **the** other hand, Cheyne (*OPs*, 457) acknowledges that the question is that of canonicity.

made unmistakably evident by the words of R. 'Akiba. In this final stage of the development the question cannot possibly be whether perhaps, though integral parts of Holy Scripture, they nevertheless do not defile the hands : it is established that 'all Holy Scriptures defile the hands.' Then follows the Mishnic decision that the books of Canticles and Ecclesiastes also belong to this class; after this, the discussion which preceded the decision, and the grounds on which it was reached, are given.

In this connection the precise fixing of the day on which this decision was arrived at is important—the day on which at Jamnia (Yabna) R. Gamaliel II. was incidentally deposed from his place as president of the court of justice, an incident for which we have also other early testimonies.[1] This event certainly falls within the decades that immediately followed the destruction of Jerusalem—whether so early as 90 A.D. (the usual assumption) is questionable, but 100 A.D. will not in any case be very wide of the mark. This period, then, saw the settlement of a twofold controversy, which, as regards one half of it at least, had already occupied the schools of Hillel and Shammai about a century before. This last point is conceded even by a zealot like R. 'Akiba; his unrestrained exaggeration as regards Canticles is only a veil to cover the weakness of his position.[2] We hear nothing of any decision of the question preceding that of Jamnia. That, after the proceedings of that stormy day, the question should have been discussed again some decades later (R. 'Aḳība *ob.* 135), need not surprise us. No new decision is arrived at : the question is answered by a confirmation of that of Jamnia.[3]

55. 100 A.D.

Thus, then, about the year 100 A.D. there was still, as an unsettled controversy, the same question as to the canonicity of two books, which as regards one of them (Ecclesiastes; see ECCLESIASTES, § 3) had been a notorious point of difference between the two great schools of the Pharisees.[4] By that time, however,

1 For brevity's sake it will he enough to refer to the exceedingly careful history of the activity of the scribes, with copious proofs, given in Schürer (2 301 *ff.*).

2 The remark has a wider application to rabbinical Judaism generally and the other Megilloth : cp We. *Einl.*(4) 554, 6th ed. 514.

3 The reader is referred to Buhl (28 *ff.*), Wildeboer (58 *ff.*), Ryle (192 *ff.*), and the articles PURIM and NICANOR for the later and less amply attested disputes about Esther, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Jonah (mentioned in the order of the degree of their attestation). It is only in the case of the Book of ESTHER (*q.v.*, § 12) that such disputes can have been really serious. In the case of Ezekiel, there may he a genuine reminiscence of the embarrassment caused to the scribes by the discrepancies between the Law and Ezek. 40-48, perhaps also of the objections raised by the Sadducees on this account. In part at least, we must admit the truth of Strack's remark (p. 429) that 'in many cases the discussions leave one with the impression that the objections were raised merely that they might be refuted.' This impression, however, no way impairs that of the real seriousness of the decision of Jamnia. That the four books mentioned above are not named in *Yad.* 35 proves in any case that at that time serious objections to them were no longer entertained, and as we are here dealing only with the close of the canon, not with the individual hooks of which it was composed, this fact must suffice for us.

4 This is not inconsistent with the fact (which we learn from various sources) that Simon b. Shetah (who belonged to the third of the five 'pairs,' in the first half of the first century B.C.) quotes Eccles. 7 12 as Holy Scripture (for details see Buhl, p. 15 *f.*). He represents the one side of the case. The subject is one that belongs to 'special introduction'; but, in passing, the present writer may he allowed to express the view that, in the present text of Ecclesiastes, traces are to be clearly found of the assistance which it was found necessary to give, in order to secure for this hook a place in the canon. In 12 10 it is testified of the preacher (קהלת) that he was a well-meaning and respectable man (of course otherwise unknown). The contradiction to 1 1, where he is represented as being 'the son of David,' 'king in Jerusalem,' is glaring. These words, as also 1 12 16, a good deal in 2 4-9 and perhaps also 7 15*a* and certainly 12 11-14 are interpolations, by means of which alone the reception of the hook into the canon was rendered possible. It is self-evident that Canticles also became a part of the canon, only by virtue of its superscription which ascribes it to Solomon. A valuable light is thrown on R. 'Akiba's assertion that Canticles had never been disputed, and at the same time a trustworthy evidence, showing how long its true character still continued to be known, is conveyed by the information that R. 'Akiha himself hurled an anathema against those who sang the Song of Songs with wanton voice in houses of public entertainment (Tosephta, *Sanh.* chap. 12 ; cp WRS, *OTJC*(2) 186).

the question had long been (substantially) a settled one, as is shown by the passages quoted from Josephus and 4 Esdras; settled, however, not by any single decision, but only by the gradual clearing up of public opinion. Of other books in addition to the twenty-four there is no question whatever, and as regards those two about which alone any difficulty is possible, common opinion came to be so decidedly in favour of what claimed to be the stricter but in reality was the looser opinion, that the zealot R. 'Akiba comes forward fanatically on the side of Hillel.

We may now venture to figure to ourselves what was the probable course of the development, and what the attitude assumed by various sections of the community towards the decisive questions. It is probable that among the Sōpherim (professional students of Scripture) of the last century B.C., but without the co-operation of the Sadducean priestly nobility, there was gradually formulated a scholastic doctrine as to which of the many religious writings then current[1] could establish a just claim to a sacred character. We have already seen by what standard the writings were judged. As this doctrine gradually took shape, unanimity was reached on every point except on a dispute with reference to two minor books; in which, as was natural, the victory was ultimately gained by the more liberal view. This doctrine of the Sōpherim, as being the view of those who were the only qualified judges on the special subject, readily gained admission amongst such as were in doubt and sought to inform themselves.[2] Thus the learned Philo, though Living in Alexandria, takes very good care not to contravene the stricter practice : what we know about the opposition offered to the books of Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Esther, even suggests the possibility (incapable of course of proof) that his silence about certain hooks (cp above, § 50) really arises from a still greater strictness. As a convert to Pharisaism, Josephus professes the school doctrine of his teachers with an emphasis all the greater because his own personal leanings were (perhaps) against such exclusiveness. On, the other hand, though the doctrine made way, yet the 'majority of the people betook themselves quite naturally to the mass of apocalyptic and legendary literature, which, in the century immediately before and after the birth of Jesus, exercised a very great influence, and did much to prepare the way for Christianity. The formulated theory possessed obvious advantages, however, and the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem left the Pharisees in sole possession of the leadership of Israel. This is shown most clearly by 4 Esdras. Against his will, the author of that book is constrained to acknowledge the divine authority of the canon with its twenty-four constituent parts. Being, however, a thoroughgoing partisan of the apocalyptic literature, he outdoes the Pharisees. To the seventy books[3] which they exclude he attributes a still higher authority, placing them in an esoteric as distinguished from an exoteric canon.

56. Result.

By the end of the first century the scribes had settled the last of the questions controverted in the schools, and not long after the beginning of the second century (R. 'Aḳība *ob.* 135), to refer to the decision at Jamnia is decisive. Later, following in 'Aḳība's footsteps, the scribes succeeded, not only in obliterating every trace

1 To this period and not to the fourth or the third century B.C. belongs the complaint, expressed in the epilogue of Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 12 12), as to the making of many books.

2 If, as we have conjectured, the Sadducees were in general opposed to, or suspicious of, the recognition of any sacred writings besides the Law, there would he an open field for a view like that of the Pharisees, which took a middle course between Sadducean rigour and the fashionable tendency to the endless multiplication of religious literature.

3 In round numbers of course.

of variations in the text, but also in driving from circulation the whole body of extra-canonical literature.[1]

57. Christianity. Christianity, however, in the vigour of its youth, emancipated from the authority of the scribes, continued to pursue the old ways. In the rejected literature it discovered prophecies of the appearing of Jesus; and what the Pharisees destroyed in the original language it eagerly handed down in translations and revisions to succeeding generations. The NT writers show no scruple in quoting extra-canonical books as sacred, and we find ascribed to Jesus some expressions quoted as Holy Writ (Lk. 11 49; Jn. 7 38) which are not contained in the OT.[2] What is more, examples of this form of Jewish literature fused with Christian elements, or worked over from the Christian point of view, have found their way into the canon of the NT itself—a fact which only lately has begun to receive the attention it deserves.[3]

58. Alexandrian canon. This independent drift of tendency within the Christian Church greatly increases the difficulty of estimating the so-called 'canon of the Alexandrians.'[4] As is well known, even the oldest extant MSS of the LXX contain, in addition to the canonical hooks, a greatly varying number of writings which are not recognised in the canon of the synagogue, and indeed in some cases were not even originally written in Hebrew. On the other hand, the oldest of these MSS are several centuries later than the Christian era, and are the work of Christian copyists. It becomes a question, therefore, which is the earlier: the freer praxis of the Alexandrian Jews or that of primitive Christianity;+whether the greater compass of the LXX canon of the Alexandrians influenced the view of the Christian communities or whether the influence flowed the other way.[5] The probability is that, in fact, the influence worked both ways. What principally concerns us here, however, is this. About the middle of the first century A.D., when the Greek-speaking Christian community began to break entirely with Judaism, the narrow Pharisaic doctrine of the canon had certainly not as yet penetrated into the domain of Hellenistic Judaism so deeply as to delete completely, or to exclude from the MSS of the LXX, all the books that Pharisaism refused to recognise. The vacillation in individual MSS must at that time have been even greater than it is in those which have reached us; although on this point definite knowledge is unattainable. It is certain, however, that to some extent precisely those books belonging to this category which lay nearest to the heart of the Christian community in its most primitive clays (especially Enoch and 4 Esdras) have come down to us in no Greek MS. The conclusion is that the additions to the LXX are for the most part older than Christianity.

59. Partial return to Heb. Canon. The doctrine of the Pharisees, however, ultimately won the day also in its proper home. Not only did it succeed in extending its influence over the Hellenists by means of the new Greek translation of Aquila; but also the Church itself ultimately surrendered. A strange and significant fact! From about 150 A.D. onwards there constantly occur patristic statemeuts on the extent of the OT canon, which avowedly rest upon Jewish authority. This certainly had its advantages; for in this way many hooks of merely temporary value were excluded which, if rendered authoritative, could hardly have furthered the interests of Christianity. On the same ground too, the return of the Reformers to the canon of the synagogue is justifiable, especially when, as in the case of Luther, the relative importance of the Apocrypha is duly recognised. On the other hand, it must be confessed that even the unanimously accepted canon[1] of the Church is not without books of a similar character (notably Esther and Canticles; also Ecclesiastes and Daniel), and that thus the distinction between canonical and uncanonical books (if they are judged by their intrinsic value) is a fluctuating one.[2] Besides this, it is certain that in the excluded books, of which we know so many already, and are continually coming through new discoveries to know more, there has come down to us a treasure of unspeakable value for a knowledge of religious life as it was shortly before and after the time of Jesus, and so for an understanding of the origin of Christianity (see APOCRYPHA, APOCALYPTIC).

K. B.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

60. Jesus' Words and Deeds. The problem of the NT canon is to discover by what means and at what period a new collection of sacred books came to he invested with all the dignity which belonged to that of the Synagogue. Jesus had claimed to speak with an authority in no way inferior to that of the OT, and had placed his own utterances side by side with some of its precepts as fulfilling or even correcting them. The remembered words of Jesus thus became at once, if the expression may be allowed, the nucleus of a new Christian canon. At first they circulated orally from hearer to hearer. Then narratives were compiled recording the Sacred Words, and the no less Sacred Deeds which had accompanied or illustrated them. Some narratives of this kind underlie our Gospels, and are referred to in the preface to the Third Gospel. In course of time these were superseded

61. Gospels. by the fuller treatises which bear the names of apostles or the chosen companions of apostles; and their superior merit, as well as the sanction thus given to them, soon left them without rivals as the authorised records of the Gospel history. They were read side by side with hooks of the OT in the public worship of the Church, and were appealed to as historical documents by those who wished to show in detail the correspondence between the facts of the life of Jesus and the Jewish prophecies about the Messiah. This stage has been definitely reached by the time of Justin Martyr; but as yet there is no clear proof that a special sanctity or inspiration was predicated of the books themselves. The final step, however, could not long he delayed. The sacredness of the Words and Deeds of Jesus which they contained, the apostolic authority by which they were recommended, and, above all, their familiar use in the services of the Church, gradually raised them to the level of the ancient Scriptures; and the process was no doubt accelerated by the action of heretical and schismatical bodies, claiming one after another to base their tenets upon

[1] Indeed it was supposed, until the recovery in 1896 of part of Ecclesiasticus, that they had actually succeeded in extirpating it—so far, that is, as it was not able to hide itself under the veil of exegesis in the Haggada, Midrash and Talmud (We. *IJG* 252, second ed. 287). Even Ecclesiasticus would he no exception if we could admit the contention of D. S. Margoliouth (*The Origin of the 'Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus*, 1899). In his opinion the 'Original Hebrew' is a had retranslation (from the Syriac version and a Persian translation of the Greek) made after 1000 A.D. by an Arabic-speaking Jew [or Christian?] who was taught Hebrew by a Jew with a pronunciation similar to that of the Christians of Urmi. The reader will probably hesitate to accept this theory; still it cannot be denied that Margolionth has availed himself with great skill of many weak points of the Hebrew text. which in any case need a thorough investigation.

[2] As to this cp Wildehoer, 48 *f.*, who must be held in all essentials to have the better of the argument as against the vigorous polemic of Ryle, 153 *ff.*

[3] See, for example, APOCALYPSE.

[4] In fact, to speak strictly, there never was such a canon. The Alexandrine collection of Holy Books never underwent that revision in accordance with the Pharisaic conception of 'defiling the hands' which finally fixed the Hebrew canon.

[5] On this point there seems to he some self-contradiction in Ryle, if we compare pp. 146, 208 *f.* with 180 *f.*

[1] There is, however, a singular passage in the sixth of the Anglican Articles of Religion limiting 'Holy Scripture' to 'those canonical hooks of the Old and the New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church,' which Bishop Westcott (*On the Canon of the NT*(4), 494) cannot undertake to explain.

[2] See Cheyne, *Founders*, 349, and cp preceding note.

certain of these -documents or upon others peculiar to themselves.

Meanwhile a similar process had been going on in regard to other writings of the apostolic age. These

62. Epistles. were for the most part letters, written in many instances to particular chmches, and designed to meet special needs. The writers betray no consciousness that their words would come to he regarded as a permanent standard of doctrine or of action in the Christian Church: they write for an immediate purpose, and just as they would wish to speak, were they able to he present with those whom they address. In their absence, and still more after their death, their letters were cherished and read again and again by the churches which had first received them, and by others who naturally welcomed such precious relics of the apostolic age. For the apostles were the authorised instructors of the Christian Church. In the age which succeeded them, 'the Lord and the apostles' became the natural standard of appeal to which reference was to he made in all matters of faith and practice. For some time 'the tradition of the apostles,' as handed down in the churches of their foundation, was regarded as the test of orthodoxy. Oral tradition, however, is necessarily variable and uncertain. It was natural that, when actual disciples of the apostles were no longer living, appeal should more and more be made to their written words, and that these should be set side by side with the Gospels as the primary documents of the Christian faith. Here again the same elements as before come into play, though probably at a slightly later period—viz., the liturgical use of the epistles, and the necessity of maintaining them intact against the mutilations or rejections of heretical sects.

In the collection which was thus gradually being formed by the pressure of various circumstances and

63. Other books. with no distinct consciousness of the creation of a canon, a place was found beside the Gospels and the epistles for two other hooks. The Apocalypse of John opened with the salutation of an epistle; and, even apart from this, its apocalyptic character claimed for it a special and abiding sacredness; moreover it contained an express blessing for those who should read and listen to it, and a warning against any who should presume to alter or add to it. The Acts of the Apostles would find an easy entrance, partly as an authorised account of the deeds of apostles written by one who had contemporaneous knowledge of them, and still more as being in form the second part of the Third Gospel and properly inseparable from the earlier hook.

Thus, side by side with the old Jewish canon, and without in any way displacing it, there had sprung up a

64. A new canon. new Christian canon. Although its exact limits were not yet precisely defined, and local variations of opinion were to be observed with regard to the acceptance of particular books, we find the idea of such a new canon in full play in the writings of great representative men of the period from 180 to zoo A.D.—of Irenzus speaking for Asia Minor and Gaul, of Tertullian in N. Africa, and of Clement in Alexandria. The Church is by this time fully conscious that she is in possession of written documents of the apostolic age; documents to which reference must be universally made, as to a final court of appeal, in questions of right faith and right action. The authority of Jesus and his apostles is, in the main, embodied for her in writings which she rends together with the OT in her public services, quotes as Scripture, and regards as the inspired revelation of divine truth. Of the stages by which this result has been reached the writers referred to have nothing to tell us. It was, as we have seen, the issue of an unconscious growth, natural and for the most part unchallenged, and so leaving no recorded history behind it. If the Church was awakened to a consciousness of ier great possession, and to the importance of insisting upon its integrity, by the attempts made by heretics to defraud her of portions of it, there is no evidence of deliberate efforts on her part to build up the conception of a new canon in opposition to them; much less of my formal declarations, such as those of later times, defining what books should or should not he included in it. In the stress of controversy she fell back on the treasures which she possessed, and realised that in the books which she was accustomed to read for the instruction of her children she had, on the one hand, the full and harmonious expression of all those positive truths whose isolation or exaggeration formed the groundwork of the several heretical systems, and, on the other hand, the decisive contradiction of the negations in which their capricious selections had involved those who rejected any part of the common heritage.

2. That the sketch given above of the gradual growth of a new canon with its twofold contents, in the period

65. Evidence of orthodox writers: Clement, etc. anterior to Irenzus, Tertullian, and Clement, is justified not only by intrinsic probability but also by the references of early Christian writers to hooks of the NT, may be seen by consulting the collections of such references accessible in modern treatises upon the canon. Here a brief outline of the evidence must suffice.

In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (*circa* 95) we have two precepts introduced by a command to 'remember the words of our Lord Jesus' (cp Acts 20_{35}): in neither case do they exactly agree with the language of our Gospels; they may be the result of a fusion due to citation from memory, or they may possibly be derived from oral tradition. The epistle is saturated with the phraseology of the Pauline Epistles (Rom., 1 Cor., Eph.; less certainly Tim. and others) and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but these are not directly cited, and the expressions 'Scripture' and 'it is written' are applied to the OT alone.

In the genuine Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (shorter Greek recension, *circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) the only direct citation of words of Jesus ('Lay hold and handle me and see that I am not a spirit [δαιμόνιον] without body,' ***Ad Smyrn.* 3)** is possibly derived from an apocryphal hook or from an oral tradition. The language of these Epistles shows traces of acquaintance with Mt. and Jn. and with several of the Pauline Epistles. The Epistle of Polycarp (*circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) is largely composed of quotations from NT books (especially Mt., Lk., 1 and 2 Jn., 1 Pe., and the Pauline Epistles). There is but one (somewhat uncertain) instance of the citation of NT words as Scripture.

The Epistle of Barnabas (*circa* **98** A.D., Lightfoot: though most scholars place it later) prefixes to the saying 'Many called hut few chosen,' the formula 'it is written.' If this be cited from Mt. 22_{14}—and a later reference makes it not improbable—then we have here the earliest use of this formula in reference to a book of the NT.

The ***Teaching of the Apostles*** (date uncertain: perhaps 110-130) introduces a form of the Lords Prayer, which has variants both from Mt. and Lk., by the words, 'as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, so pray ye' (chap. 8; cp chaps. 11, 15). It clearly presupposes a written Gospel, and shows acquaintance with Mt. and Lk. It has embodied an ancient (perhaps Jewish) manual, 'The Two Ways' (used also in ***Ep.*** *Barn.* and elsewhere), and also certain early eucharistic prayers which incorporate the language of Jn.

The *Apology* of Aristides, the Athenian philosopher (*circa* 125-130 A.D.), addressed to the emperor Hadrian (acc. to Eus. and the title of Arm. vers.; the title of the Syr. vers. would place it a few years later, under Antoninus Pius), twice refers expressly to writings of the Christians; in the first instance, after enumerating the

main events of the life of Jesus—including his birth 'from a Hebrew virgin' and his ascension—it distinctly appeals to the written Gospel for corroboration. It also embodies language from the Epistle to the Romans.

The *Shepherd* of *Hermas* (date uncertain : 110-140) betrays a close acquaintance with many NT books, though it makes no direct citations either from OT or from NT. The language of our four Gospels (even of the Appendix to Mk.), of the Pauline Epistles including the Pastoral Epp., of 1 Pe., Acts, Apoc., and above all of Jas., is adopted by the writer; and even 2 Pe. seems to have been used.

66. Papias. Before we come to the fuller testimonies of Justin Martyr and subsequent writers it is necessary to examine the evidence to be derived from Papias. His date and the interpretation to be placed on his fragmentary remains have been the subject of much criticism (see esp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 142-216). He was the hearer of at least two personal disciples of Jesus, and his great work may be placed *circa* 130-140. It was entitled Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, 'Expositions of the Oracles of (or 'concerning') 'the Lord.' As λόγια is a term used in the NT of the OT writings, the title of the book naturally suggests some kind of commentary on the writings relating to Jesus—*i.e.*, on written Gospels which held a recognised position of sacredness in the Christian Church. It is probable that similar commentaries on one or more of the Gospels had already been composed by Gnostic writers: thus Basilides is said to have written twenty-four books on 'the Gospel' (*circa* 117-138). Such books are disparaged by Papias as wordy and misleading; he prefers to fall back on the testimonies of the living disciples of those who had seen the Lord. He gives accounts, not free from difficulties, of the composition of Gospels by Matthew and Mark. On the whole, the facts seem to he most readily accounted for if we suppose that Papias in his five books expounded and illustrated by traditional stories the four Gospels as we at present know them. Eusebius further expressly informs us that Papias used 1 Jn. and 1 Pe. There can be little doubt that his chiliastic views were based on the Apocalypse.

67. Justin. Justin Martyr (*circa* 152), when mentioning the words of the institution of the Eucharist, says: 'So the apostles handed clown in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels' (*Ap.* 166). In describing the Sunday worship, too, he refers to 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' (*Ap.* 167; see LORD'S DAY), and these Memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) are placed on a level with the 'Writings of the Prophets' as an alternative means of edification in the gatherings of the Christian Church. Justin's use of them, here and in his *Dialogue* with the Jew Trypho, is conditioned by the necessities of his argument. In themselves they would have no weight with heathen or Jewish opponents. The OT prophecies, however, could be freely appealed to in either case, as the argument rested on their fulfilment rather than on their sacredness. Justin accordingly uses 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' as historical documents in proof of the fulfilment of Messianic predictions in the recorded events of the life of Jesus. Twelve times he refers to them directly in the *Dialogue*—all the instances being in connection with his exposition of Ps. 22. In every case, both here and in the *Apology*, the reference is fully accounted for by the supposition that these 'Memoirs' were our four Gospels, the phraseology of each of which can be traced in his writings. Where he most carefully describes them, after referring to an event recorded only by Lk., he says that 'they were compiled by Christ's apostles and those who companied with them.' This exactly agrees with the traditional authorship of our Gospels, as written two by apostles (Mt., Jn.), and two by followers of apostles (Mk., Lk.). Justin likewise refers for corroboration of his statements to official *Acta Pilati*: he may perhaps have been acquainted with a more primitive form of the apocryphal materials still surviving under that designation. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that he used any apocryphal Gospel (unless perhaps a 'Protevangel' or Gospel of the Infancy). He refers directly to the Apocalypse as written by the apostle John (*Tryph.* 81), and shows acquaintance with most of the Pauline Epistles.

68. Tatian. From Justin we pass to his pupil Tatian (*circa* 150-160 A.D.), who helps to confirm our conclusions as to Justin himself by his use of our four Gospels and no other in his *Diatessaron.* This remarkable book, which for a long period must have been the only Gospel of many Syrian churches, is known to us mainly through a Commentary upon it written by Ephraim, and preserved to us in an Armenian translation; and also through an Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* itself—made, however, after the later text of the Peshitta Syriac had been substituted for Tatian's own text, which had many interesting variants of an early type. The two sources of evidence supplement each other, and make it certain that Tatian's Gospels were none other than our own. There is some reason for thinking that Tatian also introduced into Syria a collection of the Pauline Epistles.

69. Unorthodox: Basilides, etc. 3. Although Tatian adopted heretical opinions after the death of his master, his great work on the Gospels appears to he quite independent of these and was accepted without question by the Syrian Church. It will be well, however, to notice at this point the evidence to he derived from other heretical leaders in regard to the estimation in which various books of the NT were held by those who were dissatisfied with the teaching of the main body of the Church. It will suffice to take three writers of whom we have a considerable amount of information preserved to us. Basilides of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Hadrian. His Expositions on the Gospel, in twenty-four books, have already been mentioned. Accepting, with Hort, the account preserved in the *Refutation of Heresies* (generally ascribed to Hippolytus) as representing portions of this work, we meet with the striking fact that quotations from the NT, introduced with the words 'The Scripture saith,' and 'as it is written,' are found in a heretical writer at a period at which they cannot with certainty be said to be so introduced by any writer within the Church. Several passages from the Pauline Epistles are so cited by Basilides. He also used Mt., Lk., Jn., and apparently 1 Pe.

Marcion (*circa* 140) undertook to restore the simplicity of Christianity on the basis of Paul, whom he regarded as the only true apostle. He rejected the OT and retained of the NT only Lk. in a mutilated form, and ten Epistles of Paul; the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews not being included in his canon. There is no indication that he applied any other standard than that of correspondence with his own dogmatic position, in making what must be considered the earliest attempt at the conscious definition of a NT canon.

Heracleon (*circa* 170, or earlier), a disciple of Valentinus, wrote a Commentary on Jn., of which considerable fragments are preserved by Origen. His system of interpretation shows that he held the exact words of the Evangelist in the highest veneration, as instinct with spiritual meaning. He also commented on Lk., and shows acquaintance with Mt., Heb., and the Pauline Epistles including 2 Tim.

Thus the first certain citations of NT writings with the formula familiarly used of the OT, the first attempt at defining a NT canon, and the first commentary on a NT book, come to us not from within but from without the Church. These are striking evidences of the authority generally accorded to the NT writings; in

the words of Irenæus (iii. 27): 'So strong is the position of our Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each must start from these to prove his own doctrine.'

4. The early history of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions is wrapt in obscurity; but there is reason for believing that the translation of parts at least of both these versions must be placed not much later than the middle of the second century (see TEXT, §§ 20, 32). The Old Latin version seems to have been made in N. Africa, and to have included, probably before the time of Tertullian, all the books of the later canon, excepting Jas., 2 Pe., and possibly Heb. When the Scillitan Martyrs (N. Africa, 180 A.D.) were examined as to what was contained in their book-chest, their brief recorded reply was 'Books and Epistles of Paul, a just man.' Such was their description of the writings which, doubtless, were used by them in their services. It is conditioned by the circumstance of its utterance before heathen judges; it would be wrong to' conclude from it that the Pauline Epistles were placed by them on a different level from the other sacred writings. The Old Syriac of the Gospels has till lately been known only from Cureton's imperfect MS; but the palimpsest recently found at Mt. Sinai enables us to reconstruct this version for the most part with approximate certainty. A selection of comments by Ephraim on the Acts of the Apostles, and his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, preserved in Armenian translations, point to an Old Syriac version of these books also. The older MSS of the revised Syriac version (the Peshitta) do not contain 2 and 3 Jn., 2 Pe., Jude, and Apoc.

70. Early versions.

We have been concerned hitherto with tracing the growth of the conception of a NT canon, without considering, except incidentally, the range of writings included in it. The influence of the main body of the NT literature upon the writers of the period with which we have been dealing cannot be at all fully appreciated from our scanty analysis. Their writings must themselves be studied line by line, if we are to understand the debt which they owed, as regards both ideas and phraseology, to the documents of the apostolic age. In that age new conceptions had been given to the world, and a new terminology had been formed for their expression. The next age reprodnced these; but it was not itself creative. This is seen, for instance, in the technical terms of even the boldest of the Gnostic speculations. Whatever may have been men's conscious attitude towards the NT writings, it is clear that they are dominated by them from the very first. Gradually they come to recognise them more and more as their masters; and then, both within the Church and outside it, we find them definitely declaring the limits of the canon to which they owe this allegiance.

71. General traces of NT.

Marcion's list of sacred books has already been noticed. The next list of which we have any knowledge is unfortunately a fragment, and tells us neither its date nor its author's name or locality. It was published in 1740 by Lodovico Antonio Muratori, the librarian at Milan. Hence it is lcnown as the Muratorian canon. It is in barbarous Latin, in a seventh or eighth century MS; but its original mnst have been Greelc, and it is generally agreed that it was written in the West (perhaps at Rome) towards the close of the second century. Lightfoot conjectured that it was a portion of the 'Verses on all the Scriptures' assigned to Hippolytus. The fragment commences with the end of a description of Mark; it goes on to speak of Luke and John, and refers to the different beginnings of the four books of the Gospel. After Acts come the Epistles of Paul; the seven churches to which he wrote being paralleled with the seven of the Apocalvpse, and enumerated in the following order—Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., Gal., Thess., Rom. Then come four private letters—Philemon and the Pastoral epistles. Two other epistles are declared forgeries—viz., those to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandriaus. Then we have Jude, two epistles of John (1 Jn. has been quoted from at an earlier point, so that these may perhaps be 2 and 3 Jn.), and the Wisdom of Solomon, 'written in his honour.' Then the 'apocalypses of John and Peter alone we receive, which (*sing.*) some among us will not have read in the church.' The *Shepherd of Hermas* 'ought to be read,' but not reckoned either with the prophets or with the apostles. After a few more lines as to rejected books, the text being very corrupt, the fragment suddenly closes. The omissions are deserving of notice—nothing is said of 1 and 2 Peter, James, and Hebrews—but the omitted epistles were undoubtedly (if we except 2 Peter) known at this time in the Roman church. It is difficult, therefore, to draw conclusions from their omission in a fragment of whose history so little can be ascertained and whose text is so obviously corrupt. The Muratorian canon is fully discussed by Zahn, *Hist. of the Canon* ('90) 21-43: quite recently Dom Amelli of Monte Cassino has published fragments of it from other MSS (*Misc. Cassin.*, 1897).

72. Muratorian canon.

5. The inclusion (though with an expression of variance of opinion) of the Apocalypse of Peter in the 'Muratorian Fragment' leads us to say something of books which for a time claimed a place in the canon, but were ultimately excluded.

73. Books temporarily received.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the *Homily*, miscalled his 'Second Epistle,' are contained, after the Apocalypse, in Cod. A (the great Greek Bible of the 5th cent. in the Brit. Mus.). The Epistle of Barnabas and the *Shepherd of Hermas* hold a similar place in the Sinaitic Bible (א, 4th cent.). The two latter books are occasionally cited as Scripture in patristic writings, and this is the case also with the *Teaching of the Apostles.*

Of apocryphal Gospels two deserve special notice. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is known only by a few fragments, which show that it bore a close relation to our First Gospel. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote from it. although they insist on the sole authority of our four Gospels. The *Gospel according to Peter*, a considerable fragment of which was published in 1892 from a MS found in Egypt, is known to have been used in the church of Rhossns near Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203), at first permitted its use, but subsequently disallowed it on the ground of Docetic errors. The extant portion embodies the language of all our four Gospels, though it often perverts their statements. There is no trace of the use of any other Gospel in its composition, though certain phrases may possibly be borrowed from some earlier apocryphal book. Its composition may with probability be assigned to *circa* 165. Its testimony to the canon is thus somewhat parallel in date and extent to that of Tatian's *Diatessaron.*

The *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which a fragment was recovered at the same time, was an early book which powerfully influenced subsequent literature of a similar kind—*e.g.*, the *Apocalypse of Paul.* It seems to be responsible for much of the mediæval conception of heaven and hell. It presents curious coincidences with 2 Peter. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria; and as late as the fifth century it was read on Good Friday in certain churches of Palestine.

6. Our inquiry has revealed to ns that towards the close of the second century, by the time of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement—writers whose testimonies are so abundant that we need not dwell upon them here—the Church had attained to a conscious recognition of a canon of the New Testament. Three classes of hooks have come into view: (1) the main bulk of the NT books, as to which no

74. Result.

doubt at all is expressed by writers within the Church; (2) books whose position in the canon was challenged in certain quarters, although they ultimately were included; (3) books which were read in certain churches, but were ultimately classed as non-canonical. With regard to books of the second of these classes the later history of their reception will be found under the special articles devoted to them, and in the works to which reference is made below. With regard to the third it may suffice to say that the verdict of the Church has been fully justified by the fact that no serious effort has ever been made to reinstate them. J. A. R.

75. Bibliography: OT. *Literature of the Subject.* i. *OT* Canon.—The following works dealing with the OT canon may be mentioned. The authors are arranged in alphabetical order.

W. J. Beecher, 'The alleged Triple Canon of the OT,' *JBL* 1896; C. A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, 1899; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text d. ATs*, 1891; De Wette-Schrader, *Einl. in d. AT*, 8th ed. 1869; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 1892, *Die Entstehung des AT*, 1897; Fürst, *Der Kanon des AT*, 1868; Graetz, *Koheleth*, 1871; Holtzmann, *Einl. in d. NT*, 3rd ed. 1892; Koenig, *Essai sur la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, 1894; Marx, *Traditio Rabbinorum veterrima*, etc. 1884; WRS, *OTJC*(2), 1892; Ryle, *The Canon of the OT*, 1892; Schürer, *GJV* ii. 1886; Strack, art. 'Kanon des AT' in *PRE*(2) 7; Weber, *System der altsyn. pal. Theologie*, 1880; We. 'Die Sammlung der Schriften des AT' in Bleek, *Einl.*(4) ('78) and *Einl.*(6) ('93); Wildeboer, *Die Entstehung des AT-lichen Kanons*, 1891 (*ET* '95); C.H.H. Wright, *The Book of Koheleth*, 1883; Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed. 1832. Moreover, Wildeboer in his valuable article, 'De voor-Thalmudische Joodsche Kanon' (*Theologische Studiën*, 1897) cites the following books and articles, written, with the exception of the first, by Roman Catholics: T. Mullen, *The Canon of the OT*, 1893; A. Loisy, *Histoire du Canon de l'AT*, 1890; Magnier, *Étude sur la Canonicité des Saintes Écritures*, I. 1892; B. Pörtner, *Die Autorität der deuterokanonischen Bücher des ATs*, 1893; J. P. van Kasteren, *De Joodsche Canon* (*Stud. op. godsd. wetensch. en letterk.-gebied*, xxviii.), 1895. K. B.

76. Bibliography: NT. ii. *NT Canon.*—A brief outline of a subject of the highest importance, which bristles with points of controversy, has necessarily passed over in silence a large portion of the evidence, and needs to be supplemented by a list of books in which the various topics are treated in detail and, in some cases, from a different point of view. The following will prove most useful to the modern student:—

Westcott *On the Canon of the NT* (7th ed. 1896), a mine of information on the early Christian writings; Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion* (republished 1889), specially important for Papias and other early writers: Salmon's *Historical Introduction to the NT* (8th ed. 1897), a vigorous examination of adverse criticism; Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration*, a careful and sympathetic account of the present position of controversy; Weiss's *Introd. to the NT* (1886; ET, 1887), a clear exposition of the early history; Zahn's *Gesch. d. NT Kanons* (1888-92), together with his *Forschungen* (in five parts 1881-83), by far the most exhaustive treatise that has appeared; Harnack's examination of vol. i. pt. 1 of this work in *Das NT um das Jahr 200* ('89), a severe criticism—his own position is stated positively in his *Dogmengesch.* (1885; 2nd ed. 1888, pp. 304-328): Jülicher's *Einl. in das NT* ('94), an able statement of a position intermediate between Weiss and Harnack. Harnack's preface to his *Chronologie der altchr. Litteratur* ('97) is a noteworthy utterance, indicating the abandonment of the Tübingen positions in regard to the dating of NT documents.

[Holtzmann may also be mentioned as an eminently fair-minded guide, and abundant in literary references (*Einl. in das NT*(3), 1894). Among older books, see Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons* ('47), and his *Gesch. des NT Kanons*; edited by Volkmar ('60), important for the history of the study of the canon; also Hilgenfeld's *Einl. in das NT*, 1875.] J. A. R.

§§ 1-59, 75, K. B.; §§ 60-74, 76, J. A. R.

CANOPY (חֻפָּה), Is. 45 RV, AV 'defence,'; see TENT, § 4.

CANTICLES. We have before us a book which has suggested as many problems as Shakespeare's Sonnets.

1. Problems. The name which we give to it, therefore, should not be a question-begging name. We will call it in this article neither 'Canticles' nor 'Song of Solomon,' but, following the best interpretation of 1 1, 'Song of Songs'—the choicest of all songs (like 'servant of servants,' Gen. 9 25—*i.e.*, 'lowest of servants').

The first difficulty arises when we seek to determine precisely the subject of the Song (§§ 2-4); the next, when we investigate its poetical form (§§ 5-11), and seek to fix its date (§§ 13-15). We will consider these difficulties in order; but the first cannot be treated completely (§§ 10 *f.* 17) until we have overcome the second.

I. *Subject* (preliminary). Jewish tradition laid down very positively that, both as a whole and in its several

2. Hist. of Interpretation. parts, the Song describes the phases of a spiritual (not merely an earthly) love. The bride was the symbol of Israel, the bridegroom that of its divine king; and by the labours of countless homilists the Song became a lyric record of the intercourse between the Lord and his people from the Exodus (cp Jer. 2 2) to the Messianic time. Of those exegetical labours, or rather poetical broodings, we have a summary in the Midrash ha-Shirim (transl. Wünsche, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* 1 *f.* 6), with which the not less fervidly-written Targum (of post-Talmudic origin) may be compared.[1] This theory was introduced in a modified form into the Christian Church mainly through the influence of Origen, of whom Jerome says that, 'while on the other books he surpassed all others, on the Song of Songs he surpassed himself' (Origen, *Op.* 3 11). This theologian treated the bride as being either the Church or (an important variation) the soul of the believer. The boldly avowed heterodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who interpreted the Song solely as relating to the Egyptian marriage of Solomon, was fruitless. Its condemnation at the second council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) postponed the acceptance of the literal interpretation in the Church for a thousand years. The great St. Bernard wrote eighty-six sermons on Song 1 and 2 alone, and his example fostered similar mystical studies in the Latin Church. Only among Jewish commentators was a natural exegesis not wholly unrepresented.[2] Ibn Ezra, in particular, is so thorough in his literal exegesis that it is doubtful whether he is serious when he proceeds to allegorise. Though Luther was moving in this direction, no Christian scholar before Sebastian Castellio (1544) ventured to maintain the purely secular character of the poem, and all that mediaeval mysticism could do was to exercise its right of selection from the two allegoric views. The idea that the bride was the Christian soul became the favourite: partly because it seemed to promote edification, and partly because it commended itself to the romantic spirit of the young western nations. Thus, Dante surprises us when (*Convivio*, 2 15, end) he identifies the bride with Heavenly Wisdom.[3] Even in the time of the Reformation we find the evangelical 'Horace of the cloister,' Fray Luis de Leon, translating the Song mystically in 'ottava rima'; and in our own day Bishop Alexander, though a Hebraist, has made an earnest poetic protest in favour of a mystic and against a dramatic theory (*Poems*, 1886, pp. 26-51).

Grammatical exegesis, however, destroys the basis of the old verse-by-verse allegorical interpretation. The

3. Not an allegory. only question possible is, whether a general allegory of subject may have been intended by the poet—whether he considered the earthly love that he described to have a true symbolic resemblance to the spiritual love.[4] The answer is, that

[1] On the Jewish interpreters see S. Salfeld, *Das Hohelied Salomo's bei den jüd. Erklärern des Mittelalters* ('79); on both the Jewish and the Christian, W. Riegel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der griech. Kirche* ('98).

[2] See Salfeld, 52; Gratz, *Schir ha-Schirim*, 119 *f.*, and cp Mathews, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Canticles* ('74), Preface.

[3] Dante's Jewish friend, Immanuel ben Sh'lomoh, identified the bride with the 'material intellect' (Salfeld, 91). The biblical point of contact is Prov. 8.

[4] Bp. Lowth is one of the chief defenders of a secondary and general allegorical sense. He appeals not only to 'the most

such a symbolic resemblance is inconsistent with the spirit of Hebraism. It is true that the relation between Yahwè and his people is described in the prophets by the symbolism of wedlock (Hos. **1-3**; Jer. **22 3**; Ezek. **16**; Is. 50 1 54 5 6). It is true, also, that the phrase 'to love (אהב) Yahwè' occurs frequently in Deuteronomy and (less often) in the Psalter, and that the word דוֹד (used in the Song) is applied once by Isaiah (51) to Yahwè. Still, the notion implied by the prophetic allegory of wedlock, as well as by the phrase 'to love God,' is not that of free inclination on Israel's part towards the All-beautiful One, but rather of an obedience which is in the first instance the condition of divine protection, though, as favours multiply and the essential goodness of the divine commands appears, it becomes a habit and a passion. In Deuteronomy, therefore, the love of Yahwè is prescribed as a duty not invited or presupposed; and even in the Psalter, where devotional feeling finds the freest expression, there are only three passages in which the phrase 'to love Yahwè' occurs (Ps. **31 23** 97 10 (?) 145 20), and in the first of these it occurs in the imperative mood. It is in harmony with this that three other passages (Ps. 5 11 **69 36 119 132**) contain the fuller phrase 'to love Yahwè's name,' which appears to mean (see Is. 56 6) the performance of religious duties with a certain fervour. Such a conception of the love of God we find in the Koran (Sur. 3 29; cp 19 96). It was one of the Jewish elements in Mohammed's teaching, and failed to satisfy later generations of Moslems. In Syria and in Egypt, and still more in Persia, arose a mystic type of devotion, which sought by contemplation to lift the veil between man and God. The mystic love-songs of the Cairo dervishes, and the fine love-poems of the Sufi-poet Ḥāfiẓ, have been compared by Orientalists with the Song of Songs; but it has been forgotten that, fervid as the love of God became among the later Jews, it never divested itself of the chastening restraints of legalism, and that, in Persia at least, mystic poetry is one of the fruits of a national reaction against the aridity of Islam. It is still stranger that Sir William Jones and Sir Edwin Arnold have compared the Gitagovinda of the admired Indian poet Jayadeva (14th cent. A.D.), in which it would appear (but may we not suspect an afterthought of the poet?), 'from the few stanzas scattered through the poem where the author speaks in his own person, that he means his verses to be taken' in a mystic sense—Krishna symbolising the human soul, the shepherdesses the allurements of sense, and Rādhā the knowledge of, or meditation on, divine things. Surely the pantheistic atmosphere in which Jayadeva lived, and the excessive imaginative fervour of the Indian genius, are altogether unlike the conditions under which the Song of Songs must have been penned.

4. Origin of allegorical interpretation.

How came it, then, it may be asked, that the Jews of a later time, in their exegesis of the Song, adopted a theory which is, strictly, contrary to the spirit of Hebraism? Probably thus. We know from the Mishna (*Taanith*, **48**) that, before the destruction of the temple, passages from the Song were sung at certain popular yearly festivals. We know, too, that after the great catastrophe all expression of exuberant joy was forbidden. Now, what in those gloomy days was to be done with the Song, which tradition already ascribed to Solomon? The answer was ready:—Consecrate it by allegorical interpretation. This course corresponded to the change which had passed upon the national character. The enthusiastic element in Jewish piety was becoming, in adversity, more intense. This element needed the expression which it found in the Song of Songs (see *Berachoth* 57*b*, where חסירות is ascribed to the Megilla of the Song of Songs as well as to the Book of Psalms). It should be added, however, that even after 70 A.D. the natural interpretation found some supporters. At the synod of Jamnia (90 A.D.) R. 'Aḳība had still to defend the sacredness of the Song of Songs (Mishna, *Yadayim*, 3 5), and in ***Sanhedrin***, 101 *a*, we find a solemn anathema on those who treat the Shir ha-Shirim as a secular song (כמין זמר). The grounds on which this secular character was asserted may be guessed from the *Aboth de **R.** Natan*, chap. 1, which states that 'formerly' some counted the Song 'apocryphal' (גנוז), quoting in support of this, not 7 1-9, but 7 11 *f.*

It is about, or soon after, 90 A.D. that we find the first traces of the allegorical view (see 4 Esdras 5 24 26 7 26, and R. Simeon ben Gamliel's allegorical interpretation of Song 3 11 in *Taanith* 4 8). Before that time Jewish teachers seem to have shrunk from quoting the Song; even Philo neglects it. Nor is any use made of it (or of Ḳōhéleth) in the NT. Eph. **5 27** alludes perhaps to Ps. 45 13, but certainly not to Song **4 7**; and the parallelism between Rev. 3 20 and Song **5 2-6** (Trench, ***Seven*** *Churches*, 225 *f.*) is incomplete. This silence on the part of early Jewish and Christian writers shows the weakness of the argument from tradition adduced by the allegorists.

5. Poetical form: history of views.

II. *Poetical form*. Is the Song of Songs a drama or a bundle of loosely connected songs? The earliest advocate of a definite dramatic theory was the learned Jesuit, Cornelius a Lapide († 1637), who, like Ewald, divided the poem into five acts. Our own Bishop Lowth takes up a middle position. He finds no trace of a regular plot, and only one thing in which the Song closely resembles the Greek dramatic models—the chorus. He allows, however, that the Song may be classed with imperfect dramatic poems, such as the Eclogues of Virgil and some of the Idylls of Theocritus. The first scholar to adopt the second solution of the problem was Richard Simon; but the first to make it plausible was Herder.[1] Influenced partly by the disintegrating tendency of the newer criticism, but still more by an irresistible impulse to search for traces of old popular poetry, he boldly denied the continuity of the poem, dividing it into about twenty-one independent songs (with a fragmentary conversation for an appendix), threaded like so many pearls on a necklace. These songs are sometimes very short; but brevity, Herder thinks, is the soul of a love-song; nor is it important to determine the exact number of songs. Herder does not deny a certain pleasing appearance of unity, but ascribes this to the collector, who wished to show the gradual growth of true love in its various *nuances* and stages, till it finds its consummation in wedlock. In its present form the Song may be taken to consist of six 'scenes'; but the critic apologises for the term, and insists that the poem was intended to be read, and, as it stands, is neither a theatrical piece nor a cantata. Herder's 'exquisite little treatise'[2] could not fail to make an impression. It gained the approval of Eichhorn and Goethe; but, without a more

ancient authority,' but also to the analogy of Ps. 45 and (or safely) to passages in the prophets. Such a position, however, was tenable only provisionally. The Bishop expressly rejects the most poetic form of the allegorical theory for which alone most Christians have cared—it was defended by Bossuet—that which explains the Song of the loving intercourse between Christ and the **soul.** Surely the election of a Gentile Church ('dark but comely') might have been foreshadowed at a less expenditure of poetry. Rightly, therefore, did J. D. Michaelis and the acute Bp. Warburton criticise Lowth for not going further. Lowth answered that without allegory the place of the Song in the canon could not be justified. **All** his literary taste could not dissolve his narrow notion of the authority of the canon.

1 ***Lieder der** Liebe.* ***Die** ältesten und schönsten aus dem Morgenlande* **(1778)**. See Herder's *Werke* by Suphan, Bd. 8, and cp Haym's *Herder*, **2 175**, where it is shown that it was really Bishop Percy's *Reliques* which opened Herder's eyes to the element of folk-song in the OT. Herder, however, came to recognise that this element was somewhat modified in the Bible by a certain inherent and distinctive sanctity.

2 We have borrowed this and a few other characteristic phrases from the *EB* article 'Canticles' by Robertson Smith for the pleasure of quoting from **such** a fine piece of critical exposition.

thorough justification than Eichhorn gave, it could not permanently subvert the rival theory. Apart from its eloquent defence of the literal interpretation, its chief contribution to biblical study is perhaps this—that it has unintentionally proved the impossibility of recovering the original songs (if songs there were) and of retracing the plan (if plan he had) of the hypothetical collector. Goethe appears to have felt this. Tempted himself, as he tells us in the *Westöstlicher Divan*, to select and arrange some of 'these few leaves,' he took warning from the failure of previous efforts, and left the poem in its hopeless but lovely confusion.

A first step in the criticism of the Song was taken by Ewald in his early commentary (1826). He did not as yet venture to suppose that the 'cantata' was really acted on the stage; but from the first he asserted its genuinely dramatic character, and in 1839 he repaired his original omission (*Die poet. Bücher des AT*, Bd. i.). Was this a step backward? Only in appearance. Until the necessity of disintegration had been convincingly proved, Ewald was always on principle opposed to it. The cleverness and moderation of his critical theory, aided by his growing reputation for broad and deep scholarship, led to a very general adoption of the dramatic hypothesis, though the names of De Wette, Gesenius, Bleek, and Magnus may be quoted on the other side. The last-named scholar, however, did not effect much for his cause. His theory 'involved the assumption that the editor often displaced part of a song, sacrificing the unity of the original lyrics to an artificial composition of the whole.' It is only fair to add that in 1850 Bottcher did his best to make the opposite view absurd by introducing into the supposed Hebrew drama 'the complexities and stage effects of a modern operetta.' In 1860 Renan observed, with truth, that the dramatic theory had become 'almost classic,' and in 1891 and 1893 it was put forward as correct in the *Introductions* of Driver and Konig. Other eminent defenders of this theory are Hitzig (1855), Ginsburg (1857), Kuenen (1865), Delitzsch (1875), Robertson Smith[1] (1876), Kaempf (1877), Kohler (1878), Stickel (1888), Oettli (1889), Bruston (1891), Martineau (1892), and Rothstein (1893).

By degrees, however, the theory of the separatists recovered from the effects of Magnus's imprudence. It began to pass into a new phase, and to exercise a stronger attraction. Diestel (art. 'Hohes Lied,' Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* iii. ['71]); Reuss ('79, in *La Bible*, etc., also *Gesch. der Schriften des AT's*(2) ['90], 231-239); Stade (*GVI*, 2 197 ['88]); Cornill (*Einl.* ['91], pp. 236-240); Budde (*New World*, March '94, pp. 56-77); Kautzsch (*HS*, '94; *Lit. of the OT*, 148-151), and Siegfried (*Hoheslied*, '98) have done much to show that the view of Herder had not yet been adequately considered. Among these Budde deserves prominence for being the first to utilise adequately the information respecting Syrian marriage customs given by Consul Wetzstein in 1873.

Before reviewing this theory ourselves, we shall do well to examine the dramatic hypothesis more attentively.

6. Dramatic hypothesis considered. (*a*) The forms which it has taken are numerous and varied; in dividing the poem into acts and scenes critics are by no means unanimous.[2] According to Reuss, this wide divergence is fatal to the hypothesis. It seems fairer to admit that if it could be made out (1) that there is a plot, and (2) that there is any reason to expect a drama among a Semitic people, we might excuse this divergence as an unfortunate consequence of the absence of stage directions.

i. First, then, is there any plot? The dramatists (as we may call the defenders of this theory) answer that there is. Stickel even discovers two plots, developed by distinct pairs of lovers—the Shulammite (who is a vine-dresser) and her 'friend' (דוֹד), and a shepherd and shepherdess of Lebanon (besides the royal suitor, Solomon). The two latter are introduced in three scenes, 1 7-8 1 15-2 4 4 7-5 1. They know nothing about the Shulammite and her 'friend.' The poet has interwoven the two movements to amuse the audience and produce a pleasing contrast between the different fortunes of the two pairs of lovers. All very conceivable! Double musical themes can be treated in fugues: why not also in Hebrew drama, granting that a regular Hebrew drama ever existed, and that Stickel's view of the text is justified? However, all that this critic has shown is that 1 7 *f.* and 1 15-17 are out of connection with the previous verses; and in the case of the latter passage an easy emendation[1] enables us to recognise a continuous speech of the bride in 1 12-2 1.

Most critics, on the other hand, are content with one plot, and approach more or less closely to the dramatic scheme of Ewald, according to which the heroine is a maiden of Shulem or Shunem in Issachar (see SHUNEM), who has two lovers, the one at a distance, the other (till he finally disappears) near at hand; the one poor but favoured, the other royal but treated with disdain. In chap. 1 4 we find the maiden, who makes no secret of her country origin, in the 'chambers' of the king among the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the ladies of the palace); but in 8 5 she suddenly appears, approaching her mountain home on the arm of her betrothed. From the context it is thought to be clear that the suitor whose riches are contemned (8 7, cp 11 *f.*) is King Solomon, to whom the flattering compliments offered to the maiden in previous chapters must be assigned. How, then, came 'the Shulammite' to exchange her free country life for the irksome splendour of the court? It is inferred, from 6 11 *f.*, that she had been surprised by Solomon's courtiers (who had often been employed, no doubt, in similar abductions) on a royal progress in N. Israel. She 'had gone down into the nut-garden to look at the green things of the valley,' when 'suddenly,' she says, 'my desire brought me to the chariots of my noble people' (Ewald). It is some excuse for Solomon that, if Ewald may be followed, 'the Shulammite' had not even been betrothed to the shepherd when she was carried off. (R. Martineau, however, thinks that between the third and the fourth scene—i.e., between the 3 6-11 and 4 7-16—'the Shulammite' and the shepherd lover have been formally betrothed.) Then, how came the girl to be delivered from her royal captor? Renan has offered a very modern solution of the problem; but it is one which has no basis in the text, and may be safely neglected. Most have supposed (cp 8 9 *f.*) that the escape of 'the Shulammite' was due, not to any favourable combination of circumstances, but to the effect produced upon Solomon by her own frank and loyal character; 'all the actors,' says Ewald, 'recognise the restraints of the true religion.' Will this view hold? Is it conceivable that the luxurious Solomon should have been represented by any popular poet as releasing one of the 'maidens innumerable' in his 'chambers'?[2] Is it probable that such a maiden would have had, in the poet's fancy, the liberty implied in the early scenes of the 'drama,' or that she would have met Solomon's advances in that extra-

[1] Of this lamented scholar's later views we have, unfortunately, no record.

[2] The dramatic schemes of Ew. and Del. are given in full by Dr. *Introd.*(6) 438-444. Delitzsch finds only two chief characters, Solomon and the Shulammite. Passages like 2 10-15 and 4 8-15 which seem to speak of a shepherd-lover, really refer, he thinks to Solomon, who adopts the circle of ideas and images familiar to his rustic love. Against this absurd view, see Oettli, 157. Martineau, on the other hand eliminates the king altogether. So too Castelli who describes the poem as an idyll in dialogue, the chief personages of which are the Shulammite and her lover.

[1] 1 15 has evidently been interpolated from 4 1, and the opening word of *v.* 16 has been put in to match the first word of *v.* 15. An address of the heroine to her lover is out of place in this context (Bickell).

[2] Stickel quotes an example of such magnanimity from the life of the Caliph Mahdi (Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orient*, 2 127); but can we compare the characters of the two sovereigns?

ordinarily absent manner which Ewald's view of 19-26 supposes? Why should the recurring phrase 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp 'daughters of Zion,' 3 11) have such a limited reference as the dramatic theory requires? Then, as to the Shulammite and her abduction. Theory apart, what right have we to assume that the intercourse implied in the poem between the girl and her lover was prior to marriage? To this point we shall have to return. Can we safely infer from the title that Shulem or Shunem was the girl's home? The title occurs in a single passage (6 13 [7 1]); but there is no allusion elsewhere to confirm this supposition. Next, how can Ewald base such a romantic story simply on the very obscure passage, 6 11 *f.*? Lastly, how do we know that the Solomon of history or legend plays any part in the poem? As Castelli, himself one of the dramatisers, has well pointed out, Solomon is mentioned by name only in some simile or figurative contrast.[1] Thus in 1 5 the heroine likens herself for comeliness to the curtains of the pavilions of Solomon (but we should rather read with Brüll, We., and Wi., שַׁלְמָה, the name of a nomad Arabian tribe; see SALMAH, 2). In 3 7-11 Solomon's litter is spoken of jestingly; and so, in 8 11, 'to the costly vineyard of Solomon the heroine prefers her own symbolic one, which does not require the anxious supervision of others.' There is a fourth passage in which, according to an extremely probable correction of the text, Solomon is named,—6 8 *f.*:

'Sixty queens had Solomon, and eighty concubines, and maidens innumerable. One is my dove, my spotless one.'

Here again there is a contrast between Solomon's large harem and the speaker's single incomparable bride.

Can we, then, be sure that where the phrase 'the king' occurs alone, it is not a honorific designation of the bridegroom? And this suggests the question, which Castelli, however, does not raise, whether the term 'the Shulammite' is not as purely figurative as 'the king'? Several writers (*e.g.*, Klostermann) have conjectured that the story of Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 1 3 *f.*) supplied the plot of the supposed drama; but considering the difficulty of making out any plot at all, and the fact that 'the Shulammite' is referred to only in one passage, we may ask whether it is not more probable that the term is applied metaphorically, and is equivalent to 'the fairest of women' (1 8 5 9 6 1)? If we omit 6 11 *f.* as misplaced (doubtless a correct view), and read 6 10 and 13 [7 1] together, we shall see how natural it was for the poet to seek out some striking variation on the rather hackneyed phrase just mentioned. The passage will run thus:

'Who is she that looketh down as the dawn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun? Turn, turn, thou Shulammite, that we may look upon thee.'

It is usual to assume that the spectators, being ignorant of the heroine's name, address her with blunt directness as a girl of Shunem, and that she answers by the modest question, 'What do you see in the simple Shularnmite girl?' It is much more natural to suppose that 'the Shulammite' (Shunammite) is a term not less complimentary than 'fair as the moon' in *v.* 10. and points back to the Abishag of tradition.[2] And should it be asked why Abishag's name is not mentioned, we may venture to express the opinion that when the song was written there was probably in the Hebrew text of 1 K. 1 3 15, 1 Sam. etc., not אבישג, but a very different word (see SHULAMMITE).

There are many other difficulties of interpretation which might be mentioned. For example, how are we to understand the movements of 'the beloved'? Are all the meetings of the lovers, except the final reunion, in reminiscence or in sleeping or waking imagination only? Can we conceive of a drama in which each of the actors seems almost if not quite uninfluenced by the speeches of the other? Not so did the Yahwist and the Elohist and the author of the Prologue of Job manage their dialogues. Less important is the difficulty which arises from the changes of scene, a weakness which need not surprise us in primitive plays. We must be careful, however, not to attach too much importance to European parallels. Renan, for example, goes too far when he refers to the comparatively elaborate pastoral play called *Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion*, or *Li Jeus du Bergier et de la Bergiere*, composed in 1282 by Adam de la Halle for the diversion of the court.[1] It would be more natural, with R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashoam), to compare the simple pastoretas of the Troubadours; but even that might be misleading.

ii. We have now to ask, further, Have we a right to expect a Semitic drama, however primitive in form?

7. No Semitic drama. That Semitic nations are not at all devoid of general dramatic capacity may be granted. In Mohammedan countries the *rāwī* ('reciter') still displays all the faculties of an actor, and stirs his hearers to the depths as he tells the story of 'Antar or the tales of the Arabian Nights; and there is an unmistakably strong dramatic element in Arabic works such as the 'Sessions' of Hariri. It cannot have been otherwise with the Israelites. They too must have laughed and wept as they listened to their story-tellers. At all events, the relics of their literature contain genuinely dramatic passages: see, for example, the stories of Jacob and Samson (evidently of traditional origin), of Ruth and Job. Even in the psalms and prophecies we have pieces like Ps. 2 24 7-10 Is. 63 1-6 28 8-11 Mic. 6 6-8, and the colloquies in the Rook of Job have at least a distant affinity to the drama of character. Still, there is no evidence that the transition to a drama was ever made by a Semitic people. We have an Assyrian epic, but no Assyrian drama. Least of all can we reasonably expect to find one in the OT. Theatrical performances were not known at Jerusalem before the time of Herod, and to all good Jews such heathenish practices were detestable (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8 1; cp *BJ* i. 21 8). Hence the dramatic theory of the Song is plausible only if the composition of the poem be placed at *Alexandria* (during the Greek period). Why, upon this supposition, did not the dramatist write in Greek, as did Ezekiel, the author of the drama on the Exodus called Ἐξαγωγή? In a word, the difficulties of the dramatic theory are insuperable.

(*b*) The Israelites, however, had a still more characteristic gift—that of lyric poetry. Singing and dancing

8. Popular lyric poetry. formed essential parts of their festivities, as they still do among the Bedouins; and when these festivities were occasioned by some great local or national event, a dramatic element would naturally infuse itself into the popular songs, and this all the more easily because the custom of alternate song, which is in its nature dramatic, was very ancient (cp Ex. 15 21 1 S. 21 11). Ewald thinks that the Song (which is, according to him, a cantata) was originally intended for a festival of the independence of the N. kingdom, and that it was performed in five days, an act in a day. This view suits his theory of the 'plot' of the Song; but it is no longer tenable—we have seen that the references to 'Solomon' are figurative, and that 'the Shulammite' is also a mere eulogistic term.

Why should not we take up again the suggestive idea of Bossuet and Lowth that the Song was intended for use on the seven days of the marriage festival (cp

[1] Castelli, *Della poesia biblica*, 311

[2] This view was proposed by Stade in 1887 (*GVI* 1 292), and adopted by Bu. in his excellent essay, *New World*, Mar. 1894, pp. 62-64. Budde desiderates an OT analogy. Perhaps 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9 31 (see RV) is such.

[1] *Théâtre français au moyen age*, par Monmerqué et Michel, 102-135. (Renan's account differs.)

Gen. 29 27 Judg. 14 12 Tob. 11 19)? On such occasions there would, of course, be alternate songs by the bridegroom and the bride, and to this Jeremiah refers when, describing the calamities of invasion, he says that God will 'cause to cease from the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride' (Jer. 7 34 25 10). There is also an illustrative passage in the Mishna (*Taanith*, 4 8, already referred to), and the strangeness of the notice affords the best guarantee of its truth. It was customary at the 'Wood Festival' (ξυλοφόρια) on the 15th of Ab (August) and at the close of the Day of Atonement[1] for the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp Song 1 5, etc.) to go out and dance in the vineyards, and whoever had no wife went thither also. (Was it a relic of 'marriage by capture'? Cp Judg. 21 21.) There was also alternate singing, and the youths were wont to use the words of Song 3 11. See DANCE, § 6.

It is from Syria, where so many old customs have survived, that we get the fullest confirmation of Bossuet's idea. Let us turn to Song 3 6-11 (translated by the present writer in *JQR*, July 1899), where the words referred to so strangely in the Mishna occur.

9. Syrian wedding festivities.

Solomon is here introduced riding in his palanquin 'with the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding-day,' escorted by sixty warriors 'with the hand on the sword.' What this means we can tell from von Kremer's account of the marriage processions in Moslem villages in the Lebanon.[2] The procession goes from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, and in it there is a band of youths armed with long poles, which they keep striking together, and hold in such a way as to form a kind of roof over them. The poles were probably in olden times lances: the open country was not secure from bandits (Hos. 6 9; cp Ps. 10 8).[3] The 'crown' is, of course, that of the bridegroom (cp Is. 61 10); 'in the war with Vespasian,' says the Mishna (*Sota*, 9 14), 'the crowns of bridegrooms were forbidden.' The Solomon of 3 11, then, is not the Solomon who made himself a state-litter, but a happier though a humbler mortal. It is, in sooth, a pretty jest to liken the bridegroom with his nuptial crown and the sixty 'companions' (Judg. 14 11) who roof him over with their poles to the luxurious Solomon in his gorgeous palanquin with his martial bodyguard around him; and the jest has a wholesome moral.

A much fuller account of the customs of the Syrian peasants in the month of weddings (March) is given by Wetzstein.[4] During the seven days after a wedding, high festivity, with scarcely interrupted singing and dancing, prevails. The bridegroom and the bride play the parts of king and queen (hence the week is called the 'king's week'), and receive the homage of their neighbours; the crown, however, is at present in Syria (as in Greece) confined to the bride (contrast Song 3 11). The bridegroom has his train of 'companions' (to borrow the ancient term, Judg. 14 11), and the grander the wedding the more of these there are. The bride too has her friends (cp 'daughters of Jerusalem,' Song 1 5, etc.), the maidens of the place, who take an important part in the reception of the bridegroom (cp Ps. 45 14 Mt. 25 1-13). In the evening of the great day a sword-dance is performed. In the Arabian desert it is the young men of the tribe who thus display their agility (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 118); but in the Syrian wedding festivals the sword-dancer is the bride. When taken in connection with another Syrian custom and with the passage of the Mishna mentioned above, this may be thought a relic of primitive 'marriage by capture.' (The connected custom referred to is this—that when, on the morning after the wedding, the royal seat has been erected, a crier comes forward declaring that the 'king'—the bridegroom—has made a campaign against a hitherto impregnable fortress, and calls upon him to say whether he has succeeded or not. The 'king' answers in the affirmative, and upon this the seven days of rejoicing begin.) However this may be, the sword-dance at the Syrian weddings has a significance of its own. It not only displays the physical gifts and capacities of the bride, but also symbolises her womanly self-respect, which keeps all intruders afar off (cp Song 8 9 10). 'The figure of the dancer, her dark waving hair, her serious noble bearing, her downcast eyes, her graceful movements, the quick and secure step of her small naked feet, the lightning-like flashing of the blade, the skilful movements of her left band, in which she holds a handkerchief, the exact keeping of time,' form a scene which contributes not a little to make the 'king's week' the happiest in a Syrian peasant's life. The description throws a bright light on Song 6 10 13 7 1-6 (which forms a connected passage).[1] The opening verse is probably spoken by the chorus of neighbours on the approach of the bride with the sword; it abounds with respectful compliments suitable to the occasion. *V.* 13a also belongs to the neighbours, who call to the bride to turn that they may see her better. Then, to draw out their admiration further, the bridegroom asks them why they are gazing as fixedly at this paragon of beauty—this second Shulammite—'at the dance of warlike hosts,' *i.e.* at the war-dance, or sword-dance (כִּמְחֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם; ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν; so Budde). It often happens in the Syrian desert, says Wetzstein, that when a woman performs this dance on occasion of a victory of one tribe over another, and some young man shows special admiration of the dancer, he is called upon to fight unarmed, according to certain rules, with the dancer, and may chance to pay for his boldness with his life. To this the question in Song 6 13*b* may allude. Song 7 1-6 (which is in a different metre from 6 10 13) exactly answers to the Syrian *wasf* (*i.e.*, 'laudatory description') sung during the sword-dance by the leader of the chorus. We must not criticise it too severely. The tone is that which popular taste required and (to judge from the *wasf* quoted by Wetzstein) still requires in Syria.

On the day after the wedding, when the 'king' has announced his 'victory' over the 'fortress,' another *wasf* is sung. This time the attractions of the lady are described with less unreserve, in deference to wifely dignity. Such a *wasf* we seem to have in Song 4 1-7. Is the bridegroom, then, exempt from laudation? Not in modern Syria, nor in the Song. True, in Song 3 6-11, sung (it would seem) during the procession from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride, flattery goes no further than to liken the crowned bridegroom to Solomon. The young wife naturally goes further. The *wasf* itself is found in Song 5 10-16. Prefixed to it is a speech of the bride describing a weird dream that she has had, in which she believes so firmly that she begs for the help of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in restoring her to her beloved. These are the chief songs of this class; but in Song 6 4-7 we have at least a fragment of a laudatory description of the bride, part of which is an ill-connected quotation from 4 1-3. Wetzstein assures us that the *wasf*-passages are the weakest part of the wedding-songs, and accordingly, he adds, the *wasf*-portion of the Song of Songs is much inferior poetically to the rest. Certainly the most striking part

1 The tenth of Tisri must anciently have had a festive character: can it have been a prelude to the joyous Feast of Booths (Kohler)?

2 *Mittelsyrien und Damascus* ('53), p. 123.

3 Wetzstein says that the bridegroom's friends are really armed. He thinks that 'by reason of fear in the night' (Song 3 8) may allude to the insecurity of the villages.

4 Appendix to Delitzsch's *Hoheslied* (1875), 165-167, 170-177; cp Wetzstein in *Zt. für Ethnologie*, 1873, pp. 287-294. Even among the *fellāhīn* of Palestine there seems to be a vestige of the sword-dance. The bride on her camel is conducted to the house of the bridegroom holding a drawn sword, *PEFQ*, April 1894, p. 136.

1 On 6 11*f.*, see above, § 10. Reuss despairs of 6 10-13 without reason.

of the Song of Songs is the passage which contains 7 11-87 (excepting the interpolated verses 8 3-5[1]). It is a song such as might have been sung on the evening of the wedding-day. The opening description is true in idea, though imaginary in its incidents. It is true in idea; for every marriage, according to the poet, should arise from the free affection of one man and one woman. It is imaginary in its details, for the incidents are inconsistent with what was allowable in courtship. For real songs of courtship such as an Israelite might have used, see Ruckert's *Ḥamāsa*, bk. iv.). The closing eulogy of love as 'strong as death, inflexible as Sheōl, whose flashes are flashes of fire, [whose flame is] a flame from heaven'[2] (8 6), is noble.

The poetical form, and therefore also the origin, of the Song of Songs seems to be no longer doubtful.

10. Present writer's relation to Wetzstein.

Fully twenty years ago (1878) the present writer rejected Ewald's interpretation of Song 6 11 *f.*, but still thought it possible, by omitting interpolations and transposing certain misplaced passages, to restore something like the original sequence, and to recognise a loose imperfect plot such as quick-witted hearers and spectators might have divined. He saw also that the poem was based on popular songs,[3] and admitted the critical significance of the information furnished by Wetzstein. 'When we consider,' he then wrote, 'that processions and the choral performance of lyric poems were familiar to the Israelites from Samuel downwards, it becomes a highly probable conjecture that this custom of the Syrian peasants was already in vogue in the times of the OT writers. This is confirmed by the remarkable coincidence between the time when the incidents of the Song are supposed to take place (see Song 2 1-13) and the time of the peasants' weddings in Syria (March is the most beautiful time of the Syrian year).' He further noticed two or three of the *wasf*-passages in the Song, and (after Kohler) the implied reference to the sword-dance in Song 6 10 13 (*v.* 11 *f.* being misplaced). He was far, however, from realising the extent to which the Hebrew songs were analogous to the traditional Syrian, and thought that a part of the Song related to the happy courtship of the rustic lovers; nor did he understand the reference to Solomon or the meaning of 'the Shulammite.' To Budde he owes it that he has adopted a more consistent theory.[4]

11. Result.

The book is an anthology of songs used at marriage festivals in or near Jerusalem, revised and loosely connected by an editor without regard to temporal sequence; in saying which, we do not deny that the kernel of the work may have been brought from some other part of the country, perhaps in the north.

12. Apparent unity.

What of the supposed indications of unity? These are found partly in the phraseology ('Solomon,' 'the king,' 'daughters of Jerusalem,' 'my beloved,' 'my friend,' the seeming refrains in 2 7 3 5 8 4: as well as in 2 17*a* 4 6*a*; and in 2 17*b* 8 14*b*), partly in the poetical colour, partly in the feeling or spirit, and of course in the circumstances. This agreement between the several parts of the poem is not as great *as* has been supposed. As Bickell observes, 'Generatim omnia verbotenus repetita serius inserta sunt'; in 𝔊 such repetitions are even more plentiful than in MT. The genuine points of phraseological agreement are quite accounted for by the traditional conventions of these love songs. That the feeling, the poetical colour, and the circumstances are the same, harmonises with the assumed origin of the songs. The prominence of the mother (1 6 3 4 8 2 5) is to be explained not (with Ewald, 334) by 'the Shulammite's' supposed loss of her father, but as a vestige of the matriarchate (*Mutterrecht*). With regard to Song 1 4 and Song 8 10, which, taken together, may seem to show that the heroine had been placed in a royal palace but had 'compelled her assailant to leave her in peace' (Robertson Smith's paraphrase of 8 10*b*), we should hold that the 'chambers' of 1 4 are those of the crowned bridegroom, and that the 'peace' of 8 10 belongs to the characteristic figure of the 'fortress' (see above).

13. Date.

Historically, the Song would gain, could it be shown to be pre-exilic. What would not one give for the light liltings of ancient Hebrew maidens, and for a noble popular protest against the doubtful innovations of the unpatriotic Solomon? Robertson Smith in 1876 held that the Song of Songs was just such a protest. 'The conservative revolution of Jeroboam was,' he remarks, 'in great measure the work of the prophets, and must therefore have carried with it the religious and moral convictions of the people. An important element in these convictions, which still claims our fullest sympathy, is powerfully set forth in the Canticles, and the deletion of the book from the Canon . . . would leave us without a most necessary complement to the Judæan view of the conduct of the ten tribes which we get in the historical books.' The reference to the harem life of Solomon, however, is confined to two verses (Song 6 8 *f.*); it is rather sportive than polemical, and, attractive as the protest-theory is, it is opposed to a sound exegesis (see above).

14. Not pre-exilic.

For a pre-exilic date there is no solid argument. (*a*) The title, which is not by the author (note אֲשֶׁר), is of course not more trustworthy than the headings of the 'Solomonic' psalms. (*b*) The points of contact with Hosea (cp Song 2 13 4 11 6 11 with Hos. 14 6-9) and Prov. 1-9 (cp Song 4 11 14 *f.* with Prov. 5 3 7 17 5 15-17) prove only that different poets used similar (conventional) images. Moreover, recent criticism tends to show that Hos. 14 2-10 and Prov. 1-9 are post-exilic. (*c*) The phrase בְּמֵישָׁרִים '(going down) straight,' used of wine, in Song 7 9 Prov. 23 31, is indecisive, whether Prov. *l.c.* is early or late. (*d*) The mention of Tirzah beside Jerusalem (Song 6 4) need not point to 'the brief period when that city was the capital of the dynasty of Baasha' (but see TIRZAH), for (if MT is correct) it is the beauty of the site of Tirzah that is referred to—a beauty which could not pass away with a dynasty. Most probably, however, we should emend the text thus, 'Thou art beautiful as the narcissus, comely as the lily of the valleys'[1] (cp 2 1). If so, Tirzah is not mentioned. (*e*) That the references to Solomon prove nothing, we have seen already. It will, therefore, be absurd to base an argument on the comparison of the lady in Song 1 9 with one of Pharaohs mares. If the bridegroom could be likened to Solomon, the bride could be likened to one of Solomon's finest Egyptian horses, especially if the songs were written while Palestine formed part of the Græco-Egyptian empire (cp Theocr. *Id.* 15 52 *f.*). Whether Solomon really obtained horses from Egypt, is a question which need not be discussed here (see MIZRAIM, § 2*a*).

15. Post-exilic.

For a post-exilic date the main arguments are these: (*a*) The position of the book among the Hagiographa. (*b*) The beauty of Jerusalem is mentioned late (Ps. 48 2 50 2 Lam. 2 15). (*c*) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (*d*) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4 12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

אהלות (also Ps. 45 9, late, where, as here, it is coupled with מֹר; cp Prov. 7 17, and see ALOES). קִנָּמוֹן (also Prov. 7 17 Ex. 30 23, both passages late), כַּרְכֹּם (ἅπ.

[1] These verses are not in the metre of the rest of the passage, the two former come from 2 6 *f.* (cp 3 5), while the last has been suggested by 3 6.

[2] Or, 'a most vehement flame.' The final יה may be simply an afformative (Jäger, Jastrow).

[3] See *Founders of OT Crit.* (1893), 350.

[4] Budde's attempt (*New World*, March 1894) to show that some of the less poetical passages are due to the collector and reviser of the songs, who now and then misunderstood the texts, cannot here be considered.

[1] MT is hardly defensible. Fair women would not be compared to cities. Tg. paraphrases 'as the women of Tiran (תרען),' or Tirzah (Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 172). Bickell and Bu. omit 'as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem,' as weakening the effect of 'terrible' which follows; but אימה, 'terrible,' is simply a corruption of עֲמָקִים (in the phrase שושנת ע׳, 'lily of the valleys'). On נדגלות, see ENSIGNS, § 1 *b*.

λεγ.), נֵרְדְּ (also 1 12), and, following Gratz, וְרָדִים (for the tautological נְרָדִים), new Heb. for 'roses.'[1]

The fondness of the poet of Canticles for spices led the ancient scribes into some very strange textual errors—viz., (1) 46, 'to the mountains of myrrh (המֹר) and the hill of frankincense' (הַלְּבוֹנָה), where המר should be חרמון, 'Hermon,' and לבונה should be הלבנון (cp 𝔊BNA); very probably, also, the correct reading in *v.* 8 is 'from the hills of the cedars, from the mountains of the cypresses' (מגבעות ארזים מהררי ברושים); (2) 8 14, in the 'mountains of spices' (בשמים), 'בש should certainly he בְּרוֹשִׁים, to which, if We.'s view of הָרֵי בֶתֶר, 'mountains of malobathron' (We. *Prol.*(3) 409),[2] was that of the early scribes, we may add 2 17 where we should read ה׳ בְּרֹתִים, 'mountains of cypresses' (see BETHER).

Add אֱגוֹז=new Heb. אגווה, 6 11, and perhaps כֹּפֶר =κύπρος, 1 14 4 13 (plur.). Last, not least, we have the Persian loan-word for plantation or park, פַּרְדֵּס, 4 13; elsewhere only Neh. 2 8 Eccl. 2 5, though the exact history of the form is doubtful.

One Greek loan-word[3] has been found in אַפִּרְיוֹן, 'palanquin,' 3 9=φορεῖον (so 𝔊; but see LITTER). In the Midrash 'א is explained by פריומא—*i.e.*, φόρημα. In *Sota* 49*a* it is said that the use of the bridal litter (אפריון) was forbidden by the Jewish authorities during the Bar-Cochba war. On the gorgeous φορεῖα of the Syrian ladies under Antiochus Epiphanes, see Polybius (ap. Atheu. 5 22). The only doubt can be whether 'א is not a gloss. Metrical reasons suggest its excision (Bickell).

(e) Among the distinctly late words are אַרְגָּמָן 3 10 7 6[4] (for Judg. 8 22-27 is not, as it stands, ancient; see Budde); שֵׁשׁ, 5 15 Esth. 1 6; אֵב (plur.), 6 11 Job 8 12; גָּלַשׁ, 4 1 6 5; חֲבַצֶּלֶת, 2 1 Is. 35 1; חֲרוּזִים, 1 10 (חרוז, Aram. and new Heb.); כֹּתֶל, הִשְׁגִּיחַ, הֵצִיץ 'to glance,' חֲרַכִּים 'smoke-holes,' 2 9; מֵסַב, 1 12; מַדְרֵגָה, 2 14 Ezek. 38 20 (Aram. דרגא) 'a step'; סְמָדַר, 2 13 15 7 12 and perhaps Is. 16 8 (for שדמות, see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*; cp Duval, *REJ* 14 277); סְתָו, 'winter,' 2 11; קְוֻצּוֹת, 5 2 11; רְסִיסִים, 5 2; שׁוּק (plur.), 3 2 Prov. 7 8 Eccl. 12 4 5 (cp Gratz, 49); טנף (Piel), 5 3; קפץ (Piel), 'to spring,' 2 8; נטר, 'to keep,' 1 6 8 11 12; סוּגָה, 'enclosed,' 7 3. *(f)* Grammatical forms. Note רַעְיָה, 1 15, etc.; בְּרוֹת, 1 17; אֵיכָה, 'where,' 1 7 (cp כָּה, Dan. 7 28); אֵיכָכָה, 'how'? 5 3, Esth. 8 6. Also ש for אשר, 22 times. שַׁלָּמָה, 1 7, like שֶׁלְּמִי, Jon. 1 7, and בְּשֶׁל אֲשֶׁר, Eccl. 8 17, אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה, Dan. 1 10. שֶׁלִּי, 1 6 8 12; שֶׁל, 3 7 (exactly the Mishna usage). *(g)* דָּוִיד, 4 4, for דָּוִד, may perhaps point to the post-exilic period (see Bonk, *ZATW* 11 127).

The preceding list of arguments, though not exhaustive, should be sufficient. Linguists, such as Gesenius among Christians and M. Sachs among Jews, long ago recognised the modern character of the Hebrew. The question, however, was a complicated one, and ingenuity did its best to save an early date, and with it (it appeared) the historical value of the Song. It is time for critical students to look at the facts more frankly. We can now show that this anthology of songs is post-exilic, and may conjecture that it is nearly contemporary with that 'song of love' (and of spices), Ps. 45. It is not easy to find a period more suitable to all the data than one of the early and fortunate reigns of the Ptolemies (cp *Founders*, 353). A still later date is suggested by Winckler (*Altor. Forschungen*, 295).

Like the other poetical books, the Song of Songs suffers from many, often most unfortunate, corruption: of the text; some dislocations of passage: have added to the difficulties of the interpreter. **16. Text.** Gratz was the first to recognise the bad state of the text. Among recent scholars Bickell and Budde have done most; Bickell's chief results have been incorporated in Budde's excellent commentary. Perles, in his *Analekten* ('95), has considered about ten passages, and the present writer has endeavoured to correct some of the chief errors (*JQR* and *Exp. Times* for 1898-99 and *Expositor*, Feb. 1899, 145 *ff.*). Among these corrections it may be mentioned that, according to Bickell, 'the Shulammite' in 7 1 is due to corruption; against this view, however, see Budde, who points out that, since the phrase 'the Shulammite' is not tantamount to a declaration that the bride is a Shulammite damsel, and only means 'one who is as fair as Abishag the Shulammite,' it is no gain to the adherents of the dramatic or idyllic theory to have the correctness of הַשּׁוּלַמִּית assured to them. Contrary to Perles (who on this point is an adherent of Gratz), Bickell further thinks that נָדִיב *my* in 6 12 (see AMMINADIB) also is not the true reading. He regards בת עמי נדיב (בת derived from בות in מרכבות which is corrupt) as a doublet of [ה] בת [עמי] נדיב in 7 2, and renders 'my noble kinswoman'; Budde prefers to wait for more light. Perles has pointed the way to a better solution by grouping 6 12 and 7 2 with 7 7. Here, the present writer thinks, we should read אֲהֻבָה בַּת שׁוּנַמִּית, 'loved one, Shunammite damsel,' and, consequently, he makes the same restoration in 6 12 and 7 2—*i.e.*, בַּת שׁוּנַמִּית. Certainly Bickell is right in refusing to have anything to do with the 'chariots' of which MT and therefore also EV speak in 6 12. The whole story of the Shulammite's having been surprised in the nut-orchard by the king's retinue (cp Driver, *Introd.*, 442, 446) breaks down, when strict criticism is applied to the text. On Cant. 3 6-11, which is disfigured by curious corruptions (one of which is the famous אַפִּרְיוֹן, RV 'palanquin'), see LITTER.

We must now endeavour to estimate the value of the Song. We shall not be ungrateful for the material which it supplies to students of manners and customs and the distribution of plants; **17. Value.** but it is much more important that it opens a window into the heart of ordinary Israelites. *(a)* The Song reveals a very pure conception of true love, as springing out of a free inclination of one man and one woman, and rising into a passionate and indestructible union of hearts. If the songs were written (or even if they were only edited, revised, and supplemented) in the early Greek period, what a contrast they offer to much that was current at the luxurious court of the Ptolemies! *(b)* The Song shows also a genuine love of nature. 'The writer inspires us with his own delicate joys. The breath of spring still breathes through his words. Its scents, its fresh moist greenness, the old hopeful spring notes heard in the woods, again are all here.'[2] There is nothing more lovely than the spring of Palestine, and this old poet felt it. Where the images are bizarre, we need not put it down to him. The *wasf*-songs were, and still are, governed by strict convention (cp Wetz. in Del. 174-177). Ovid and Theocritus are not without some of these strange love images.[3] *(c)* 'Race-psychology' also may gather something. Twice the heroine falls into a perplexing confusion between dreamland and reality (Song 3 1-4 5 2-7). This can be paralleled from Arabic love poetry, in which the dream-form of the beloved receives an objective existence, and lovers even give their respective apparitions a rendezvous (see *Ḥamāsa*, Freytag, 22; Lyall, *Translations*, 12).[4] *(d)* If the poem is post-exilic, it shows us that there were times and seasons (cp Eccl. 3 4) of which legalism could not overshadow the joyousness.

1 The first mention of roses elsewhere is in Ecclus. (see ROSE) This would allow us to date the song in 300-250 B.C. There were roses in Babylon in Herodotus's time (*Herod.* 1 195).

2 He was anticipated by Field (*Orig. Hex.* 2 415), who gives the rendering of Sexta as μαλα(βά)θρ(ον). 'Dat et malobathron Syria,' says Pl. (*HN* 12 1).

3 Another of the supposed Greek words arises from a corruption of the text. See ARMOURY.

4 ארגמן in 7 6, however, is corrnpt.

1 It reminds us of the fine love-sentiment of the Arabic *Ḥamāsa*.

2 W. G. Forbes, *Sermons* ('85), p. 147.

3 Cp especially Song 1 9 with Theocr. *Id.* 18 30.

4 See *Ḥamāsa*, 612, and cp *Journal Asiatique*, 1838, p. 375, etc.

In this and in other respects our notion of the post-exilic period may perhaps need revision.

Is this, then, the whole worth of the Song for us? Being canonical, must it not have some subtle religious value which has been overlooked?[1]

The answer is (1) that we have no right to assume that R. 'Akība's well-known saying about the Song at the Synod of Jamnia (see CANON, § *53*) represents the point of view of those who first admitted this popular and supposed Solomonic work among the Kethūbhīm; and (2) that the mistake of a Jewish Synod cannot be perpetually endorsed by Christian common-sense and scholarship. We have therefore to revise our conception of the word 'canonical' in its application to the OT writings.

Besides the commentaries of Ew., Hitz., Gratz, Del., Stickel, Oettli (*KHC*, '98), etc., consult WRS, art. 'Canticles,' *EB*(9), Brüll's review of Kaempf, *Jahrb. f. jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.* 1877, p. 138 *ff.*; Bu.'s rev. of Stickel, *TLZ*, 24th March 1888, his art. in *New World*, March 1894, and his fine commentary, 1898; also R. Martineau, *Amer. Journ. of Philology* 1892, pp. 307-328; Bickell, *Carmina VT metrice* ('82); Siegfried, C., *Pred. u. Hoheslied* ('98), Riedel, *Die Ausleg. des Hohenliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der christl. Kirche* ('98). T. K. C.

CAP (ΠΕΤΑCΟC [AV]; according to one view it has been borrowed in Aramaic under the form פטש Dan. 321; but see BREECHES, 2; TURBAN, *2*; and cp *Journ. Phil.* 26 309 *f.*), the Greek broad-brimmed (fr. *πετάννυμι*) felt hat which Jason made the Jewish youth wear (2 Macc. 4 12 RV; AV 'hat'). It was worn (originally) chiefly by shepherds and hunters, was an attribute of Hermes,[2] and so became the badge of the palæstra.

This assumes that the text is genuine (note that *ὑποτάσσων* in 𝔊A precedes). The Syr. reads ܒܟܘܒܥܐ ܕܟܦܐ: cp 2 S. 12 31 (Pesh.), where MT has מַלְבֵּן. Did the translator think of *ἐπίτασις*? Equally obscure is the origin of the Vg. *in lupanaribus*, though the infamy and vice of the later gymnasia, the fact that the Ἑρμαῖα were celebrations of a more or less free and unrestrained character, and the allusion to vicious practices in 2 Macc. 64, make it *possible* that a genuine tradition has been followed.

CAPER-BERRY (אֲבִיּוֹנָה, ΚΑΠΠΑΡΙC [BℵAC]), Eccles. 12 5† RV. That the HYSSOP (*q.v.*) is the caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*, L.) is a favourite theory. Still more prevalent is the view that the word rendered 'desire' in AV RVmg. of Eccles. *l.c.* ('the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail') denotes the berry of the caper-plant.[3] The difficulties of translation are as great in the third of these clauses as in the others (ALMOND, GRASSHOPPER). The Revisers of OT changed 'desire' into 'the caper-berry,' but could not determine on a satisfactory verb; 'fail' therefore remains, with 'Or, burst' in the margin. Thus much at any rate is plain: the noun in this clause must denote some object in the physical world.

The rendering 'the caper-berry' (𝔊, Aq. Vg.)[4] has been adopted by nearly all moderns, among whom G. F. Moore[5] deserves special mention because of the fresh light which he has brought from Mishnic and Talmudic sources. The rendering 'desire' (Abulwalīd; Parchon) is a worthless modern guess.

In spite of the agreement of scholars, the clause remains obscure, mainly from the difficulty of interpreting the predicate תָּפֵר. (1) Plutarch (*Symp.* 62) speaks of the caper being used as a relish to induce appetite for food; mediæval Arabic writers mention its effects in stimulating sexual impulse (Wetz. in Del. *Koh.* 452);[1] and it was in traditional use (especially the fruit) in the middle ages as a stimulant in senile disorders.[2] It has been sought, accordingly, to explain תָּפֵר as meaning 'fail of effect' (so RV text), and this will do as a makeshift: when even the caper fails, nothing is left to try. Unfortunately, it is difficult to believe that the Heb. verb can have this meaning; Delitzsch's explanation of it as a case of internal Hiphil ('produces failure'—*i.e.*, 'fails') is most unlikely.

(2) Others have thought of the bursting of the ripe berry and the scattering of its seeds as a synonym for death (so RVmg.); but this is quite untenable, (*a*) because of the fact that the root פרר is nowhere used in a physical sense in Hebrew,[3] (*b*) because the context requires a phrase descriptive of old age rather than of death, and (c) because of the botanical impossibility of the interpretation, there being no evidence that the fruit of *Capparis spinosa* is dehiscent.

Unless, therefore, we give the Heb. verb the very unusual sense of 'fail' we can only say that probably, as in the other clauses, the metaphor indicates some feature in the old man's appearance or physical state, and Moore's suggestion, to emend תפר into some derivative of פרח appears a good one.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CAPERNAUM is the transliteration of the Text. Rec. ΚΑΠΕΡΝΑΟΥΜ; but KBDZ, followed by Tisch., **1. Name.** Treg., WH, etc., read ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ (so Pesh. and Jos.). The original was, therefore, כפר נחום, village of Nahum. It is not mentioned before the NT, and this, coupled with the fact that כפר prevails in the composition only of comparatively late names, is proof of an origin shortly before the time of Jesus. Whether by Nahum is meant the prophet, we do not know. In Jerome's time it was another Galilean town that was associated with him (GASm. *Twelve Proph.* 279).

Capernaum became the home of Jesus (*ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν*, Mk. 2 1) and 'his own city' (Mt. 9 1) after his rejection by the townsmen of Nazareth. **2. References.** Here he preached (Mt. 8 5 Mk. 1 21 9 33 36 Jn. 6 etc.); did many wonderful works, healing Peter's mother-in-law and many others (Mk. 1 31 34), a paralytic (Mt. 9 1 Mk. 2 1 Lk. 5 18), a centurion's servant (Mt. 8 5 Lk. 7 1), a man with an unclean spirit (Mk. 1 23 Lk. 4 33), and (by a word from Cana) a nobleman's servant (Jn. 4 46); and called the fishermen Peter and Andrew (Mk. 1 16), and Matthew or Levi, who sat to receive toll (Mt. 9 8 Mk. 2 14 Lk. 5 27). In spite of all this, the body of citizens remained unmoved, and Jesus pronounced woe upon the place (Mt. 11 23 Lk. 10 15, RV). These passages imply that Capernaum was a *πόλις*, with a Roman garrison, a synagogue (built by the centurion), and a customs-station; and that it lay down in the basin of the lake (Jn. 2 12 Lk. 4 31), and on the lake shore (Mt. 4 13), and (presumably from the customs station) on the great high road from Damascus past the N. end of the lake to the Levant (cp *way of the sea* quoted in Mt. 4 15 *f.* from Is. 9 1 [8 23]). A comparison of Jn. 6 17 with Mt. 14 34 would seem also to imply that it lay on or near the plain of Gennesaret at the NW. corner of the lake.

The name has entirely disappeared, and amid the scattered evidence of writers since the NT and the **3. Suggested identifications.** various groups of ruin which strew the lake shore between Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, diversity of tradition and of modern opinion has naturally arisen. Two sites divide the authorities—Khirbet el-Minyeh (several mounds with indistinguishable ruins and an old Khān also called Minyeh on the N. corner of Gennesaret); and Tell-Hūm, a heap of black basalt ruins

1 Even Herder fell into this error, see Haym, *Herder*, 2 87.
2 In middle and low Latin *petasum* becomes the winged shoe of Mercury (Dufresne ed. Favre).
3 That this fruit, and not the berry-like bud familiar in modern times, is intended appears clearly from the Talmudic references (see Löw, *Pflanz.* 264), and the exhaustive discussion in Moore's art. referred to below.
4 Pesh. has a double rendering: (1) the caper, (2) misery—the latter seemingly based on a supposed (but impossible) abstract use of the fem. of אֶבְיוֹן; cp Sym. ἡ ἐπίπονος and Field, *Hex.* 2 403.
5 See his article, *JBL* 10 55-64 ('91).

1 It should, however, be noted that neither Dioscorides (2 204) nor Pliny (13 127 20 165 *ff.*) mentions either of these effects.
2 So Tragus (*De Stirp. Hist. Comm.* 1552, 3 968) writes to the effect that, cooked, and taken with oil and vinegar, it is used with benefit in cases of palsy, gout, 'phlegm,' 'spleen,' sciatica, in urinary troubles, and as an emmenagogue.
3 Even if it were, the Hiphil would not mean 'to burst.'

with the remains of a white marble edifice and a curious tomb two miles and a half farther west, and two miles and a half from the mouth of the Jordan. Between these two the evidence is not quite conclusive.

4. Josephus. For Tell-Ḥūm there is usually quoted the evidence of Josephus, who says that, having been thrown from his horse in a skirmish with the Roman forces in Jordan, he was carried to a village called Κεφαρνωμὼν (*bib.* 72), and thence to Taricheae. Even if this reading were correct, Josephus, with injuries so slight as he reports, might as easily have been carried the 5 m. to Gennesaret as the two and a half to Tell-Ḥūm, especially as his desire seems to have been to get to Taricheae. It is suspicious, however, that he calls the place a village (κώμη), and Niese fixes the proper reading as κεφαρνωκὸν. The only other evidence Josephus gives favours Khān Minyeh. He describes (*BJ* iii. 108) the plain of Gennesaret as watered by 'a most copious fountain: called by the people of the country Capharnaum. This Robinson believes to be the 'Ain et-Tin, close by Khān Minyeh; more probably it was the 'Ain eṭ-Ṭābiġah, whose waters were conveyed in an aqueduct past the site of Khān Minyeh into the plain. Tell-Ḥūm, on the other hand, has neither fountain nor spring.

5. Christian and Jewish traditions. The Christian and the Jewish traditions are divided. Jerome places Capernaum 2 R. m. from Chorazin, a datum which, if Chorazin be Ḳerāzeh, agrees with Tell-Ḥūm. So do the data of Theodosius (*circa* 530), who, working from Magdala round the N. end of the Lake, places Capernaum 2 R. m. on the other side of Heptapegon, presumably 'Ain eṭ-Ṭābiġah. Isaac Chilo in 1334 (*Carmoly Itinéraires*, etc., *la Terre Sainte des xiii.-xvii. Siècles*, 260) came to Kefar Nachum from Irbid, and found it in ruins with the tomb of Nahum. In 1561 the *Jichus ha-Tsedikim* (*ib.* 385) mentions Tanchum with the tombs of Nahum and Rabbi Tanchum (cp *Jichus ha-Abot* *id.* 448). Taking Kefar Nachum and Tanchum as identical, some find in 'Tell-Ḥūm' a corruption of 'Tanchum.' This is the case for Tell-Ḥūm. It really rests on the evidence of Jerome and Theodosius (for it is not certain either that Kefar Nachum and Tanchum were identical or that 'Tell-Ḥūm' is derived from 'Tanchum'); and it is opposed to the evidence of Josephus. Yet in recent times it has received a large increase of support (Dr. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 2 139-149; Thomson, *Land and Bk.* ed. 1877, 352-356; Sir C. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 375-387; Guérin, *Galil.* 1 227 *f.*; Schaff, *ZDPV* 1 24 *ff.*; Furrer, *id.* 2 63 *ff.*, and in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 3 495; Frei, *ZDPV* 2 115; van Kasteren, *id.* 11 219 *f.*; Schürer's *Hist.* 4 71; Buhl, *Pal.* 224 *f.*).

On the other hand, Arculf's description of Capernaum (670 A.D.), as being on 'a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake,' suits Khān Minyeh, but not Tell-Ḥūm. Arculf adds that it lay on the shore *non longo circuitu* from the traditional spot on Gennesaret where the loaves were blessed. He did not visit it, but saw from a distance that it had no walls. Willibald's data (722 A.D.) suit any point between Mejdel and Bethsaida, and equally indefinitive are all other references till Isaac Chilo in 1334 states that the town is now in ruins, but was formerly inhabited by Mīnīm—*i.e.*, Jews who had become Christians—all sorcerers (cp Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* 221). Many find Minim in Minyeh. In answer to objections to this (Furrer, *ZDPV* 2 58 *ff.*), another derivation has been suggested through the older Arabic spelling *el-munya*, common in Egypt and Spain for 'villa,' 'steading,' 'hamlet,' etc. = Lat. *mansio*, Gr. μονή—from which it is said to be derived (Gildemeister, *ZDPV* 4 194 *ff.*). In any case, a place lay here in the eleventh century called Munyat Hishām (Kazwini's *Lexicon*), and in 1430 El-Munja, a village so large that the whole lake was called after it. (Tristram gives the form 'Miniyeh,' which Delitzsch derives from *Mineh*, harbour). And Quaresmius in 1616-26 (*Elucid. Terr. Sanc.* 2568) says that by the site of Capernaum there was in his time a Khān called by the Arabs Menieh—*i.e.*, Minyeh. Ruins have been found both on the plain, by Robinson (*LBR* 348-358) and Merrill (*E. of Jordan*, 301 *f.*), who traced a city wall, and on the hill by Schumacher (*ZDPV* 13 70).

6. Probably Khān Minyeh. On the whole, then, the balance of opinion is in favour of 'Khān Minyeh.' So Robinson, Conder, Henderson (*Pal.* 158 *f.*), Keim (*Jesus,* Engl. ed., 2 367 *ff.*), Stanley (*SP* 384), G. A. Sm. (*Hist. Geog.* 456 *f.*), Ewing (in Hastings, *DB*). The site suits the biblical data, is required by the data of Josephus, and has tradition in its favour from the seventh century onward.

G. A. S.

CAPHARSALAMA (χαφαρсαλαмα [ℵ¹V; so Syr.], καφ. [Jos.], φαρс. [ℵ*], χαρφαρсαραмα [A]), the scene of Nicanor's unsuccessful attack upon Judas, 1 Macc. 7 31 (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 104). The name is obviously כפר שלם, which is met with in the Talmud also. Most commentators (Michaelis, Grimm, Keil) seek the site somewhere to the S. of Jerusalem, on the ground that Nicanor's subsequent movements were first to Jerusalem and then farther northwards to Beth-horon. Ewald and Schürer, however, prefer to identify it with the Carva Salim mentioned in a pilgrimage of the year 1065 as near Ramleh and not far from Lydda (Ew. *Hist.* 5 321, Schür. *GJV* 1169 n.; cp Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, 471 *f.*). In the time of the crusaders 'Caparsalem' is again mentioned as a casale of the Knights Hospitallers. Muḳaddasi's location of it 'in the district of Cæsarea on the high road from Ramleh northwards' agrees with the data in 1 Maccabees. In that region we find at the present day a village Selmeh 3 m. E. of Joppa and Khirbet es-Suālimīyeh 6 m. farther N. across the 'Aujeh. Kh. Deir Sellām, 12½ m. W. of Jerusalem and 1 m. S. of the present high road to Joppa, suits the Maccabean, but not the mediaeval data. The same remark applies to the other Kh. Deir Sellām 4 m. N. of Jerusalem. Cp also the important W. Selmān up which runs one of the main roads from the Maritime Plain to Jerusalem.

G. A. S.

CAPHENATHA, RV CHAPHENATHA (χαφεναθα [AℵV], ܟܦܢܬܐ [Lag.], but ܟܦܢܝܬܐ [Walton]), a locality on the E. of Jerusalem, which Jonathan the Maccabee repaired (ἐπεσκεύασε), 1 Macc. 12 37†. The reading is uncertain, and the etymologising attempts of the older Lightfoot and others (כַּפְּנִיתָא, 'unripe dates,' כספתא, from silversmiths or some treasure house) are best avoided. Sepp and Furrer (*TLZ*, 1896, col. 470) identify the place with the Tyropœon valley (see JERUSALEM), in which case ἐπεσκεύασε (ἐπεσκίασαν [V]) will have to be emended.

CAPHIRA (καφιραс [A]), 1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 2 25, CHEPHIRAH.

GAPHTOR (כַּפְתּוֹר; Dt. 2 23 Am. 9 7, καππαδοκιας [BAQL], καππα. [F]; Jer. 47 [𝔊 29] 4†, om. BℵAQ, α′θ′ και καππα. [Q^{mg.}]), also

1. Not Crete. occurring in plural form **Caphtorim** (כַּפְתֹּרִים; καφθοριειм [L], om. B), Gen. 10 14 (χα. [AE]) = 1 Ch. 1 12 (AV **Caphthorim;** χαφορ. [A^{a?}]); Dt. 2 23† (AV **Gaphtorims,** καππαδοκες [BAFL]); the land and properly the people whence came the Philistines. In Gen. 10 14 (see below)[1] and Dt. 2 23 Caphtorim is a synonym for Philistines. Caphtor is now generally identified with Crete, an important island of which the mention is perhaps to be expected; see GEOGRAPHY,

[1] The words, 'whence came the Philistines,' in Gen. 10 14 should follow 'Caphtorim.' Probably they are a misplaced (incorrect) gloss from the margin.

§ 15 (7). In Jer. 47 4 it is expressly called an אִי ('island'?), and the Philistines (?) are sometimes called 'Cherethites.' The Zeus Cretagenes in Gaza may also suggest a connection of the Philistines with Crete. These are Dillmann's arguments. Rut (1) Crete does not appear to be mentioned in the Assyrian or the Egyptian monuments; (2) the sense of אִי is not to he limited to 'island' (BDB, 'coast, border, region'); and (3) in Jer. *l.c.* 𝔊^B gives τοὺς καταλοίπους τῶν νήσων—*i.e.*, the text which it followed was without 'Caphtor'; the 'islands' or 'coast-lands' might he the Phoenician colonies (WMM). As for 'Cherethites,' the current explanation, 'Cretans'

2. 'Cherethites' not Cretans. (so too 𝔊, Pesh.), is very uncertain; cp פלתי probably= Pulasati (Pnrasati), which is the name of one of the tribes of sea-pirates from the coasts of Asia Minor which harassed Egypt under Rameses III. The probability is that כרתי is a slightly modified form of the name of another such tribe. Now, the tribe which is constantly coupled with the Pu-ra-sa-ti in the Egyptian inscriptions is that of the Ta-lr-ka-ra or Ta-ka-ra-y. It is reasonable to infer that כרתי is a form of Takaray, which was Hebraised in two ways: (1) by placing the first consonant third instead of first (כרתי, as if = cut off?), and (2) by omitting the first syllable (כרי; but see CARITES). We look to Egyptology, therefore, for light on this problem.

According to Ebers[1] Caphtor is the Egyptian Kaft-ur, 'Great Kaft.' This scholar held that Kaft was the name current in

3. Caphtor not Phœnicia. Egypt, first of all for the populous Phœnician colonies in the Delta and then, more widely, for the Phœnicians of Phœnicia and their colonies. Kaft-ur would therefore mean 'Great Phœnicia' (cp Magna Græcia). This view, however, though not without plausible justification, is no longer tenable, as W. M. Muller has fully shown (As. *u. Eur.* 337 *ff.*).

Keftô is the name of a country which, together with Asi (the Alašia of Am. Tab.)—*i.e.*, Cyprus—represents

4. But Cilicia. the western quarter of the world in the age of Thotmes III. No doubt it is Cilicia that is meant; hence in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, 63, it is mentioned with Mannus (= Mallus, a region of silver mines) as inhabited by the same people. E. Meyer (who himself, however, still inclines to identify Caphtor with Crete) writes thus[2] of the land of Kaft (*i.e.*, Muller's Keftô):—'The inhabitants of this land, the *Kafti* (formerly wrongly read *Kefa*) carried on a sea trade, and possessed a richly-developed decorative art which is closely related to the Mycenaean. Upon the Egyptian monuments they present throughout, in contrast with the inhabitants of the Phœnician seaports, a wholly non-Semitic type of features, and appear in the inscriptions as a western people outside the pale of the Semitic world. Rightly, therefore, have Pietschmann, Steindorff, and W. M. Muller rejected the equation Kaft = φοινίκη of the bilingual decree of Canopus and sought for Kaft in Asia Minor, perhaps in Cilicia.'

Now, when we consider that the sea-pirates called Purasati and Takaray are stated to have come from the 'islands' (*i.e.*, coast-lands), it is obvious that, if Purasati (at any rate) has been rightly identified in Hebrew literature, Caphtor, whence the Pĕlištīm (Philistines) came, must be a name for some part of the sea-board of Asia Minor, and we may expect to find its original in the Egyptian inscriptions. That original must surely be Keftô (or Kaft), which appears to have been Hebraised as Caphtor. That Caphtorim should be called a son of Mizraim (Gen. 10 14) is not surprising, for Caphtorim here, as well as in Dt. 2 23, means, not the people of Caphtor (the coasts of Asia Minor) but the Philistines, who, as Muller has shown, were subject to Egypt in Shishak's time and earlier (cp DAVID, § 7). It is indeed doubtful whether either Amos or the Yahwist (J) can be presumed to have known the true meaning of Caphtor, for as early as the fourteenth century the name Keftô had passed out of general use. As a name for Cilicia it has superseded by Ḫilakku (see CILICIA, § 2). Hence the false tradition, identifying Caphtor with Cappadocia, could easily arise, just as another incorrect tradition identifying the Cherethites with the Cretans [on the other side see CHERETHITES) arose. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 337, 390, to whom this (probably) right explanation of Caphtor is due. That the final *r* in Caphtor still needs to be accounted for is admitted.

T. K. C.

[1] *Äg. u. die BB. Mosis*, 130 *ff.* ['68]. So formerly Sayce, (*Crit. Mon.*(3) 136).

[2] In a special communication for the present work. Cp WMM, As. *u. Eur.* 347 *ff.*

CAPPADOCIA (ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ [Ti. WH]) Acts 2 9 1 Pet. 1 1†. Cappadocia, from a similarity of sound, was wrongly identified by the translators of 𝔊 with CAPHTOR (see readings in previous article). It is allowable, however, to find it in the Gomer (see GEOGRAPHY, § 20, 1) of Gen. 10 2; certainly the region called Gimir by the Assyrians was in or near Cappadocia. A still older name for Cappadocia seems to have been Tabal (see TUBAL); the Tabalaeans were scattered abroad on the invasion of their lands by the Gimirrai. The connection of Cappadocia with the early Hittites can only be mentioned here (see HITTITES).

Cappadocia is mentioned twice in the NT: Cappadocian Jews listened to Peter's sermon (Acts 2 9), and his first epistle is addressed to Christian residents in the province (1 Pet. 1 1). Jews must early have found their way into this part of Asia Minor, which is intersected by the commercial highways leading to Amīsus on the Euxine and to Ephesus on the Ægean.

Strabo (534) sketches the area included under the name of Cappadocia. In 'the earliest times it embraced the entire neck of the Anatolian peninsula. Subsequently it was split up into the two independent monarchies of Cappadocia Proper (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ, ἡ μεγάλη) and Pontus (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ K.), separated from each other by the broad irregular elevation of the *Tchamli Bel* and *Ak Dagh* (Strabo, 540; Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* 315). In the south the Pylae Ciliciæ and the ridge of Taurus marked the frontier against Cilicia. Lake Tatta was part of the western boundary. In the SW. Cappadocia merged into the vast level plains of Lycaonia and South Galatia; eastwards it extended to the Euphrates. The frontier varied greatly, however, at different epochs, especially towards the N. and the E. Cappadocia is a cold elevated table-land, intersected by mountains, deficient in timber, but excellent for grain and grazing (Str. 73, 539). Its chief export seems to have been slaves (Hor. *Ep.* i. 639: *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex*); but they were not of much account (Cic. Post Red. 6 14). Red ochre (Σινωπικὴ μίλτος: Str. 540) of good quality was exported: the emporium was Ephesns—not Tarsus, as we might have expected. Several monarchs of Cappadocia Proper bore the name Ariarathes (cp 1 Macc. 15 22). Its last king, Archelaus, was deposed by Tiberius, who reduced the country to the form of a province, in 17 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 2 42; Jos. Ant. xvi. 46).

In Imperial times the Cappadocian roads fall into three groups:—(1) those on the north, and (2) those on the south, of the river Halys, in both cases leading eastwards to the fords of the upper Euphrates; (3) transverse roads leading northwards from the Cilician Gates: one of the chief among these last was that which afterwards became the pilgrims' route to the Holy Land (Rams. *op. cit.* 255). The capital, Mazaca (Μάζακα, from Mosoch, the ancestor of the Cappadocians: Jos. Ant. i. 6 1, Gen. 10 2), occupied a central position actually upon the Euphrates trade-route, at the northern foot of Mt. Argæus. It was refounded by Claudius, who gave it the name Cæsarea, about 41 A.D. Because of the strength of the new religion in it, Julian expunged it from the list of cities. By his time the whole town had been Christianized (πανδημεὶ Χριστιανίζοντες) and its great temples of Zeus Poliuchus and Apollo Patrous had long been destroyed (Sozom. *HE* 54: Rams. *op. cit.* 303). This is the more remarkable as southern Cappadocia was the stronghold of the worship of Ma (Enyo), whose priest rivalled the king himself in power (Str. 535). At the time of Strabo's visit the Hieroduli of the temple numbered over six thousand, and

almost all the people of Comana were connected directly or indirectly with the worship. At Venasa there was a similar establishment devoted to the worship of Zeus (Str. 537, Rams. *op. cit.* 292). It is only in later ecclesiastical history that the towns of Cappadocia are celebrated—*e.g.*, Nyssa, Nazianzus Samosata, Tyana. For the Christianity of Cappadocia, see Rams. *Ch. in R. Emp.*(5) 443 *ff.* W. J. W.

CAPTAIN. The lavish use of this old English word in EV is perplexing. We shall mention the words which it represents, suggesting in some cases substitutes. EV is by no means consistent : the words referred to are sometimes rendered differently (cp OFFICER, PRINCE, RULER).

1. *Ba'al*, בַּעַל in בַּ' פְּקִדוּת, properly 'one who was on the watch,' Jer. 37 13†.

2. *Tiphsār*, טִפְסָר Jer. 51 27, Nah. 3 17 (RV 'marshal'). See SCRIBE.

3. *Nāgīd*, נָגִיד 1 S. 13 14, prop. the foremost one; hence 'prince' [RV usually] or 'leader' [EV 1 Ch. 12 27 13 1].

4. *Nāsī*, נָשִׂיא Nu. 2 3 etc. (RV 'prince'; better 'chief'—*i.e.*, one who is entrusted with authority). In Ezekiel often for the secular head of the Messianic kingdom. Often too in P (*e.g.*, Nu. 1 16 2 3).

5. *Péḥāh*, פֶּחָה 2 K. 18 24 Is. 36 9. Here and here only the word means 'general'; a glossator (see *SBOT*, Is.) used it in a wrong sense. Elsewhere it means 'governor,' 'satrap' (see GOVERNOR, 1).

6. *Ḳāṣīn*, קָצִין Jud. 11 6 (a 'decider'—*i.e.*, chieftain, RV 'chief,' except Dan. 11 18).

7. *Rab*, רַב in late Heb. for 11, *e.g.*, 2 K. 25 8, '*captain* of the guard' (AVmg. 'chief marshal').

8. *Rōš*, רֹאשׁ 'head,' Nu. 14 4 1 Ch. 11 42 (RV 'chief'); 2 Ch. 13 12 (RV 'head'); cp GOVERNMENT, § 26 n.

9. *Šallīṭ*, שַׁלִּיט Dan. 2 15; syn. with 'captain (רַב see 7) of the guard,' *v.* 14.

10. *Šālīš*, שָׁלִישׁ 2 K. 9 25; see ARMY, § 4, CHARIOT, § 10.

11. *Śar*, שַׂר in 'captain of the host,' 1 K. 1 25; 'captain of thousands, hundreds,' 1 S. 22 7. Elsewhere 'prince,' even Is. 10 8 and 31 9 (where read 'captains'). See ARMY, § 4, GOVERNMENT, § 21.

12. 13. 14. Three words mistranslated 'captain' are כַּר, כָּרִי, and אַלּוּף in 2 K. 11 4 19, Ezek. 21 22 (AVmg. and RV 'battering rams') and Jer. 13 21 respectively.

The Greek words are :—

15. ἀρχηγός Heb. 2 10 (RV 'author'), prop. 'one who takes the lead'; cp 1 Macc. 10 47 Heb. 12 2.

16. στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Lk. 22 4 52 Acts 4 1 etc.), the commander of the temple Levites; see ARMY, § 6.

17. στρατοπεδάρχης Acts 28 16 (RV after ℵ [AB om.]), 'captain of the guard,' a military tribune; cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 19 4.

18. χιλίαρχος Jn. 18 12, chiliarch, see ARMY, § 10.

CAPTIVITY, EXILE. These parallel and practically synonymous expressions (שְׁבִי, שִׁבְיָה, שְׁבִית, √αἰχμαλωτεύειν, -τίζειν, ζωγρεῖν, and גּוֹלָה, גָּלוּת, √גָּלָה, 'to strip, make bare [a country],' μετοικίζειν, etc.) occur together in such phrases as 'the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia' (את־שבי מצרים ואת־גלות כוש; Is. 20 4), 'into exile, into captivity shall they go' (בגולה בשבי ילכו; Ezek. 12 11), 'the children of the captivity which were come out of exile' (הבאים מהשבי בני־הגולה; Ezra 8 35). The captivity and exile incidental to conquest are intended. On what is known as The Captivity or Exile *par excellence*, see ISRAEL, § 32 *ff.*, and cp DISPERSION.

In Is. 51 14 צֹעֶה (EV 'the captive exile') means, literally, nothing more than 'he that is bent down' (see RVmg.) but the text is corrupt (see Che. *SBOT*, 'Isa.,' Addenda): In Is. 22 17 מְטַלְטֶלְ־, 'will carry thee away with a mighty captivity,' in AV, ought to be rendered, as in RV, 'will hurl thee away violently.'

CARABASION (καραβασ[ε]ιων [BA], L om.) in 1 Esd. 9 34 seems to stand for the 'Vaniah and Meremoth' of || Ezra 10 36.

CARAVAN אֹרְחָה,[1] which is properly the fem. collective form of אֹרֵחַ, 'a traveller,' Judg. 5 6 RVmg., Job 6 18 *f.* RV ; elsewhere (in Gen. 37 25 Is. 21 13), '(traveling) company,' which in Job 6 19 represents הֲלִיכָה. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

[1] Strictly, the rendering rests upon the change of אֳרָחוֹת and אָרְחוֹת ('ways,' cp AV) into אֹרְחוֹת, which is supported by most moderns.

CARBUNCLE is given in RVmg. as rendering *nōphek*, נֹפֶךְ (𝔊 ἄνθραξ), for which EV has 'emerald.' Both renderings are uncertain ; for a third, see EMERALD.

Whilst under the head of carbunculus Pliny probably includes the ruby, which is simply the red corundum, and the spinel, we may with safety assume that neither of these stones can have been in the high-priest's breastplate. For, *first*, there is no proof that the ruby, which is only found in Ceylon and in Burmah, or the spinel, were known to the Hebrews and their neighbours any more than they were to the Greeks till after the time of Theophrastus ; *secondly*, owing to its hardness the ruby has hardly ever been engraved on, and any instances that are known belong to the late Roman period. On the other hand, Theophrastus (*lap.* 18) describes his carbuncle (ἄνθραξ) as a stone red in colour (ἐρυθρὸν μὲν τῷ χρώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἥλιον τιθέμενον ἄνθρακος καιομένου ποιεῖ χροάν), a statement that fits well the carbuncle, and tells us that it was engraved for signets (ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ σφραγίδια γλύφουσιν). The *nōphek* of the breastplate may therefore have been a garnet. See, further, PRECIOUS STONES.

2. On the בָּרֶקֶת of Ex. 28 17 39 10 Ez. 28 13† (EV 'carbuncle') see EMERALD.

3. On the אַבְנֵי אֶקְדָּח of Is. 54 12† (EV 'carbuncle') see CRYSTAL. W. R.

CARCAS (כַּרְכַּס ; θαραβα [BℵL(β)], θαβαζ [A]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 10).

CARCHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ, in Jer. and Is. כַּרְכְּמִשׁ ; Egyptian *Ḳa-rū-ḳa-maī*(?)-*šā* ; early Babylonian [*circa* 2200 B. C.] *Karkamis* ;[1] Assyrian *Gargamiš*, *Gargamiš*), a city on the Euphrates (Jer. 46 2 ; so also Sargon, *ša kišad Puratti* [see Wi. *Sargon*, 172]).

The readings of the versions are : Jer. 46 2 χαρμεις [BℵA], καρχαμ. [Q]; 2 Ch. 35 20 AV *CHARCHEMISH*, χαρχαμ. [L], BA om.; cp 1 Esd. 1 23 (25) AV *CHARCHAMIS* χαρκαμυς [B], καλχαμ. [A], χαρχαμεις [L]; in Is. 10 9 ככרכמש is represented by τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος [BℵAQ] [?] ; *Charcamis*.

The site of Carchemish was fixed by G. Smith, shortly before his death at Aleppo in 1876, as being at Jerābīs

1. Site. on the W. bank of the Euphrates. Such, at least, appears to be the most probable form of the name (G. Smith in his latest diary speaks also of a place called Yaraboloos). Maundrell gave the name as Jerabolûs (Bohn's ed. 508); Sayce (*Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1888, p. 109, n.) adopts Jerablûs for Carchemish on the authority of Skene, Wilson, and Trowbridge. The form Jerābīs is that heard by Sachau (*Reise in Syrien*, 168); and Pococke long ago gave Jerabees as the name of a place distinct from Hierapolis (*Travels in the East*, 2 164). Jerābīs (variously spelled) is therefore adopted by Schrader, Delitzsch, G. Hoffmann, and Professor W. Wright of Cambridge ; Peters, however (*Nippur*, text, map, and index), adopts Jerabus (*sic*). Jerābīs is the plural form of Jirbās given by Yāḳūt.[2] If Jerablūs were correct it would still remain to be shown historically how Hierapolis (of which it is an obvious corruption) came to be applied to the ruins of Carchemish, seven hours away. The Syrian Hierapolis-Mabug (the Turkish Bembi, from Greek Βαμβύκη, cp Ass. *Ba-am-bu-ki*), to which the name Jerablûs certainly does belong, was the seat of the worship of the Aramæan

[1] Cun. Texts from Bab. Tab., etc. in the British Museum. Pt. ii. no. 1, obv. 8 ; no. 6, obv. 11.

[2] Nöld. and Hoffmann identify with the Greek Europos or Oropos (Syr. form Aghropos). Yāḳūt's words (2 688) are : 'Dair Ḳinnisri is on the E. bank of the Euphrates in the region of el-Jezira and Diyār Mudar, opposite Jirbās (Jirbās is Syrian). From Dair Ḳinnisri to Manbiǵ the distance is four farsaḫs, and from Dair Ḳinnisri to Sarūǵ seven farsaḫs.

goddess ATARGATIS (*q.v.*). G. Smith's words are (see Del. *Par.* 266 *f.*), 'Grand site[;] vast walls and palace-mounds 8000 feet round [;] many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions [;] site of Karchemesh.' Some of the sculptures and inscriptions are now in the British Museum. The ruins extend half a mile from N. to S. by a quarter of a mile from W. to E. (Pococke, *l.c.*).

2. History. Carchemish was the northern capital of the Hittite empire, the Assyrian māt Ḫatti, clearly a great trade centre, and seems to have been a fortress-city commanding the principal ford of the Euphrates on the trade route from the Mesopotamian plains into Syria. As the mounds lie between Berejik and the junction of the Sājūr with the Euphrates, it is certain that a strong force at Carchemish could block the route of an Egyptian army into Assyria. About 1600 B.C. the army of Thotmes III. had to meet the people of Ḳa-ri-ḳa-maï(?)-ša (WMM, *Asien*, 263); and the Egyptian captain Amenemḥbe took some of the inhabitants prisoners. Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1100 B.c.) says that he defeated and plundered people belonging to the city of Carchemish, and when the rest fled and crossed the Euphrates he sent his troops across on floats of inflated skins and burnt six cities at the foot of Mount Biširi (*KB* 1 32, 2 49 *ff.*). It is clear that his victory did not give command of the ford and that he did not take the city itself. Ašur-nāṣir-pal (*circa* 880 B.c.) received from Sangara, king of (māt Ḫatti) the Hittites, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, tribute, the magnitude and variety of which attest the wealth and prosperity of the land (*KB* 1 106, *l.* 65 *ff.*). Shalmaneser II. about 858 B.C. defeated an alliance of Sangara with his neighbours and received an enormous tribute from him (*KB* 1 162, 2 27 *ff.*). On the bronze gates of Balawāt a picture of the fortress is twice given in relief. Sargon II. in 717 B.C. actually captured the city, took its king Pisiris prisoner, deported its people, and settled Assyrians in it (*KB* 2 38, *A* 10, 22; Wi. *Sarg.*, passim). From this time it was the capital of a regular province of Assyria, and had its own *šaknu* or governor, who took his place among the Eponyms (692 B.C.). A strong proof of its commercial importance is afforded by the fact that by far the most common unit of monetary value in Assyria down to the last was the *maneh* of Carchemish. On the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C., see EGYPT, § 68; ISRAEL, § 40.

See further HITTITES, and cp Maspero, *De Carchemis oppidi situ*, etc., *Struggle of Nations*, 144 *f.*; Schr. *KGF* ('78), p. 221 *ff.*; G. Hoffmann, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* (D. M. G.), vii. no. 3, p. 161; Del. *Par.* 265-268; Wright, *PSBA*, 1880-81, pp. 58 *f.*; Menant, *Kar-Kâmis, sa position*, etc., 1891.

C. H. W. J.

CAREAH (καρηθ [BA]) 2 K. 25 23 AV, RV KAREAH.

CARIA (την καριαν [ℵV], τ. -ιδα [A]), the southern part of the Roman province of Asia, mentioned as one of the countries to which a Roman note in favour of the Jews was sent in 139 B.C. (1 Macc. 15 23); see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9. At that date Caria was autonomous. Previously the greater portion had been assigned to Rhodes (in 189 B.c.), but after the war with Perseus (168 B.C., cp 1 Macc. 8 5 Pol. 30 5) it was declared free. After 129 B.C. Caria was part of the province of Asia (Cic. *Pro. Flac.* 65). Jews were settled in many Carian towns—Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Miletus—and in the islands off the coast—Cos, Rhodes, etc.

W. J. W.

CARITES (הַכָּרִי), used thrice in RV of the royal body-guard, 2 K. 11 4 19 (AV CAPTAINS; τον χορρ[ε]ι [BAL], χορει [A *v.* 19], and 2 S. 20 23 mg. (so Kt., Ḳr. הַכְּרֵתִי, EV CHERETHITES [*q.v.*], χελεθθει [B], χερε. [A], του πλινθιου [L, see BENAIAH]). Perhaps the Carians, the famous mercenary folk (cp, *e.g.*, Herod. 2 152), are meant (see Dr. *ad bc.*, CARIA, above, and cp CHERETHITES). Even so, we must not infer a real acquaintance with the western part of Asia Minor. The name may have meant little more than foreigners. (For another view see CAPHTOR, § 2.)

F. B.

CARMANIANS, RV Carmonians (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly], *-mini* [A*], *-ne* [A**]), for which some MSS read Armenii, on the principle of substituting the unknown for the known, a people, mentioned in the 'vision horrible' (4 Esd. 15 30), who were to go forth 'as the wild boars of the wood' and 'waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians with their teeth' (so RV); see SWINE. They are probably the inhabitants of Kermān a province on the N. shore of the Persian gulf, lying to the W. of Gedrosia. Kerman is now the name of a province in the SE. of Persia.

In language and customs they were akin to the Persians They were not unknown to ancient classical authors (*e.g.*, Nearchus, Arrian *Ind.* 38; Strabo, 15727, the latter of whom gives a very gruesome account of some of their cruelties).

The events hinted at in the vision probably refer to the conquests of the Sassanides, more especially of Shápúr or Sapor I. (242-273 A.D.), and to their expeditions against Valerian (258 A.D.) and other generals. We may thus see in the wasting of a 'portion of the land of the Assyrians' (*v.* 30) Sapor's expedition towards the NW. where he overran Syria and destroyed Antioch. The dragons of Arabia (*v.* 29; cp the 'fiery flying serpents' of Is. 30 6) would then be the Arabian forces of Odenathns and Zenobia, who drove him back beyond the Euphrates; and the retaliation described in *v.* 33 would refer to the repulse of the Palmyrene troops, their dislodgment from the hanks of the Orontes, and the fall of Zenobia at the hands of Aurelian (272 A.D.).

See ESDRAS FOURTH BOOK OF, § 5 (6). [For the history of this period cp WRS, 'Palmyra,' and Nö. 'Persia,' *EB*(9).]

CARME (χαρμη [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 25, AV = Ezra 2 39 HARIM, 1.

CARMEL (כַּרְמֶל or הַכַּרְמֶל—*i.e.*, 'the garden-land'; καρμηλος [BAL]).

1. Name and position. 1. (Sometimes also הַר הַכַּרְמֶל, ορος το καρμηλιον.) The name Carmel, which is properly a common noun meaning a plantation of choice trees (cp Span. *carmen*), is employed both with and (Josh. 19 26 Jer. 46 18 Nah. 1 4) without the article as the proper name of a mountain. The reference is to the richly wooded character which Mt. Carmel had anciently and possesses still in a large degree (cp 'The Black Forest').

It is convenient to distinguish three separate applications of the name: (1) as denoting the range of hills extending for some 12 or 13 miles from the sea coast in the NW. to the W. el-Milḥ in the SE.; (2) as including also the farther prolongation (called er-Ruhah) of this range for other 12 or 13 miles in a south-easterly direction, as far as to the neighbourhood of Jenīn; (3) as designating the promontory or headland in which the range ends at its northern extremity, leaving only a narrow passage between the mountain and the sea. The range and the promontory combine to form a striking feature in the configuration of Palestine. The symmetrical arrangement by which the country as a whole falls into longitudinal sections, running north and south, distinguished as the littoral zone, the hill-country, and the zone of the Ghōr (see PALESTINE, § 6 *f.*), is broken by Carmel alone, intruding into the Mediterranean plain, and interrupting the continuity of the mountain zone so as to form the plain of Jezreel. Topographically it is thus important; and, though Carmel is not often expressly named, the presence of this natural barrier and the adjoining plain had a considerable influence on the course of immigrations or invasions from the time of the Philistines and Pharaoh Necho down to that of Bonaparte.

The eastern slope of Carmel falls sharply towards the plain of Esdraelon; but westward its declivity

towards the Mediterranean is gentle. On this side its configuration presents a series of divergent buttresses separated by valleys and opening up like a fan towards the coast. This western region, properly, belongs to the *massif* of Carmel, and Conder says, quite rightly, 'Carmel is best described as a triangular block of mountains.' From the summit of the main range and, indeed, from almost every point along the ridge extensive views to south and north are obtained, and Carmel in turn is visible and conspicuous from a great variety of distant points. The range reaches a maximum elevation of 1810 feet a little to the south of the village of 'Esfiyeh.

2. Nature.

Geologically it is cretaceous and nummulitic limestone, containing fossil echinoderms and 'geodes'—*i.e.*, silicious concretions known as *septarium* or vulgarly as cats' heads, called by the ancient pilgrims *lapides judaici* or Elijah's melons (Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, 172). There are many caves, and some volcanic rocks. The fauna includes the roebuck, the leopard, and the wild cat. The flora, which is luxuriant, is wholly wild. The most common trees are the pine, **oak,** lentisk, carob, **olive**; traces of modern agriculture are to be found only in the neighbourhood of the villages and of the sea-coast. It was otherwise in ancient times, as is shown by the very name (above, § 1). At various points in the range ancient wine and oil presses have been discovered, and traces of Roman roads have been pointed out to the present writer by Dr. Schumacher.

There is every ground for believing that formerly Carmel was covered much more luxuriantly than it is now. Hence the comparison in Cant. 7 5[6] ('thine head is like Carmel'), and the allusion to the 'splendour of Carmel' in Is. 35 2. Its prominence is referred to in Jer. 46 18, where it is said that the king of Babylon will come 'like Tabor among the mountains and like Carmel by the sea.' In conjunction with Sharon, Lebanon, and Bashan, Carmel serves as a type for a land that has been singularly blessed by God (Jer. 50 19 Mic. 7 14). The devastation of Carmel implies the severest chastisement for Israel (Is. 33 9 Jer. 4 26 Am. 1 2 Nah. 1 4). Its thick woods offered shelter to the fugitive, as Amos (9 3) indicates in an allusion that admits of explanation without supposing that the mountain was held to give protection against Yahwè (for the idea cp Ps. 139 7-12). The passages which assign to Elisha an abode on Carmel do not necessarily mean that he was compelled to seek an asylum there (2 K. 2 25 4 25). In the time of Strabo Carmel was still a place of refuge for the persecuted (16 7 59).

3. OT reff.

We cannot say with certainty to which tribe Carmel belonged.

The one reference in this connection (Josh. 19 26) in the delimitation of Asher is somewhat enigmatical (see ASHER, § 3), and in any case can relate only to the extreme headland. The tribes of Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun must all have touched on Carmel. Doubtless the tribal limits varied from age to age, and there must have been periods of Phœnician ascendancy.

In later times Carmel belonged now to Samaria, now to Galilee, sometimes even to the province of Tyre.

In Ahab's time it certainly formed part of the dominions of that monarch, and it became the scene of the memorable contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal.

Tradition places the scene, and the altar of Yahwè which Elijah repaired, at a point called El-Moḥraḳa ('place of burning'), where there is a Roman Catholic sanctuary 1700 feet above the sea-level, two hours south from 'Esfiyeh. Beneath this spot, at the base of the mountain, near the Kishon, there is a hillock, the so-called Tell-el-Ḳassīs ('hill of the priest,' not 'of the priests'), which is pointed to—but, of course, with no historical certainty—as the place where the prophets of Baal were put to death.

There are no data for fixing the scene of 1 K. 18 in one locality more than another, and *vv.* 41-46 leave us as much in the dark as the rest of the narrative. Some interpreters take the 'mountain' in 2 K. 19-15 to be Carmel; but it is natural to look for it somewhere on the road between Samaria and Ekron. It has also been supposed to be intended in Dt. 33 19 ('Issachar and Zebulun . . . shall call the peoples unto the mountain'); but 'what mountain is meant is quite indeterminate. There may have been more than one mountain sanctuary in Zebulun and Issachar; and the reference may be to these generally' (Dr. *ad loc.*).

Carmel had a widespread reputation for sanctity. Thotmes III. has been quoted as a witness. Maspero, in fact, thinks that he can recognise the 'holy headland' (ראש קדש) of Carmel in the name Ru-šą-ḳdš, no. 48 in the Palestinian place-list of Thotmes III. (*RP*(2) 5 47); but this is uncertain.[1]

4. Other reff.

Jamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 3 15) asserts that Pythagoras sojourned on Carmel. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2 78) speaks of it as a place consecrated by the presence of an oracle, beside an altar that was unadorned by any image of the deity. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 5) relates that Vespasian sacrificed at this spot, and heard from the priests the prophecy of his greatness. Among Mahommedans the memory of Elijah is indissolubly associated with Carmel, which the Arabs to this day call Jebel Mār Elyās, Mount St. Elias, where they have set up welys and mosques in his honour.

6. Later times.

Still greater has its importance been in the Christian world. Many anchorites established themselves there from the earliest times. In 1156 St. Berthold of Calabria founded the order of Carmelites and built their first monastery at the north-western extremity of the range near 'Elijah's grotto.'

In 1252 the monastery was visited by St. Louis (Louis IX.) of France, who is sometimes, but wrongly, represented as its founder. Dedicated to 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel,' it has had a very chequered history. The Carmelites were often persecuted; and their house was destroyed or turned into a mosque. In 1799 it was used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of Napoleon's army. In 1821 it was destroyed by 'Abdallah-pasha, but a Carmelite friar, Giovanni Battista di Frascati, successfully undertook to collect funds for its restoration. The present building, 560 feet above the sea-level, is due to his efforts; by its side stands a lighthouse. 'Elijah's grotto' forms the crypt of the church; another grotto near, which formerly belonged to the Christians but has now been taken by the Moslems is represented as having harboured a school of the prophets) in Elijah's time, and as having given shelter to the Holy Family on their return from Egypt.

A little way above the monastery, on the crest of the hill, a large sanatorium (*Luftkurhaus*) has been built by the German colony in Ḥaifā.

These colonists pursue agriculture on the slopes of Mount Carmel, and, by their success in vine-culture especially, have demonstrated the possibility of bringing back to the scene of their labours some portion of its ancient prosperity.

6. Literature.

Besides papers in *PEFQ*, see especially v. Schubert, ***Reise in das Morgenland***, 3 202-220; Guérin, ***Palestine : Samarie***, 2 240-250, 260-273; Furrer, *Wanderungen durch das heil. Land*(2), 317-329; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 88-95; GASm. *HG* 337-340; L. Gautier, ***Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte***(2), 227-248. LU. G.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 55) (χερμελ [BAL]), the scene of incidents in the life of Saul (1 S. 15 12) and David (1 S. 25 2 *ff.*).[2] The gentilic הַכַּרְמְלִי, **Carmelite** (καρμήλιος), is applied to David's wife ABIGAIL [*q.v.*, 1] (2 S. 2 2 καρμηλειτου [A], etc.) and to HEZRO (1 Ch. 11 37). The town is mentioned (Χερμαλα, *Carmela*) by Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 110 3 127 27 6 *f.*) as situated 10 m. from Hebron, and as having a Roman garrison. It is the modern *Karmal*, 2887 ft. above the sea-level, about 8 R.m. SE. from Hebron (according to Robinson, who thinks Eusebius and Jerome have exaggerated the distance; see also Palestine Survey map, sheet xxiv.). Robinson speaks of the ruins as 'extensive'; the principal ruin is that of the castle, which he assigns to Herod or the Romans, but Conder to 12th century A.D. The site is upon the edge of the wilderness of Judæa; but to the west the land is broad and fertile, not unlike scenes of upland agriculture in Scotland. The name Carmel is therefore suitable. There are many remains of vineyard terraces, and a reservoir.

G. A. S.

CARMI (כַּרְמִי, § 70; χαρμ[ε]ι [BAFL]), apparently shortened from Beth-hac-cerem[3] or Beth-haccarmi [see TAHCHEMONITE], and note in Josh. 15 59 the name Carem (καρεμ [BAL]).

[1] More precisely, Maspero places the *town* of Rosh Ḳodshu on the slope of the promontory (*Struggle of the Nations*, 136; *ZÄ*, 1879, p. 55). W. M. Muller (*As. u. Eur.* 165), however, points *out* that the grouping of the names proves that Ru-šą-ḳdš cannot have been far from Carmel.

[2] Carmel ought also to be read for Rachal in 1 S. 30 29; so 𝔊BL. See RACHAL.

[3] In that case it cannot be compared with the Nab. n. pr. כרמו.

1. Father of ACHAN (*q.v.*); Josh. 7 1 18 [B om.] 1 Ch. 2 7t. In 1 Ch. 4 1 Carmi, elsewhere called son of Zabdi (or 1 Ch. 26 of Zimri), is made son of Judah; but we should rather read CHELUBAI (cp 29) with We.

2. b. Reuben, supposed ancestor of the **Carmites** (הכרמי), Gcn. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 6 1 Ch. 5 3t.

CARMONIANS (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly]), 4 Esd. 15 30, AV CARMANIANS.

CARNAIM (ΚΑΡΝΑΙΝ [AKV]), 1 Macc. 5 43 *f.*; and **Carnion** (ΚΑΡΝΙΟΝ [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 21. See ASHTAROTH.

CAROB TREE (ΤΟ ΚΕΡΑΤΙΟΝ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 15 16 RV[mg] See HUSKS.

CARPENTER (חָרַשׁ עֵץ, 2 Sam. 5 11; ΤΕΚΤΩΝ, Mt. 13 55). See HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

CARPUS (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ [Ti. WH]) appears to have been Paul's host at Troas; it was with him that the apostle left the cloak and books mentioned in 2 Tim. 4 13. He is named in the lists of 'the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (see DISCIPLE, § 3) as bishop of Berœa in Thrace.

CARRIAGE. This English word, which has elsewhere in EV, with various special applications as indicated by the context, the obsolete sense of 'something carried,' is found in the sense of 'vehicle' in Lev. 15 9, RV[mg.] (see SADDLE), and perhaps in 1 S. 17 20 25 7, AV[mg.] (see CAMP, § 1, WAR).

CARSHENA (כַּרְשְׁנָא) in Esth. 1 14 MT, one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. 𝔊's equivalent seems to be *αρκεσαιος* [BℵAL*β*], *-σαος* [ℵ*], whence Marq. (*Fund.* 67) would restore ורכשנא; cp O. Pers. *warkačīnā*, 'wolfish.' See ADMATHA.

CART (עֲגָלָה) 1 S. 6 7. See CHARIOT, § 2.

CARVING, CARVED WORK. See HANDICRAFTS.

CASEMENT (אֶשְׁנָב), Prov. 7 6, RV LATTICE (§ 2 (2)).

CASIPHIA (כָּסִפְיָא). An unknown place, near AHAVA and Babylon, whence Ezra obtained IDDO (i.), the chief man there, and his brethren[1] the Nethinim, Ezra 8 17 (Μασφεν τοῦ τόπου [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 45 [47] (see below).

The other renderings are based on the connection of כספיא with כֶּסֶף 'silver, money,' Ezra 8 17 (ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8 45 [47], EV 'the place of the treasury' (τῷ τόπῳ [τοῦ] γαζοφυλάκιου [BA], τ. τ. τῶν -κίων [L], . . . τοῖς ἐν τ. τ. γαζοφύλαξιν [BAL]). It is perhaps possible that this place was no town, but merely a college, or a locality where Levites were educated (cp Be.-Ry. *Ezr.* ad loc.).

CASLEU (ΧΑΣΕΛΕΥ [Aℵ[c.a]]) 1 Macc. 1 54 AV. See CHISLEU.

CASLUHIM (כַּסְלֻחִים, Gen. 10 14 1 Ch. 1 12†). See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (3).

CASPHOR, in 1 Macc. 5 36 AV **Casphon** (ΧΑΣΦΩΝ [ℵ]; ΚΑ· [V]; ΧΑΣΦΩΘ [A], but in *v.* 26 ΚΑΣΦΩΡ [Aℵ[c.a]], ΚΑΙ ΣΚΑΦΩ [V], ΚΑΣΦΩ [ℵ*]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 3, ΧΑΣΦΟΜΑΚΗ, etc., where ΜΑΚΗ = the name Maked), a town of Gilead (see under BOSOR), taken by Judas the Maccabee in his campaign beyond Jordan (1 Macc. 5 36). It is doubtless the same as the **Caspis**, RV **Caspin** (see GEPHYRUN), of 2 Macc. 12 13 (ΚΑΣΠ[Ε]ΙΝ [VA], *Kaspa* [Syr.]), a fortress described as strong and fenced about with walls and near a lake 2 stadia broad. These data suit the present el-Muzeirib, the great station on the Hajj road, which is not identified with any other OT name (but see ASHTAROTH, § 2), and in antiquity must have been a place of importance: its ancient name has not been recovered.

The identification of Casphon with Khisfin (see Furrer, in Riehm's *HWB* 1834 1;) is philologically improbable, and has no special recommendation. With Khisfin cp Talm. Hasfiya. On Muzeirib see Schumacher, *Across Jordan*, 157 *ff.* There is another large lake, *el Khab*, 16 m. N. of Muzeirib. G. A. S.

[1] For אָחִיו '(to) his brother,' we must read וְאֶחָיו, 'and (to) his brethren,' with Vg. and ‖ 1 Esd. 𝔊BAL.

CASSIA represents two Hebrew words. 1. קִדָּה (Ex. 30 24 Ezek. 27 19†) appears, along with myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and olive oil, as an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. It is mentioned, along with bright iron and calamus, among the wares brought into the Tyrian market. The origin of the word is unknown, nor is it found in any of the cognate languages: some have thought that it reappears in the *κιττώ* spoken of by Dioscorides (1 12) as one species of cassia.

𝔊BAFL renders ἶρις in Ex. 30 24, where *κασσία*, *ξυλαλόη*, and *κόστος* are mentioned in other MSS as alternative renderings: in Ezek. 27 19, where 𝔊BAQ omits, Aq. has *σπαρτίον*, Sym. *στακτή*, and Theod. *καιδδα*. Pesh. and Targ. identify it with the קְצִיעוֹת or 'cassia' of Ps. 45 8 [9] (see below).

Scholars are agreed that probably what is intended is some kind of cassia.

Celsius (2 186) notices the mention in Mish. *Kil.* i. § 8 of קדה לבנה, 'white cassia,' as cultivated in Palestine; but this, according to Low (349), must have been quite a different plant.

2. קְצִיעוֹת Ps. 45 8 [9], the word which passed into Greek as *κασία*[1] and thence into other languages, is almost certainly a derivative of the root קצע (= Ar. *ḳadaʿa*), to 'scrape'—properly 'to reduce to fine dust' (WRS in *J. Phil.* 16 71 *f.*). A 'powdered fragrant bark' is thus indicated. The word is too general to allow of certain identification with any particular species; but probably what is intended is something akin to the modern 'cassia bark' (*i.e.*, the bark of other kinds of *Cinnamomum* than that which yields the true cinnamon). The use of the Heb. *plural* to denote a substance of this kind is natural.[2] The word in the singular is found as a female name; see KEZIAH.

Fl. and Hanb., *Pharm.*(2) 519, say: 'That cinnamon and cassia were extremely analogous is proved by the remark of Galen, that the finest cassia differs so little from the lowest quality of cinnamon that the first may be used for the second, provided a double weight of it he used.'

A very probable source of cassia is *Cinnamomum iners*, Bl. The *Pharmacopœia indica* says: 'May he used as a substitute for Cinnamon, to which it can hardly be reckoned inferior.' *C. iners* occurs in S. India and throughout the Malayan region. It yielded the 'cassia hark' once so largely exported from N. Canara. See CINNAMON. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CASTANETS (מְנַעַנְעִים), 2 S. 6 5† RV. See MUSIC, § 3 (3).

CASTLE. Two buildings are distinguished in AV by this title: (1) the 'city [rather, citadel] of David' in 1 Ch. 11 5 (מְצוּדָה) 7 (מְצָד), where RV harmonizes with 2 S. 5 7 by rendering 'strong hold,' and (2) the barracks (lit. camp) attached to the fort Antonia (Acts 21 34 37; *παρεμβολή*). See JERUSALEM, TEMPLE.

3. RV also gives the title to the *bīrāh*[3] (בִּירָה) of Susa (AV 'palace'). See PALACE, SHUSHAN; also FORTRESS, TOWER.

4. The word is also used in AV, quite wrongly, for טִירָה, *ṭīrāh*, which is rather a nomad 'encampment' (so RV), Gen. 25 16 etc. (distinguished from חצרים, 'villages'). See CAMP, § 1, CATTLE, § 1 n.

CASTOR AND POLLUX, RV **The Twin Brothers** (ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΟΙ [Ti. WH]; so RV[mg.] 'Dioscuri'), the sign (*παράσημον*) of the Alexandrian ship in which Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli (Acts 28 11). Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus and Leda and brothers of Helen, appear in heaven as the constellation Gemini.[4] See STARS, § 3 *f.* They were the tutelary deities of sailors, and (it may be interesting to note) were held in especial veneration in the district of Cyrene, near Alexandria (*Schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 5 6). Catullus (4 27)

[1] The spelling with ones is correct in Greek and Latin (Lag. *Mittheil.* 2 357).

[2] For קציעות Herz' and Che. (*Ps.*(2)) would read מוּצָק, 'are shed.'

[3] A longer form is *bīrāniyyāh* (only in plur.), 2 Ch. 17 12 27 4 (coupled with *migdālīm*, 'towers').

[4] On their mythological forms see more fully *EB*(9) *s.v.*, and Roscher *s.v.* 'Dioskuren.'

speaks of a boat dedicated to the same deities, and for other examples of names of ships see Smiths *Class. Dict., s.v.* 'Insigne.' It is probable that images of Castor and Pollux were fixed at the bow of Paul's ship, since it was customary for a ship to carry at the bow a representation of the sign which furnished the name (the *insigne),* and at the stern a representation of the tutelary deity (the *tutela*). Herod. (337) makes reference to the *Pataikoi* (origin doubtful), figures of hideous muscular dwarfs which the Phoenicians stuck up on the bows of their galleys (cp PHŒNICIA, and see Perr. Chip. *Phœn.* 217*f.*, and note the illustration of such a galley, *ib.* 19).

CAT. Cats (EV) or rather WILD CATS (αἴλουροι)—for the context requires us to take αἴλ. in this sense—are mentioned in the 'Epistle of Jeremy' (Bar. **622**) with bats, swallows, and birds, which alight upon the bodies and heads of idols. Wild cats (חֲתוּלִין) are recognised by the Tg. of Is. 13 22 (for תַּנִּים, see JACKAL) 3414 (for אִיִּים, see JACKAL [4]), but not of Hos. 96 (where חת' is a faulty reading for חֲרָלִין, 'thistles'). We must not infer from the lateness of these words that it was only at a late date that the Israelites became acquainted with wild cats. They no doubt knew the *felis maniculata* (the original of our own domestic cat), which to-day is very common on the E. of Jordan (though it is scarce on the W. side), and is found, indeed, throughout Africa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine (Tristrarn).

We need not wonder that no reference is made in the OT to the domestic cat. The Egyptians themselves had probably tamed the wild cat only to a certain extent; it accompanies the fowler on his expeditions (see woodcuts in Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 236 *f.*). The stories of Herodotus (266) are absurd. Bastit, the goddess of Bubastus, was 'a cat *or a tigress*' (Maspero).

The rendering 'wild cats' in Tg. of Is. (see above) is not adopted by modern translators. All that we can be sure of is that the writers of the descriptions referred to had in view some definite wild animals. Wolves, hyenas, jackals, and wild cats (including 'martens') were in their minds; but it is not easy to distribute them among the various Hebrew terms. Many commentators, after Bochart (*Hieroz.* 862), give 'wild cat' for Heb. צִיִּים (Is. 13 21 3414 Jer. 5039 Ps. 74 14 [text doubted]). Certainly EV's 'wild beasts of the desert' (as if from צִיָּה) is inappropriate; the etymology assumed also is very doubtful. The ancient versions are inconsistent, and the Heb. writers would not have condemned them. See JACKAL, WOLF.

T. K. C.

CATECHISE (חנך) Prov. 226 AV$^{mg.}$; EV 'train up,' with which cp Lk. 1 4 mg., 'the things which thou wast taught (κατηχήθης) by word of mouth'; Acts 18 25 mg. 'taught by word of month (κατηχημένος) in the way of the Lord.' That oral instruction is meant by κατηχεῖν is undeniable; cp Jos. *Vit.* 65, 'when thou meetest me,' καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω, 'I will inform thee of many things.'

The Revisers of the OT seem to have thought that such **a** peculiar word as חנך may have had **a** technical meaning such as κατηχεῖν at length acquired. In MH a derivative of חנך (חִנּוּךְ) means the 'gradual introduction of children into religious practice'; *e.g.*, 'Wherein consists the child's training (חִנּוּךְ), *Yoma* 82*a*, with reference to the fasting on the Day of Atonement.. Certainly the word חנך elsewhere always has **a** technical meaning. It seems to mean religious initiation or dedication, whether of **a** person (so perhaps חניך Gen. **14** 14) or of a building (see DEDICATE; cp חנוך, Enoch). The first part of Prov. *l.c.* is very obscure, and probably corrupt (see **Che.** *Exp.* **7.** Sept. 1899). Oral instruction there doubtless was in the post-exilic period to which Proverbs seems to belong (see EDUCATION, § 1); hut חנך is not one of the technical words of the wise men for communicating instruction.

CATERPILLER (יֶלֶק), Ps. 105 34, etc., AV, RV CANKERWORM, see LOCUST, § 2 (6), and (חָסִיל) 1 K. 837 etc. EV, see LOCUST, § 2 (9).

CATHUA (κογα [B], καθογα [A], γεδδηλ? [L]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 530, unmentioned in ‖ Ezra 247 Neh. 749, unless the name may be identified with GAHAR (כתו for גחר?), or perhaps with GIDDEL [*qq.v.*].

CATTLE.[1] The nomad origin of the Semites is plain from the fact that numerous words relating to the life and associations of nomads (*e.g.*, ox, sheep, etc.) are common to all the dialects. In the case of the b'ne Israel, not only idioms and figures of speech, but also old traditional names and even direct statements, confirm the view, which is in itself highly probable. Note, for example, the name RACHEL, 'the ewe' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 311), and the description of Abram as a 'nomad Aramæan' (אֲרַמִּי אֹבֵד Dt. **26** 5). A still earlier ancestor, JABAL (the name is again significant), is called the 'father'—Le.. founder—of nomadic life (Gen. 4 20; cp CAINITES. § 11).

1. Nomadic life.

It is important at the outset to bear in mind the difference between nomads ('tent-dwellers,' Gen. *l.c.*) and those who have settled down as agriculturists. Of the constantly recurring struggle between these two classes a vivid picture is presented in the narrative **of** Zeeb and Zalmunna (Judg. 8), chiefs of the Midianites, a people which, as depicted in the OT, may serve as a good illustration of the nomad class. The difference between the two classes may not be complete; for traces of nomadic origin will continue to be visible, even after the shepherd's tower, or the cattle kraal, with its nucleus of tents,[2] has developed by successive stages into the fortified city (עִיר מִבְצָר; see 2 K. 17 9 18 8 and cp Benz. *HA* 125 *f.*). It is equally important to remember that the state of civilisation of a settled people is not readily assimilated by those on a lower grade. The importance of this in its bearing on the early history of Israel can hardly be exaggerated[3]: with the b'ne Israel the transition from the nomadic to the settled state was a long process. The compilers and expanders of the patriarchal legends shrink from representing their heroes as pure nomads: they feel that, if so represented, these heroes would be grossly inadequate types of their far-off descendants. We have, however, evidence that the later Israelites had, in the more northern parts of their own land, representatives of the old nomadic life in all its simplicity (see RECHARITES).

The words commonly employed in Hebrew- to denote cattle in general are:

1. מִקְנֶה, *miḳneh* (cp מִקְנָה, 'property'), EV usually 'cattle' (so אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה, 'nomads,' Gen. **40** 32), **a** term denoting 'possession,' comprising, therefore, the things which are the usual and almost peculiar property of nomads. It is used, accordingly, in a much wider sense than צֹאן (EV 'flock'; hut AV 'cattle,' Gen. 30 40 etc.), which denotes the small cattle, sheep, and goats or sheep alone (cp 1 S. **25** 2). *Miḳneh* does not include, however: servants; nor, as *a* rule, horses or asses (but see **Ex.** 9 3 Job 1 3).

2. Names for cattle.

2. בְּהֵמָה, *bĕhēmah*, κτηνος, includes all the larger domestic animals: in Neh. 2 12 f4 it means **a** saddle-animal. It is **usually** contrasted with man, wild beasts (חַיָּה, κτῆνος), birds, and crawling things (cp Ps. 148 10). The word is not, however, free from vagueness, for it may be applied to wild animals, and even (in plur. form) to an imaginary animal (see BEHEMOTH, §§ 1, 3).

3. בְּעִיר, *be'īr*, κτῆνος ('cattle' Nu. 204 Ps. 78 48), 'beast,' used

[1] In the present article will be found what requires to he said about large cattle. Small cattle also are included in treating of pasturing, tending, breeding, etc.; but their species and Hebrew names will he considered under SHEEP and GOAT.

[2] טִירָה, properly the circular encampment **of** nomadic tribes: cp Gen. 25 16 Ezek. 25 4.

[3] Hommel (*AHT* 208) remarks on the resistance to Babylonian civilisation displayed by the nomad Aramæan tribes mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions of the eighth and the seventh centuries. Strong historical evidence would have to be shown to justify the conclusion that the Israelite nomads were essentially different from these.

of beasts of burden (Gen. 45 17 cp 44 3 13) and of cattle generally. The Ar. *ba'īrun* is used of both the camel and the ass.

4. מְלָאכָה, *mĕlā'khah* ' property' (cp Ex. 22 7 [6], 10 [9]), used of cattle in Gen. 33 74 and, as including them, in 1 S. 15 9.

5. מְרִיא, *mĕrī'* 'fat cattle,' 1 K. 1 9 (RV fatling, cp μόσχος σιτευτός); generally used with שׁוֹר or בָּקָר.

6. שֶׂה, *seh*, rendered 'small cattle' or 'cattle' in Is. 43 23 Ezek. 34 17, is the *nom. unitatis* to צֹאן, see SHEEP.

7. אֲלָפִים, *ălāphīm* (pl.), 'oxen'; cp Prov. 14 4 Is. 30 24, etc.

To denote the animals of the bovine kind the Hebrews used :

(a) בָּקָר, *bāḳār*, a generic word, which frequently occurs in parallelism with צאן. It is often used individually (cp בֶּן־בָּקָר, a single ox or calf: see Gen. 18 7), and frequently employed to define a word more closely—*e.g.*, with עגל Lev. 9 2, פר Ex. 29 1. Its usual *nom. unit.* is שׁוֹר, *šōr*, used without reference to age or to gender, to denote an ox or cow. It is used of a young calf in Ex. 22 30 [29], Lev. 22 23, and is once collective, Gen. 32 5 [6]. *(b)* פַּר, *par*, fem. פָּרָה, *pārāh*, bull, cow, defined by בן בקר Ex. 29 1 and used of a seven-year-old, Judg. 6 25. *(c)* עֵגֶל, *'ēgel*, fem. עֶגְלָה, *'eglāh*, a calf: used of a three-year-old (Gen. 15 9 cp Is. 15 5), and also of a young cow that already gives milk (Is. 7 21); see HEIFER. *(d)* אַבִּיר *'abbīr* ' mighty,' used poetically of oxen (Is. 34 7), but also of horses (Jer. 8 16, etc.).

With regard to the practices of ancient nomadic pastoral peoples we are but ill-informed. It is probable

3. Breeding. that formerly (as now in Arabia) the same clan would not breed more than one kind of domestic animal. There is still a broad distinction between the camel-breeding tribes of the upland plains and the shepherd tribes of the mountains (WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 311). The steppes of E. Palestine have always been more suitable for sheep and goats, and the northern mountains for oxen. E. of the Jordan, however, cattle were turned loose,[1] and, becoming wild, acquired a name for their ferocity and from their habit of gathering in circles round any object that attracted their attention (Ps. 22 12 [13] *f.*). At the present day shepherds frequent the cool mountain-heights in the summer, and find late in the autumn an abnndant supply of green leaves and twigs for their sheep and goats in the cedars round Lebanon and Baalbek.

The parts of Palestine which were most suitable for the pasturing of herds—the parts which deserve the name of אֶרֶץ מִקְנֶה (Nu. 32 1 4)—were those situated to the E. of Jordan (the modern region of Belḳā) and in the S. plains of Judah. The enormous tribute paid annually by Meša, ' the shepherd ' (נֹקֵד), attests the richness of the country (cp Nu. *l.c.*). Places specially mentioned in connection with herds and flocks are Carmel (1 S. 25 2), Shechem (Gen. 37 12), Dothan (Gen. 37 17), Sharon (1 Ch. 27 29 Is. 65 10), Tekoa (Am. 1 1), Gedor (1 Ch. 4 39), Bethlehem (1 S. 16 11), Midian (Nu. 31 32 cp *vv.* 8 *f.*), Edom (Is. 34 6), and Kedar (Ezek. 27 21).

In prehistoric times there were several kinds of oxen, all wild: a European bison, *Bison bonasus*, Linn., still

4. Species. preserved in the forests of SE. Europe; the Urus, *Bos primigenius*, and *Bos longifrons*, now extinct, probably belonging to the same race as our *Bos taurus* or domesticated oxen. Our modern cattle are derived from the last-named. In Palestine at the present day horned cattle are found only where fresh pastures are easily accessible. In the wilderness S. of Judah horned cattle of a rather undersized kind may be seen in great numbers. Farther to the N. there is a larger and better bred race, used for tilling. These, as a rule, belong to the same species as our cattle, the *Bos taurus*. N. of Esdraelon there is a light-coloured and stalwart variety usually known as the Armenian. In the valley of the Jordan, especially towards the N., there is a species of Indian buffalo, *Bos bubalis* (Ar. *gāmūs*), a clumsy animal with remarkably long horns (generally flattened and angulated). From its size and general appearance the species has been confounded with the ancient *rĕ'ēm* (see UNICORN); but it belongs to comparatively recent times. It has been introduced into several of the Mediterranean countries—*e.g.*, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy. E. of the Jordan horned cattle are rare (Tristram, *Moab*, 251), although the best country for them is said to be there (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 60).

Cattle-breeding holds a large place upon the Egyptian monuments; their evidence goes to show that the so-called Zebu was most common, and that several species of it were bred. The long-horned kind generally bad their horns bent like a lyre or, less commonly, in the shape of a crescent. Short-horns appear rarely in the Old Empire, but are more frequent in later times. Another kind was hornless; it is never represented as ploughing and threshing, and hence may have been regarded as belonging to a ' fancy' class.

A new kind appears in the New Empire. It has horns somewhat wide apart, and bears a big hump.

We have no means of ascertaining any of the ancient methods of breeding (a certain kind of which is pro-

5. Cattle-rearing. hibited by the law in Lev. 19 19) or of rendering horned cattle tractable. They were the earliest of domesticated animals. They preceded by a long time the domestication of the sheep. The bones of one species, the *Bos primigenius* or Urus, have been found in the remains of the neolithic Swiss lake-dwellings.

The pastures were probably free to all comers, since in primitive times there was hardly any property in land. A pasture is useless without a watering-place (cp Judg. 1 15, where the importance of the possession of water is clearly shown; see Moore, *ad loc.*), and property in water is doubtless older and of more importance (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 104 *ff.*). The right to a pasture was obtained by digging a well; and, among the Hebrews as among the Arabians, the wayfarer was always allowed to water his beasts so long as he did not hinder the owners of the water.[1] See SPRINGS. The district upon which cattle pastured is called מִרְעֶה, lit. ' place for feeding.' Cp רְעִי 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]); כַּר נִרְחָב 'a broad pasture' (Is. 30 23) is doubtful (*SBOT*). מִדְבָּר (EV ' desert,' ' wilderness') denotes properly a pasturing ground where herds are driven, from דבר ' to drive (herds)'; cp BDB *Lex. s.v.* דבר.[2]

Other words to denote the pasturing ground are נָוֶה, נָאָה the pastoral abode (gen. rendered 'pasture,' or 'sheep-cote,' once 'stable,' Ezek. 25 5 EV). Similarly רֵבֶץ couching-place, Jer. 50 6 (‖נוה Prov. 24 15 of an abode of men). To denote more narrowly confined areas, we find גִּדְרוֹת צֹאן[3] sheep-folds (1 S. 24 3 Zeph. 2 6, etc.), בָּצְרָה an enclosure (Mi. 2 12), סֻכּוֹת (Gen. 33 17) 'booths,' temporary night-shelters (see below).

When required to be specially fattened, cattle were withdrawn from the open pastures and kept in a stable מַרְבֵּק. See Am. 6 4 1 S. 28 24 Jer. 46 21 Mal. 4 2 (3 20); 'stall,' lit. a place for tying up; cp also רֶפֶת (Hab. 3 17) and מִכְלָה (Hab. 3 17 Ps. 50 9 78 70) 'fold.'

The *pens*[4] are called שְׁפַתַּיִם (Ps. 68 13 [14] RV 'sheepfolds,' AV ' pots '), or מִשְׁפְּתַיִם (Judg. 5 16 Gen. 49 14), properly perhaps 'double-pens.' Moore (on Judg. *l.c.*) and Che. (on Ps. *l.c.*) prefer the sense ' dung-heaps.

The manger or crib is אֵבוּס (Is. 1 3 cp Lk. 2 7 13 15 φάτνη), whence the denominative אָבוּס ' fattened,'

1 Each tribe has its own *wasm* (see WRS *Kin.* 212 *ff.*) or special mark (cp perhaps אוֹת, Gen. 4 15 Nu. 2 2, and see CAIN, § 6; CUTTINGS, § 6). With this it was customary to brand the cattle. See, for specimens of such cattle marks, Doughty, *Ar.* Des. 1 125, and cp Drake, Unexplored *Syria*, 1 341 *f.*

1 A stricter law is alluded to in Dt. 2 6 28.

2 Similarly, מִגְרָשׁ, the common-lands of a city (especially a Levitical one), in Nu. 35 2 ' suhurbs' [EV], is perhaps originally 'place of driving' (BDB); cp RVmg. 'pasture-lands.' Che. doubts the sense of 'driving' and proposes a fresh explanation, making the word practically syn. with שׂדה 'field.' Hence the applied sense 'reserved land'—*i.e.*, belonging to the community or to the sanctuary. See *JQR*, July 1898, p. 566.

3 גְּדֵרָה wall, like the Ar. *gadīratun*, denotes the fold. Here may he added חָצֵר, which may originally have meant a ' cattle-yard ' : cp BDB, *s.v.*

4 אֻרְוָה (cp BDB, *s.v.*) 'stall' is used generally for horses, but also for other animals; cp 2 Ch. 32 28.

applied to oxen (Prov. 15 17; and also birds 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]). To eat the 'stalled ox' (which was looked upon as a luxury; cp Prov. 15 17) is termed a reproach by Amos (Am. 6 4)—himself once a herdsman.

Apart from the ordinary herbage (יֶרֶק, Nu. 22 4 עֵשֶׂב), cattle had special food (מִסְפּוֹא), which was either chopped straw (תֶּבֶן) or 'mixed fodder' (בְּלִיל;[1] cp Job 6 5) made more palatable by the addition of salt, or a salt herb (בְּלִיל חָמִיץ, Is. 30 24).

From the references in the OT we are able to gain a fairly clear idea as to the duties and customs of those who had charge over cattle.

6. Shepherds, etc.

The usual word to denote such an occupation is רֹעֶה (or ר׳ מִקְנֶה, ר׳ צֹאן; less frequently שֹׁמֵר, נֹצֵר, and נֹקֵד (for the last see SHEEP). By far the greater number of references deal as we should naturally expect, with the tending of sheep and goats, and the specific word for a 'cattle-man' (בּוֹקֵר) occurs only once (Amos 7 14).

The shepherd, clad in a simple garment (Jer. 43 12) like the mod. Ar. *burnus*, goes forth at the head of his flock (עֵדֶר; cp Jn. 10 4), all of which know his voice and respond to the name he gives them (*ib. v.* 3). He takes with him his shepherds bag (כְּלִי הָרֹעִים, 1 S. 17 40) or wallet (יַלְקוּט, *ib.*, EV SCRIP), staff (מַקֵּל, see esp. Gen. 32 10 [11]; and cp מִשְׁעֶנֶת, שֵׁבֶט, Ps. 23 4), and, as a means of defence, a sling (קֶלַע, 1 S. 17 40). He 'gently leads' his flocks (יְנַהֵל, Is. 40 11 Ps. 23 2) to the best pastures, where he makes them lie down by streams (Ps. 23 2);[2] though it must be admitted that the reading in Ps. 23 2*b* is uncertain (see Che. *Ps.*(2)). The dangers from wild beasts[3] (*e.g.*, lions, Is. 31 4 1 S. 17 34) and nomadic marauders (Job 1 14 17) were very real. No doubt there was the solace of the pastoral reed[4] (see Judg. 5 16, and cp Job 21 12 1 S. 16 18), and later writers speak of the sheep-dog (Job 30 1 Is. 56 10 *f.*, see DOG, § 1), well known to the Assyrians. By night the shepherd had to keep watch in the open air (Lk. 2 8, cp Nah. 3 18); but sometimes a temporary shelter was made (Ass. *tarbaṣu* = רֶבֶץ and *maṣallū* are so explained), whence 'shepherd's tent' (אֹהֶל רֹעִי, Is. 38 12; cp מִשְׁכְּנוֹת הָרֹעִים, Cant. 1 8) becomes the type of an uncertain dwelling-place.[5] In other cases towers were built for the shepherds (cp Gen. 35 21, and see 2 Ch. 26 10); traces of them are to be found at the present day. The 'duars' in the Sinaitic peninsula consist of stone towers put together without mortar, and bear a striking resemblance to the 'Talayōt' of the Balearic Isles, and to the beehive-shaped houses of Scotland. They are enclosed by low walls of massive rough stones, and are occupied by cattle (cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 352 *f.*; see also Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 13). The sheepfolds also, as their name implies, were surrounded by walls (cp Jn. 10 1).

When the shepherd returned to his master the sheep were carefully counted by being made to pass under the staff (cp Lev. 27 32 Jer. 33 13 Ezek. 20 37)—a representation of the shepherd 'telling his tale' is not infrequent on Egyptian monuments. As for wages, it may be doubted whether the practice described in Gen. 30 28 *ff.* was usual: possibly the usual reward was the milk of the flocks (see 1 Cor. 9 7—cp, on the other hand, Zech. 11 13, which speaks of a money payment).

1 From בלל 'to pour out'; or, 'to pour over' (so Ass. *balālu*); hence 'to mix.' Cp Lat. *farrago*, and see ANOINTING, § 1. The denominative occurs in Judg. 19 21.

2 Frd. Del. makes ירבצני = ינהלני, *na'ālu* (= נהל) in Ass. being a syn. of *rabāṣu* 'to lie down.' But see Franz Del.'s note.

3 Similarly in Assyria: cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 767 *f.*

4 Cp the illustration from Assyria, Maspero *l.c.* The shepherd seated plays upon a reed to the delight of his dog.

5 At the present day a sheep-pen is made of boughs. It is called *haẓīra* (see HAZOR), and the trail of boughs in the sandy desert is always a sign of the nomad *manzil* (encampment); cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 220 *f.*

The status of the shepherd varies according to the society in which he lives. Among primitive pastoral peoples the sheikh himself, or even his daughters, tend the flocks (cp Gen. 29 9 Ex. 2 16—*Il.* 6 423), as is the case at the present day in various parts of the Sinaitic peninsula (see Kn.-Di. *Ex.*, *ad loc.*). The early kings of Israel, owned large flocks, and the post of chief shepherd (cp שַׂר מִקְנֶה, Gen. 47 6, also 1 Ch. 27 29 1 Pet. 5 4, ἀρχιποίμην, and *magister regii pecoris*, Liv. 1 4) was important and full of dignity. Hence the designation 'shepherd' (רֹעֶה) was a noble one and was used of the kings of Israel (Jer. 23 4, cp רעה 'to rule' 2 S. 5 2) as well as of those of Assyria, and becomes the origin of the beautiful NT phrase 'the good shepherd.' Perhaps it is inevitable that the adoption of a more settled mode of life should be unfavourable to the repute of the shepherd. To the Egyptians, for more than one reason, shepherds were an 'abomination' (Gen. 46 34: cp ABOMINATION, 4); 'Asiatic' (*i.e.*, barbarian) and 'shepherd' were to them synonymous terms (see EGYPT, § 31). Similarly in Palestine, as the Jews advanced in prosperity, the prestige of the shepherd's calling diminished. In Rabbinical times a shepherd was precluded from bearing witness, because one who must have fed his flocks upon the pastures of others would naturally be dishonest (cp *Sanh.* 25 2, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10 7).

7. Status.

Besides the use to which cattle were put in ploughing and threshing (see AGRICULTURE, § 8), they were also used as draught animals (cp 1 S. 6 7 *ff.*). Their MILK (*q.v.*) formed one of the main articles of diet, and their skins were used for clothing (see LEATHER, WOOL). Pastoral life probably meant usually a diet of milk and game; and the use of cattle for food was somewhat restricted (see *Rel. Sem.*(2) 296 *f.*). The young animal was, however, preferred and considered a special dainty. At the present day, it is said, the sheep is eaten only at festivals, and goat-flesh is not used as food save by the very poor. In sacrifices cattle were frequently used, and huge hecatombs are mentioned in connection with the temple services[1] (cp 1 K. 8 63 2 Ch. 5 6 7 5 29 33 etc.).

8. Use of cattle.

Cattle, being almost the only property of nomads, become, among primitive people, a medium of exchange. When the first coins were made in Greece, this was commemorated by stamping the head of an ox upon the ingot. Cattle and wealth are, therefore, almost synonymous terms.

Cp סְגֻלָּה 'possession and Ass. *sugullatu* 'herd'; מִקְנֶה 'cattle,' and נְכָסִים ; מִקְנֶה and Syr. ܢܟܣܐ ; ܒܥܝܪܐ orig. an animal for riding (Nestle, *ZDMG* 33, 707 ['79]; *pecus* and *pecunia*; κτῆνος and κτῆμα).

The earliest legislation (Ex. 20-23) was intended for a people who, having advanced beyond the pastoral stage, were occupied chiefly in agriculture. The prominence given to the ox, the sheep, and the ass is as noticeable as the absence of all reference to the horse and the camel. Remarkable also is the humanity which characterises these regulations. Cattle are not to be muzzled (חָסַם, cp מַחְסוֹם) while threshing (Dt. 25 4)—a law which holds good to the present day (cp Dr. *ad loc.*), and was in vogue in Egypt, where one sees representations of an ox and an ass threshing unmuzzled (cp Erm. *Eg.* 432, and see AGRICULTURE, § 8). According to another enactment, oxen were not to work upon the sabbath (Ex. 23 12). Notwithstanding the strictness of the sabbath, it was customary to water the cattle on that day (Lk. 13 15). Other laws respecting cattle-stealing and damages caused by oxen are given in Ex. 21 28 *ff.*; cp *ib.* 22 10 [9] *ff.* The law dealing with the case in which a beast entrusted to one's care has been maimed or torn (Ex. 22 10 [9] *ff.*) provides that the pro-

9. Treatment of cattle.

1 טַבָּח, properly 'slaughterer (of cattle),' is applied to a cook and, strangely, to a member of the royal bodyguard. See EXECUTIONER, and cp *OTJC*(2) 262, n. 1

duction of the maimed part is to suffice as a guarantee of good faith and that no restitution is to be required (see DEPOSIT). It was, therefore, to the advantage of the shepherd to be able to produce a leg or a piece of an ear as a proof (cp Am. 3 12). Jacob, however, declares to Lahan that instead of producing 'that which was torn of beasts' (טְרֵפָה) he has made good the loss himself (Gen. 31 39).

10. Reverence for cattle.

The early Semites, like other pastoral peoples, paid great reverence to cattle, their kinship with whom they long continued to recognise. This gives additional point to Nathan's parable : the ewe lamb was, to a poor man who nourished it, more nearly a daughter[1] than it could be in later times. No doubt the special veneration for cattle was connected with the idea that man owes his food in large measure to them (cp WRS *l.c.*).

A full treatment of this subject would lead us too far. Nor can we consider here the Israelitish form of the legend of the 'Golden Age' (cp Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109 *ff.*), and the contrast between J's description of the peace between man and the lower animals (cp Is. 11 6 *f.*) and P's representations of man as their lord and master. The worship of the domestic animals is another subject which invites attention. The most ancient evidence for it is supplied by the Babylonian zodiacal mythology.[2] In Egypt, too, the worship of sacred animals takes us back to an incalculable antiquity. Witness, for example, the bull-worship of Memphis and other cities (see EGYPT, § 14), which has been connected with Israelitish idolatry. Notice, too, the worship of the cow Ha'thor, the 'lady of heaven,' which reminds us of the cow-headed Ashtoreth of Sidon. See further CALF, GOLDEN ; ASHTORETH ; AZAZEL ; CLEAN, § 17.[3]

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

CAUDA (καυδα [Ti. WH]), Acts 27 16. See CLAUDA.

CAUL (properly a close-fitting cap or net-work), as applied to an article of dress, occurs as the EV rendering of שְׁבִיסִים Is. 3 18 (mg. 'networks,' as though = שבץ ; 𝔊 ἐμπλόκια). To complete the parallelism of the verse, we shonld read, with Schroeder and others, שמישים, 'little suns' ; see NECKLACE, n.

In its anatomical sense, 'caul' in Hos. 13 8 (סְגוֹר [לִבָּם] ; συγκλεισμὸς καρδίας) apparently refers to the pericardium. It is used similarly in Ex. 29 13 Lev. 3 4 10 15 etc. to render יוֹתֶרֶת (lit. 'excess'; 𝔊 λοβός), an uncertain expression which has occasioned difficulty from the earliest times. It denotes probably 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver which reaches to the kidneys, and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum," or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Dr. *Lev. SBOT*, ET). On the Vss., and various interpretations, cp Di.-Rys. on Lev. 3 3 ;[4] and, on the probable reason of the choice of this particular part of the body for offerings, see LIVER.

CAVES (מְעָרָה, *mᵉ'ārāh* ; σπήλαιον ; *spelunca*). The limestone strata of Syria and Palestine readily lend themselves to the formation of caves and ravines. The springs issuing from limestone rock generally contain carbonate of lime, and most of them yield a large quantity of free carbonic acid upon exposure to the air. To the erosive effect of water charged with this acid, combined with the mechanical action of the sand and stones carried along by the currents, the formation of caves and ravines in such rocks is chiefly to be ascribed.

1 Cp the Egyptian paintings which represent men talking to cattle, and decking them with fringes.

2 On the 'Bull' of the Zodiac, which is the Bab. Gud-an-na (equivalent to our Taurus, or else to Aldebaran), see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 62 *ff.*

3 J. U. Diirst's *Die Rinder v. Bad. Ass. u. Äg.* (Berlin, '99)—a contribution to the history of domestic cattle—appeared after the present article was in type.

4 The old view that *yōthereth* was the greater lobe of the **lung** has nothing in its favour.

What are now ravines have in many cases originally been subterranean watercourses, which have been unroofed by the degradation of the rock. Some of the Syrian caverns are of great size ; Strabo, for example (756), speaks of the σπήλαια βαθύστομα of Ituræa, and mentions one capable of holding 4000 men. Books of travel, from William of Tyre and Quaresmius onwards, abound with references to such caves and the local traditions respecting them (Tavernier, Maundrell, Shaw, Robinson). Those of Palestine are frequently mentioned in the Bible as places of refuge and shelter for the terror-stricken (Is. 2 19 Rev. 6 15 cp Zech. 14 5), the outlawed (David), the oppressed and the persecuted (Judg. 6 2 1 S. 13 6 1 K. 18 4 13 19 9 13 Ezek. 33 27 2 Macc. 6 11 Heb. 11 38), and the criminal (Jer. 7 11 Mk. 11 17 and ‖), and as places of sepulture (Gen. 23 11 Jn. 11 38). Whether the word Horite[1] means 'cave-dwellers' has been questioned ; yet that in many parts of Palestine the earlier inhabitants continued to use caves not only as storehouses but also as dwelling-places cannot be doubted. Of their connection with worship in pre-Christian times there is little or no direct evidence. Still, it appears safe to hold 'that the oldest Phœnician temples were natural or artificial grottoes, and that the sacred as well as the profane monuments of Phœnicia, with their marked preference for monolithic forms, point to the rock-hewn cavern as the original type that dominated the architecture of the region' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 197), and it is probable that the Greek μέγαρον was borrowed from the Phœnician מערה (*ib.* 200). The association of so many of the Christian sacred sites in Palestine (*e.g.*, Birth of Mary, Annunciation, Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, Birth of the Baptist, Transfiguration and Agony of Christ, Repentance of Peter) with grottoes is the arbitrary invention of legendmongers. See, further, MAARATH, MEARAH, HEBRON (Machpelah), MAKKEDAH, ETAM, ELEUTHEROPOLIS ; also ADULLAM (where it is shown that 'cave' ought to be read 'hold'), and (on the grotto of the Nativity) BETHLEHEM, § 4.

CEDAR (אֶרֶז ; κεδρος [BAL]), *Cedrus Libani* Loud., bears in Heb. a name which is found also in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and is probably derived from a root signifying 'to be firm' or 'well-rooted,' of which another derivative might be the אֲרֻזִים[2] of Ezek. 27 24. It appears that Aram. *'arzā* and Ar. *'arz*, like κέδρος,[3] may denote not only the cedar, hut also the juniper (*Juniperus Oxycedrus*), and, possibly, pines of various sorts.[4] It may be, then, that ארז is not to be strictly confined to *Cedrus Libani* ;[5] but it is highly probable that this tree, which has been associated with Lebanon from early times, is the one *usually* intended,[6] and in such a passage as Is. 41 19 the cedar is expressly distinguished from other conifers. OT writers employ the cedar as a type of beauty (Nu. 24 6), majesty (2 K. 14 9), strength (Ps. 29 5), and loftiness (2 K. 19 23). The wood, which was much more precious than that of common trees like the sycamore (1 K. 10 27), was largely used in the construction of great buildings like the temple (see also ALTAR, § 8) and Solomon's palace; cedar

1 Cp חור in Job 30 6 1 S. 14 11. See HORITE.

2 Best translated 'durable' ; certainly not (as EV) 'made of cedar-wood.' [But the text is in disorder.]

3 On this see the Index to Schneider's *Theophrastus*, *s.v.* κέδρος.

4 So in modern times we are told of *el-'Arz*—'in the mouth of uneducated Syrians it designates one of the pines, *Pinus haleppensis*, which grows in great numbers on the mountains (*Journ. Linn. Soc.* 15 247).

5 Löw (57) says, 'אֶרֶז seems to have denoted both the cedar and the *Juniperus Oxycedrus*, L.' According to the same authority, Aram. *arzā* denotes first *Pinus cedrus*, then all conifers.

6 Hooker, however, regards it as 'an open question whether the C. *Libani* is one of those which supplied most of the timber employed in building Solomon's temple' (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, p. 14), and there seems to he a general consensus of opinion that the wood used for purification (Lev. 14 Num. 19) was the juniper.

beams were most highly esteemed for covering interiors (Cant. 1 17 Jer. 22 14). The use made of this wood in the ceremony of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14 4 *ff.*) or the person rendered unclean by contact with a dead body (Nu. 19 6), seems to be due to the esteem in which it was held for durability and incorruptibility (see Di. on Lev. 14, Nowack, *HA* 2 289). See CLEAN, § 16 *f.*

Of the existing cedars of Lebanon the first accurate account was that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, pp. 11-18. The group which he visited was that in the Kadisha valley, N. of Beirūt, near the summit of Lebanon (Dahr el Ḳodīb). He found there about 400 trees, disposed in nine groups—the trees varying from about 18 inches to upwards, of 50 feet in girth.

Another interesting account is that of Dr. Leo Anderlind, who visited them in 1884.[1] He speaks of three groups—one at Baruk, a second 4 m. ESE. of Bsherre, and the third 18½ m. N. of that place. It is the second of these, the same that Hooker visited, which he particularly describes. The greatest height of any of the trees, he says, is about 82 ft.; but the majority are between 46 and 72 ft. The oldest of them were the strongest trees he had ever seen.

According to Tristram (*NHB* 344), 'at least nine distinct localities are now ascertained.'

[According to Dr. Post (Hastings' *DB* 2 364), it is uncertain what tree is meant by *'ărāzīm* in Nu. 24 6. He remarks that 'the cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places,' but 'seeks the dry sloping mountain side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it.' He concludes, therefore, that 'unless we suppose that the location of the *'ărāzīm* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage.' It was well to bring forward this difficulty, which is overlooked by Di. The remedy lies close at hand. Usage requires that the 'cedars' should be described as the trees which Yahwe planted. We have to read in *a* כארוים 'like cedars' and in *b* probably כערבים 'like poplars' (Che. *Exp.T.* 10 401 *b* [June '99]).]

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CEDRON (κεδρων [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 15 39 41 AV. See GEDERAH, 1.

CEDRON (τοῦ κεδρου [Ti.], των κεδρων [WH]) Jn. 18 1, RV KIDRON.

CEILAN, RV KILAN (κ[ε]ιλαν [BA, om. L]). The sons of Ceilan and Azetas are a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*) 1 Esd. 5 15, not mentioned in ‖ Ezra (2 16) or Neh. (7 21).

CEILING, in modern house-architecture, means the covering of a room which hides the joists of the floor above, or the rafters of the roof. Down to the seventeenth century, however, the word was applied also to the inner lining of the walls of a room, and in modern shipbuilding it still denotes the inside planking of a ship's bottom (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). The Hebrew words (see below) rendered 'ceil,' 'ceiling,' in EV are to be taken in this more extended sense. See further, CHAMBER, HOUSE, TEMPLE.

1. סִפֻּן, *sippūn*, 1 K. 6 15 (δοκός); cp סְפִינָה, *sĕphīnāh*, Jon. 1 5 (the 'sides' or 'innermost parts' of the ship). The verb is used in 1 K. 6 9 7 3 7 Jer. 22 14 Hag. 1 4.

2. In 2 Ch. 3 5 חפה עצי ברושים means 'he covered' (or panelled) [the greater house] 'with fir.'

3. שְׂחִיף, *śāḥīph*, Ezek. 41 16†, a word otherwise unknown. Co. proposes to emend שחיף עץ to הפוי עץ; see 2 Ch. 3 5 as above, and cp the צִפּוּי of Nu. 17 3 *f.* [16 38 *f.*]; a 'covering' of the altar].

CELLS (חֲנֻיוֹת), Jer. 37 16 AV$^{mg.}$ RV, AV 'cabins,'[2] a questionable rendering of a Hebrew word which is probably corrupt. The words 'and into the cells' are quite unnecessary after 'into the dungeon house' (אל־בית הבור), and may be a gloss. See PRISON.

AV$^{mg.}$ RV (cp συγκλεισμός [Q$^{mg.}$]) is a guess. In late Heb., Syr., etc. חנות(א) denotes 'shop' (cp ἐργαστήρια [Aq.], *ergastulum*) or 'tavern.' Moreover the form is difficult (Bevan, *Dan.* 30, n. 1). 𝔊's χερεθ (BAQ, χα. [ℵ], *al.* χη.) points to the reading חר(י)ת. Cheyne suggests reading תַּחְתִּיּוֹת 'the lowest part (of the pit)': cp Ps. 88 7 Lam. 3 55.

CELOSYRIA (κοιλη συρια [BAL]), 1 Esd. 2 17, RV CŒLESYRIA.

CENCHREA, or rather, RV, CENCHREÆ (κενχρεαι [Ti. WH]). A town and harbour on the Saronic gulf, now marked by the village of *Kichries.* It served as the eastern port of Corinth, which lay about seven miles (Str. 380, says 70 stadia) to the west, just as Lechæum was the port for the Italian trade. Strabo calls Cenchreæ a village (κώμη), which indicates its subordination to Corinth: it was, in fact, merely a landing-place for goods and passengers.

About 4 m. to the north, at Schœnus (modern *Kalamaki*), was the δίολκος or tramway upon which vessels of small tonnage made the passage from the one sea to the other (τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ: Str. 335, 369: cp Thuc. 87, Pol. 419, Dio Cass. 51 5). The idea of substituting for it a canal cut through the Isthmus was very ancient. The scheme was entertained in turn by Periander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Julius Cæsar, Caligula, Nero, and Herodes Atticus. Nero actually began the work in 67 A.D., about the time of Paul's final visit to Corinth. Vespasian sent him six thousand Jewish prisoners from Galilee (Jos. *BJ* iii. 10 10). Traces of this cutting were to be seen on the line which has been adopted by the modern engineers who have brought this χρόνου μέγα ἀγώνισμα to completion (1881-1893).

Half a mile to the SW. of the Saronic entrance to the canal are the remains of the Isthmian sanctuaries and Stadium which furnished Paul with the imagery of 1 Cor. 9 24-27.

The pines from which were cut the victors' garlands are mentioned by Strabo (380) and Pausanias (ii. 17). The road to Corinth led through groves of pine and cypress and was bordered with tombs—among them those of the Cynic Diogenes and the courtezan Lais (Paus. ii. 2 4). Coins (of Antoninus Pius) give a representation of the harbour of Cenchreæ flanked on either side by a temple, and containing a standing brazen colossus of Poseidon (Paus. ii. 2 3) and three ships. Coins of Hadrian show the two harbours, Lechæum and Cenchreæ, as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder, inscribed LECH., CENCH.

It was from Cenchreæ that Paul sailed at the close of his first visit to Achaia (Acts 18 18 cp 20 3). The voyage between Greece and Asia took a fortnight in Cicero's case (*Ep. ad Att.* 5 13 6 9); but he sailed slowly (cp Thuc. 33). Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ, 'carried under the folds of her robe the whole future of Christian theology' (Renan, *Saint Paul*, 219), for to her, on the eve of her departure to Italy on her private affairs, Paul entrusted his letter to the church at Rome (Rom. 16 1 2).[1] See Frazer, *Pausanias*, 3 7 *f.* Good map of the Isthmus in Baedeker's *Greece*, ET, 229.

W. J. W.

CENDEBEUS, RV Cendebæus (κενδεβαιος [AℵV]; but κενδεβεος [A once], δεβαιος [ℵ*V once], and δαιβεος [ℵ once]), the general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-coast, who 'provoked the people of Jamnia,' and also fortified Kidron for the purpose of invading Judæa. He and his army were put to flight, near Modin, by Judas and John, the two sons of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 15 38-16 10). According to Zockler, he is the *Cendá* of the Arabian legends, a N. Ar. prince hostile to the Jews (cp Blau, *ZDMG* 25 577). Schürer (*GVI* 1, § 7, n. 31), however, derives Cendebeus (as also κανδυβεύς) from the Lycian town κάνδυβα.

CENSER, the utensil used for offering INCENSE.

In EV it represents 1. מִקְטֶרֶת the vessel for offering קְטֹרֶת 'incense' with; Ezek. 8 11 2 Ch. 26 19† (𝔊 θυμιατήριον, which is found once in NT—Heb. 9 4 [RV$^{mg.}$ 'altar of incense']). From the same root is derived מְקַטְּרוֹת, 2 Ch. 30 14, 'altars [RV$^{mg.}$ vessels] for incense.' Cp INCENSE, § 1.

2. מַחְתָּה (√ snatch up; πυρ[ε]ῖον) Lev. 10 1 16 12 Nu. 16 6 *ff.* 17 2 *ff.* EV, but AV alone in Nu. 4 14 (πύριον) 1 K. 7 50 (AV$^{mg.}$ 'ash pan'; θυίσκη) 2 Ch. 4 22 (θυίσκη and πυρεῖον). In these passages RV gives 'firepans,' and both AV and RV in Ex. 27 3

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[1] Published in the *Allgem. Forst- u. Jagd-Zeitung*, at the end of 1885, and also in the *ZDPV* 10 89 *ff.*

[2] 'Cabins' in the sense of 'cell' is now quite obsolete.

[1] [Unless it be held that Rom. 16 1-20 is a letter of introduction given to Phoebe by Paul for the Church at Ephesus. So Jülicher, *Einl. in das NT*, 73 (cp COLOSSIANS, § 4); M'Giffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, 275. Cp, however, ROMANS, §§ 4, 10.]

883 2 K. 25 15 and Jer. 52 19 (where AVmg. 'censers'). The rendering 'snuffdishes' occurs in Ex. 25 38 37 23 Nu. 4 9 (see CANDLESTICK, § 2). 𝔊 generally πυρ[ε]ιον which recurs in Ecclus. 50 9 (EV 'censer'). See INCENSE, § 4.

3. λιβανωτός (Rev. 8 3 5) etymologically 'frankincense' : cp הַלְּבוֹנָה in 1 Ch. 9 29 (𝔊 λιβανωτός : here only, but once in A and cp 3 Macc. 5 2).

CENTURION (ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗϹ [Ti.] -ΟϹ [WH]), Mt. 8 5. See ARMY, § 10.

CEPHAS (ΚΗΦΑϹ [Ti. WH], Aram. כֵּיפָא 'a rock,' cp Ass. *Kāpu*, and Heb. כֵּפִים, Jer. 4 29 Job 30 6; see Lag. *Übers.* 58). See PETER.

CERAS (ΚΗΡΑϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 29. See KEROS.

CETAB, RV KETAB (ΚΗΤΑΒ [BA; om. L]). The b'ne Cetab are a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 5 30, not mentioned in ‖ Ezra (2 46) or Neh. (7 48).

CHABRIS (ΧΑΒΡΕΙϹ [BℵA]; in Judith 8 10 χαβρειν [Bℵ], χαβρειμ [A]; in 10 6 χαβρειν [BRA]), son of Gothoniel, and one of the rulers of Bethulia. (Judith 6 15 8 10 10 6.)

CHADIASAI (AV they of **Chadias**) and AMMIDIOI (AV AMMIDOI), two clans in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), 1 Esd. 5 20† ΧΑΔΙΑϹΑΙ [B], ΧΑΔ-'ΑϹΑΙ [A^vid]; ΑΜΜΙΔΙΟΙ [B], -ΔΙΟΙ [A] [L om.]), where they occur after the Men of Beeroth (1 Esd. 5 19 = Ezra 5 25 = Neh. 7 29). The names may be identified (though not with confidence) with KEDESH [1] (Josh. 15 23), or perhaps Hadashah (*ib.* v. 37) and HUMTAH (*ib.* v. 54).

CHEREAS (ΧΑΙΡΕΑϹ [A]), 2 Macc. 10 32 37, AV CHEREAS.

CHAFF (מֹץ etc.). See AGRICULTURE, §§ 9, 15.

CHAINS is the word used in EV in translating Hebrew terms which signify (1) ornaments and insignia, and (2) means of confinement and punishment. Though chains were no doubt well known to the early Semites, it is chiefly the latter variety that we find depicted upon the monuments; actual remains, moreover, have been found in excavating (Place, *Nineve*, iii. pl. 70). Chains for confinement consisted of rings around each foot joined together by a single link; the arms were similarly treated (see Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, i. pl. 82).

1. Chains were worn as articles of adornment upon the foot (אֶצְעָדָה, see ANKLETS, BRACELET, 5), arm (שֵׁרָה, see BRACELET, 4), and neck (עֲנָק, חֲרוּזִים, see NECKLACE). For chains such as were worn by Joseph and Daniel, as expressive of rank (רָבִיד, and Bibl.-Aram. המניכא), see NECKLACE. To denote some kind of architectural ornamentation we find רַתּוּקוֹת, 1 K. 6 21 (Kr. רַתִּי; Ezek. 7 23, doubtful), and שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת,[1] 1 K. 7 17 2 Ch. 3 16 (cp 2 Ch. 3 5), see PILLAR, TEMPLE. Of these Heb. words the former is used in Is. 40 19 (רְתֻקוֹת, text doubtful) of the chains fastening an idol, the latter denotes the chain worn upon the high-priest's ephod (שַׁרְשְׁרוֹת, Ex. 28 22, שַׁרְשֹׁת, 39 15; κροσός [BAF], κρωσσ. [L]; also Ex. 28 14 κροσ[σ]ωτός [BAFL]); see BREASTPLATE, ii., EPHOD, OUCHES. For chain-armour see BREASTPLATE, i.

2. As a means of confinement, ropes or cords were perhaps more commonly employed. For chains the general term is [אֲ]זִקִּים Nah. 3 10, etc., or, with closer reference to the material, כַּבְלֵי בַרְזֶל, 'fetters of iron' (Ps. 149 8)—both, in parallelism, in Ps. 105 18. Other terms are צִינֹק (COLLAR, 3) and נְחֹשֶׁת, 'brass' (Lam. 3 7).[2] The use of the latter in the dual (נְחֻשְׁתַּיִם, Judg. 16 21 2 S. 3 34, etc.) does not necessarily imply the binding of both hands and feet by these bronze fetters. The Greek words are δεσμός (Jude 6), σειρά (2 Pet. 2 4), πέδη and ἅλυσις (in parallelism, Mk. 5 4 Lk. 8 29); the last-mentioned term is used in Acts 12 6, where the Roman custom of chaining a prisoner to two warders is exemplified. See PRISON.

CHALCEDONY. What the ancients understood by the word is uncertain. 1. It is met with only once in the Bible (Rev. 21 19; ΧΑΛΚΕΔΩΝ [Ti.], ΧΑΛΚΗΔΩΝ [WH]; others, ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ; *calcidonius*). In modern mineralogy chalcedony is a variety of amorphous quartz 'semi-transparent or translucent; white, gray, blue, green, yellow, or brown; stalactitic, reniform, or botryoidal, and in pseudomorphs or petrifactions' (*Ency. Brit.*(9) 16 389). The word chalcedony is usually applied to the white or gray variety, the brown chalcedony being known as the sard (SARDIUS), the red as the carnelian (see SARDIUS). The chalcedony also occurs in stratified forms; when white layers alternate with black it is called onyx (see ONYX). When the white alternate with others of red or brown colour it is called sardonyx (see SARDONYX). Pliny, who lived not far from the time when the Apocalypse took shape, does not speak of the chalcedony as a distinct stone, but only of 'Calchedonii [or 'carched.'] smaragdi' as an inferior kind of emerald, mentioning that the mountain in Chalcedon where these stones were gathered was in his day known by the name of 'Smaragdites'[1] (*HN* 37 72-73). Symmachus, on the other hand (*circa* 200 A.D.), gives καρχηδόνιον for כַּדְכֹּד in Is. 54 12 (AV 'agates,' RV 'rubies'). This rendering suggests an original כרכד (cp the reading χορχορ [BQ], κορχορος [A]) for כדכד in Ezek. 27 16 (AV 'agate,' mg. 'chrysoprase,' RV 'rubies'). See PRECIOUS STONES, RUBIES.

2. Chalcedony (*karkednā*) is the usual Pesh. rendering of שְׁבוֹ, *šebhō* (ἀχάτης, *achates*, 'agate' of Ex. 28 19 39 12). Notwithstanding the reference in Ezek. 27 22 to the precious stones imported from Sheba[2] we can hardly connect the stone שבו with the country called Sheba. As Fried. Del. points out (*Heb. Lang.* 36) it is the Ass. *šubu*—i.e., the shining or precious stone (*abnu našku* or *akru*), κατ' ἐξοχήν. This stone occurs among others in a list of stones enchased in gold for the royal breastplate. On Delitzsch's suggested identification with the diamond (*Prol.* 84 *ff.*)[3] or the topaz (*Heb. Lang.* 36) cp what is said under PRECIOUS STONES, DIAMOND, TOPAZ. Tradition is in favour of the rendering 'agate.'

Agate, so named, according to Theophrastus, from the river Achates, in Sicily, is one of the numerous modifications of form under which silica presents itself, almost in a state of purity, forming 98 per cent of the entire mineral. The silicious particles are not so arranged as to produce the transparency of rock-crystal, but a semi-pellucid, sometimes almost opaque substance, with a resinous or waxy fracture; and the various shades of colour arise from minute quantities of iron. The same stone sometimes contains parts of different degrees of translucency, and of various shades of colour; and the endless combination of these produces the beautiful and singular internal forms, from which, together with the high polish they are capable of receiving, agates acquire their value as precious stones. Agates are usually found in detached rounded nodules in that variety of trap rock called amygdaloid or mandelstein, and occasionally in other rocks. The varieties of the agate are numerous, and are now, as in the time of Pliny, arranged according to the colour of their ground.

3. It is not apparent why RVmg. should suggest 'chalcedony' for תַּרְשִׁישׁ in Ex. 28 20 (EV 'beryl'). See TARSHISH, STONE OF. W. R.

CHALCOL (ΧΑΛΧΑΛ [A], ΧΑΛΚΑΛ [L]), 1 K. 4 31 [5 11], RV CALCOL.

CHALDEA, CHALDÆAN, CHALDEAN (כַּשְׂדִּים, ΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΙ [BℵAEQL], Ass. *Kaldū*), is used in Gen. 11 28 Jer. 24 5 25 12 50 10 51 24, and often, as an equivalent for Babylonia. The land of the Kaldu proper lay SE. of Babylonia proper, on the sea coast as it then was. Its true capital was Bit

1. The Kaldu.

[1] The Aramaic form of this word (שלשלתא) is represented also in the new Hebrew שַׁלְשֶׁלֶת, which became a regular word for chain, and meant also a chain for measuring.

[2] The RV 'chains' for חוֹחִים 2 Ch. 33 11 is too bold. See MANASSEH.

[1] Cp λίθος σμαραγδίτης of Esth. 1 6 𝔊 and see MARBLE.

[2] Theophrastus (*Lap.* 34) tells us that the best precious stones came from Psepho (ἐκ τῆς ψεφω καλουμένης χώρας). This is probably the same as the Psebo of Strabo (822) a lake and island S. of Meroe (mod. Tsana or Tana) near the head of the Blue Nile (see Reclus, *Géogr. Univ.* 10 258 262).

[3] The difficulty of believing that the Israelites knew and perhaps even engraved the diamond is only minimised by Del., not removed (see ADAMANT, DIAMOND), though it is not so serious in the case of *Šebhō* (mentioned only in P) as in that of *Yahălōm* (Ezekiel and P).

Yakin; its usual name in the Assyrian inscriptions was māt Tamtim, the Sea-land. If Delitzsch *(Par.* 128, etc.) be correct in his derivation of the name from the Kassite people, the wider application to Babylonia may have been a legacy from the Kassite dynasty there. On the other hand, the Kassites (Del. calls them *Kossäer*) had a language quite distinct from that of the Kaldū, who spoke Semitic. The Kaldū are carefully distinguished by Sennacherib both from the Arabs and from the Aramæans. Merodach-baladan, the usurper in Babylon during Sargon's reign, and the inveterate foe of Assyria till Sennacherib hunted him from Babylon to Bit-Yakin and thence to exile, was a Kaldū. There is no reason to think he had any right in Babylon; on the other hand, nothing shows him to have been more foreign thau were the Assyrians. In fact, the Chaldeans not only furnished **an** early dynasty of Babylon, but also were incessantly pressing into Babylonia; and, despite their repeated defeats by Assyria, they gradually gained the upper hand there. The founder of the New-Babylonian kingdom, Nabopolassar *(circa* 626 B.C.), was a Chaldean. and from that time Chaldea meant Babylonia.

2. 'Chaldee,' etc. The use of the term Chaldee, introduced by Jerome to distinguish the language of certain chapters in Daniel and Ezra (לְשׁוֹן כַּשְׂדִּים; Dan. 1 4), is incorrect. The only correct expression is Aramaic (see CHALDEA, § 2; DANIEL, § 12; ARAM, § 2; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 1 *ff.*). Another peculiar usage must be mentioned. We find 'Chaldeans' used in Dan. as a name for a caste of wise men. As Chaldean meant Babylonian in the wider sense of a member of the dominant race in the times of the New Babylonian Empire, *so* after the Persian conquest it seems to have connoted the Babylonian literati and become a synonym of soothsayer or astrologer (see DANIEL, § 11). In this sense it passed into classical writers. Whether any association of sound with *kalû*, the specific name for magician in Assyrian, helped the change of meaning is difficult to decide. The modern so-called Chaldees have no racial claim to the name, and it is very questionable whether the traces of alleged Chaldean culture discovered at Telloh are correctly assigned to this people.

See Delattre, **Les** *Chaldéens*, **Wi.** *Linters. Altor.* **Gesch.,** 47 *ff.*, **and the Histories of Assyria and Babylonia ; also** *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 3 113. C. H. W. J.

CHALPHI (χαλφει **[VA]),** 1Macc.1170 **RV, AV** CALPHI.

CHAMBER. Of the structure of the chamber of the ancient Hebrew house we know but little; it would naturally depend upon the style of the rest of the building. In modern Syria, floor, wall, and ceiling are commonly made of beaten clay (cp טִיחַ Ezek. 13 12), which is often coloured with ochre. Wood, nevertheless, is not rare. The CEILING, if of wood and flat, is of curious and complicated joinery; or, if vaulted, is wrought into many coves and enriched with fretwork in stucco; the walls (קִיר) are adorned with arabesques, mosaics, and the like, which, set off by the whiteness of the stucco, present a brilliant effect. Enamelled inscriptions, specimens of the most intricate Arabic caligraphy, originally intended to keep off harmful *jinns*, surround the walls. On the number and arrangement of chambers, see HOUSE, 1.

Of the various Heb. words for 'chamber' חֶדֶר **and** עֲלִיָּה **(cp** ὑπερῷον**) are used of rooms in private houses; see** BED, § 1. חֻפָּה **is used particularly of the nuptial chamber; see** TENT, § 4. **Other terms are used especially of rooms in a temple or palace.** לִשְׁכָּה **(1 Ch. 9 26 Jer. 35 2 4, etc.) or** נִשְׁכָּה **(Neh. 3 30 12 44 13 7), a room in the temple occupied by priests and temple-servants, also a room in the royal palace, Jer. 36 12 20; and (once) of a meal-chamber[1] in a** *Bamah* (1 S. 9 22 AV 'parlour'); **see** HIGH PLACE, § 3. צֵלָע **(1 K. 6 5 7 3 Ezek. 41 5** *ff.***) and** תָּא **(1 K. 14 28 2 Ch. 12 11 Ezek. 40 7** *ff.***) are similarly used of temple-chambers. In the case of two words the suggested rendering, 'chamber,' is certainly incorrect;** יָצִיעַ **(1 K. 6 5 AV) means properly a 'story,' as in RV (see** TEMPLE**), and** גַּב **(Ezek. 16 24 31 39** RVmg. **'vaulted-chamber'), in parallelism with** רָמָה**, refers evidently to some mound for illicit worship (EV better 'eminent place').**

CHAMBERLAIN. In Esth. 1 10 12 etc., EV uses 'chamberlain' (for סָרִים), perhaps as a more English-sounding title than EUNUCH [*q.v.*]. On Jer. 51 59 (AVmg. 'chamberlain') see SERAIAH [4].

Blastus, in **Acts 12 20, is a court officer in charge of the king's bedchamber (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως); but in Rom. 16 23 οἰκονόμος (AV 'chamberlain') is used in a wide sense (RV 'treasurer'); cp Lat.** *arcarius*, **and a gloss of** Philox., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης. **The same title occurs in inscriptions (cp** *Marm. Oxon.* **85, ed.** 1732, **Νείλῳ οἰκονόμῳ 'Ασίας; see W. A. Wright in Smith's** *DB*(2) **s.v.).**

CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH (חַדְרֵי תֵימָן), Job 9 9, and probably 37 9 (emended text). See STARS, § **3** *e*, EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 2 (1*a*).

CHAMELEON. 1. RV LAND-CROCODILE (כֹּחַ, etym. uncertain), one of the reptiles mentioned as unclean in Lev. 11 30. 𝔊 (χαμαιλεων [FL], χαμη. [BA]) and Vg. (*chamæleon*) have the same rendering as AV; the Arabic version has *ḥardawn*, which means probably a species of land-crocodile. Bochart (*Hieroz.* 43) argues from the Hebrew name, which is the same as the word for 'strength,' that what is meant is the Arabic *waral*, the largest and most powerful sort of lizard. The Talmudic references, on the other hand, seem to point to a smaller animal; but they are too general to convey any definite information (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 223 *f.*). N. M.

2. AV MOLE (תִּנְשֶׁמֶת) in the same verse. See LIZARD, 6.

CHAMOIS (זֶמֶר), derivation uncertain, cp *Lexx.*; καμηλοπαρδαλις [BAFL], Dt. 14 5†), a 'clean' animal, mentioned along with the fallow-deer (אַיָּל), the roebuck (צבי and יחמור), the wild goat (אקו), the addax (דישן), and the antelope (תְּאוֹ); see CLEAN, § 8. Many ancient interpreter: (𝔊, Vg., Arab., Abulw., Ḳimḥi, etc.) thought that what was meant was the giraffe; but the home of the giraffe lies far away from Palestine. A more probable rendering is the ריצא or 'wild goat' of the Targums, which suits the context better. The chamois (*Rupicapra tragus*) extends from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, but is not known to have ever inhabited Palestine, whereas of mountain sheep and goat5 there have been found three kinds. Tristram and Post think that *zemer* may be the wild sheep (*Ovis tragelaphus*); but, though that sheep lives in Northern Africa, and an allied or identical species occurs in Arabia, it is doubtful whether it has lived in Palestine. See GOAT. N. M.

CHAMPION. For 1 S. 17 4 23 EV (אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם) see GOLIATH, § 2. For 1 S. 17 51 EV (גִּבּוֹר) see WAR and cp GIANT, **3.**

CHANAAN (χανααν) Acts 7 11 13 19 Judith **5** *3* etc. AV, **RV** CANAAN; and **Chanaanite** (χαναναιος) Judith 5 16 AV, RV CANAANITE.

CHANCELLOR (בְּעֵל טְעֵם), Ezra 4 8 *ff.* See REHUM, 5.

CHANNUNEUS, RV **Chanuneus** (χανογναιος [BAa?]), 1 Esd. 8 48 = Ezra 8 19, MERARI, **3.**

CHAPEL (מִקְדָּשׁ), Am. 7 13 AV, **RV** SANCTUARY (y.*w.*). Cp BETHEL, § **3,** *n.* For 1 Macc. 1 47 2 Macc. 10 2 11 3 **AV** see SANCTUARY.

CHAPHENATHA (χαφεναθα [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 21 37 **RV,** AV CAPHENATHA.

CHAPITER (*i.e.*, capitellum; 'capital': so Amer. RV).

1 Or, 'feasting hall.' For another probable instance see 2 K. 10 22 emended text (see VESTRY**). WRS** *Rel. Sem.*(2) 254 n. **suggests that** λέσχη**, club-room, is derived from** לִ**; but see Lewy,** *Die semit. Fremdw. im Griech.*, **94.**

(1) רֹאשׁ, *rōš*, of the heads of the pillars in P's account of the tabernacle (Ex. 36 38 38 17 19; 𝔊BAFL κεφαλίς). See TABERNACLE.

(2) כֹּתֶרֶת, *kōthéreth* (√כָּתַר 'to surround,' whence כֶּתֶר 'crown') is used (*a*) of the crowning portion of Solomon's pillars JACHIN and BOAZ (1 K. 7 16-20, ἐπίθεμα [BAL]; 2 K. 25 17, χωθαρ [BA], ἐπίθεμα [L]; 2 Ch. 4 12 *f.*, -ρεθ [BA], -ρωθ [L]; Jer. 52 22, γεῖσος [BℵAQ], κεφαλίδες [Qmg.]); see PILLAR; and (*b*) in the description of Solomon's 'bases' for the lavers (1 K. 7 31); but see LAVER.

(3) צֶפֶת, *ṣépheth* (√צפה 'to overlay'), also of the crowning portion of Solomon's pillar (2 Ch. 3 15, 𝔊BAL doubtful). See PILLAR.

(4) כַּפְתּוֹר, *kaphtōr* (deriv. uncertain) occurs with the same meaning, if we are to follow RV and AVmg. (Amos 9 1, το ἱλαστήριον [BQmg.] = הַכַּפֹּרֶת, θυσιαστήριον [AQ*] = מִזְבֵּחַ; Zeph. 2 14; τὰ φατνώματα [BℵAQΓ]). But *kaphtōr* elsewhere has a different sense (see CANDLESTICK, § 2). Read perhaps כּוֹתֶרֶת (Che.).

CHAPLET, RV for לִוְיָה Prov. 1 9 4 9† (AV 'ornament'; 𝔊 στέφανος). Wisdom is a chaplet, or wreath, or garland of grace, upon a man's brow. Chaplets or garlands of flowers were common in the second century B.C., at banquets (Wisd. Sol. 2 8 cp 3 Macc. 4 8): see MEALS, § 11. For the chaplets of bridegrooms, see CROWN. Of similar import are the στέμματα of Acts 14 13 (EV 'garlands'), the usual headgear of sacrificers to Zeus.

Some critics hold that there is a hendiadys in the passage and that the meaning is ταύρους ἐστεμμένους (garlanded oxen). Ornaments resembling crowns were placed on royal animals by the Assyrians (cp also Esth. 6 8 and see CROWN), and on victims for the altar. 'The very doors, the very victims and altars, the very servants and priests, are crowned' (Tertul. *De Cor.* x.).

CNARAATHALAR (χαραāθαλαρ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 36 = Ezra 2 59 = Neh. 7 61. See CHERUB (ii.).

CHARACA, RV CHARAX (τον χαρακα [VA], a town in Gilead, with a Jewish colony (2 Macc. 12 17, see TOB), described as 750 stadia from CASPHON (*q.v.*). The distance must be exaggerated. About 120 stadia NE. from Muzeirib appear el Hurāk and el Hureiyik.

G. A. S.

CHARASHIM, THE VALLEY OF, (*a*) 1 Ch. 4 14 (RV GE-HARASHIM), called in (*b*) Neh. 11 35 'the valley of craftsmen' (RVmg. GE-HAHARASHIM). In (*a*) MT has גֵּיא חֲרָשִׁים; in (*b*) גֵי הח׳.[1] The fundamental rendering of 𝔊 is γη αρασειμ, which assumes various distorted forms.[2] In 1 Ch. *l.c.* this valley is described as occupied by craftsmen (workers in wood, stone, or metal; cp EVmg.), who traced their origin to Kenaz. The 'father' or founder of the family was Joab b. Seraiah. According to Kittel's analysis, however, the words 'father of the valley of craftsmen, for they were craftsmen,' are a later addition to an old record (Chron. in *SBOT*). If so, it becomes easier to admit that the name גיא חרשים must be corrupt. The statement of the Talmud (Jer., *Meg.* 1 1) that Lod and Ono were situated in the Geharashim is surely impossible. The 'plain of Ono' (Neh. 6 2) is the natural phrase. Most probably גי (*ge*) is a corrupt fragment of בני (*b'nē*), and the name originally meant, not 'valley of craftsmen,' but 'sons of sorcerers,'[3] *i.e.*, members of a guild of sorcerers. It was a spot connected by ancient tradition with Philistine sorcery (cp Is. 2 6 Mic. 7 13). Conder's identification, therefore (*PEFQ*, '78, p. 18) falls to the ground.

T. K. C.

CHARCHAMIS, 1 Esd. 1 25 AV and **CHARCHEMISH,** 2 Ch. 35 20 AV. See CARCHEMISH.

CHARCOAL (ἀνθρακιά [Ti. WH]), Jn. 18 18 21 9 RVmg. See COAL, § 3.

CHARCUS (βαχους [B]), 1 Esd. 5 32 AV = Ezra 2 53 BARKOS.

[1] The pointing is exceptional; the 'effect of analogy' (König i. 189)? Differently Olsh. 348. Rather corruption of the text.
[2] In 1 Ch. 4 14 αγεαδδαείρ [B], γῆς ρασειμ [AL], φαρας [L]; in Neh. 11 35 γῇ αρασ[ε]ιμ [ℵc.a mg. inf. L], om. BN*A.
[3] In Is. 3 3 חרשים = 'charmers'; cp RVmg..

CHAREA (χαρεα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 32 = Ezra 2 52, HARSHA.

CHARGER, a somewhat archaic expression denoting a 'platter' (which, indeed, takes its place in the Amer. Vs. of OT), is employed by the EV to render :—

(1) קְעָרָה, *ḳeʿārāh* (Nu. 7 13 19 and throughout the chapter [P]; τρυβλίον as in Mt. 26 23 Mk. 14 20), the tabernacle offering given by the heads of the tribes, elsewhere rendered 'dish.' See MEALS, § 9.

(2) אֲגַרְטָל, *ăgarṭāl*; 'chargers of gold . . of silver,' enumerated among the temple vessels restored by Cyrus (Ezra 1 9, om B,[1] ψυκτῆρες,—*i.e.*, wine-coolers [AL], *phialæ* [Vg.]; ‖ 1 Esd. 3 13, σπονδ[ε]ια [BAL]). *Ăgarṭāl* (which is found with slight variations in Aram., MH, and Arab.) is taken to be a loan-word from the Hellen. Gr. κάρταλ[λ]ος 'basket'; cp BASKET.[2]

(3) πίναξ (Mt. 14 8 11 Mk. 6 25 28), the dish upon which was brought the head of John the Baptist; Lk. 11 39, EV 'platter,' along with 'cup.' See MEALS, § 9. In Mt. 23 25 παροψίς.

CHARIOT (רֶכֶב, מֶרְכָּב, מֶרְכָּבָה). Of the three Heb. words denoting 'chariot' *merkābh* is post-exilian

1. Names. (1 K. 5 6 [4 26]). It is employed in Lev. 15 9 and Cant. 3 10 for the seat of the chariot or palanquin (𝔊 ἐπίσαγμα [another transl. has κάθισμα], ἐπίβασις [Vg. Rashi]). In nearly every case *rekhebh* is used collectively for a body of chariots. The instances where it is employed to denote a single chariot (like *merkābhāh*) are comparatively few (Judg. 5 28 2 K. 9 21 24). Occasionally it designates the chariot-horses and riders (2 S. 10 18), or the horses only (2 S. 8 4; cp Is. 21 7 9). On the other hand, *merkābhāh* expresses the individual chariot, Ass. *narkabtu*, Ar. *markabatun*, Syr. *markabhtha*—all alike derived from the common Semitic root (*rakhabh*), to mount or ride, and corresponding in meaning to Latin *currus* and Greek ἅρμα. The word in Heb. is frequently employed, not in a purely military sense, but to denote a state carriage or travelling conveyance. Examples of this use may be found in Gen. 41 43 46 29 Lev. 15 9 1 K. 12 18 and Is.

2. Waggons. 2 7 (?). This word must be kept quite distinct from another term, *'ăgālāh* (עגלה), 'cart' or 'waggon,' employed in the conveyance of agricultural produce (Am. 2 13).[3] The cart was em-

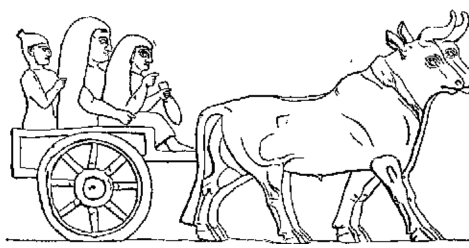


FIG. 1.—Assyrian Cart (temp. Tiglath-pileser III.). Brit. Mus. Nimrūd Gallery, no. 84.

ployed in very early times by the Israelites (1 S. 6 7 2 S. 6 3) before chariots were introduced among them. Its form probably approximated to that of the accompanying figure (fig. 1), taken from one of the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. Each cart holds three occupants and is drawn by two oxen; the wheels have eight spokes. A still more primitive kind of cart, employed by the Asiatic nations, possessed wheels which consisted simply of circular discs, whilst the earliest and most primitive form of all consisted in a mere framework with 'a board or seat, placed between two asses to which it was strapped, on which the person sat as

[1] The first word in κω̄ χρυσοι κ.τ.λ. [B, om. AL], has perhaps come in by mistake for κ̄ representing the δυ(ο) καὶ εἴκοσι at the end of the verse; so H. A. Redpath (in a private communication).
[2] But καρ' itself is possibly a Pers. or Sem. loan-word (*BDB*, *s.v.*; cp Fra. *Aram. Fremdw.* 77 *f.*).
[3] The poetical use of this word (in the pl.) for war-chariot in Ps. 46 9 [10] is isolated; indeed, the text is not undisputed (see WEAPONS). On Am. 2 13 see also AGRICULTURE, § 8.

on an open litter' (Dr. Samuel Birch). The appended illustration (fig. 2), taken from a monument belonging to the fourth Egyptian dynasty, clearly exhibits this earliest 'mode of conveyance.



FIG. 2.—Ancient Egyptian conveyance (4th dyn.) After Wilkinson.

It should be remembered that in the East camels, asses, and mules are more convenient and general as a means of transport, both for burdens and for human beings, than are wheeled vehicles; and this was specially true of ancient times.

The subject of the present article, however, is mainly the War-chariot.

3. War-chariots introduced late. The striking fact that the ancient Hebrews for centuries refused to employ so valuable a military aid as the chariot, in their encounters with the Canaanites was due to several co-operating causes. *First* among these was the nomadic origin and character of early Israel. The Canaanites, like the Egyptians, may have borrowed the form of their chariots from their northern neighbours, the Syrians or Hittites. This, however, is by no means certain, for among the Amarna Tablets, we have a despatch to the Egyptian monarch from one of his vassals in Canaan, in which the latter, in anticipation of an invasion by the Hittites, requests the aid of chariots and troops from the king of Egypt.[1] Not improbably, therefore, Egypt may have been the proximate source whence Canaanite civilisation borrowed the chariot. From Josh. 17 16 Judg. 43, however, we learn that the Canaanite war-chariot was plated or studded externally with iron, a feature which seems to be more probably Hittite than Egyptian.[2]

4. Hill country unsuitable. A *second* reason why Israel remained destitute of this important adjunct is to be found in the physical configuration of Canaan. During the earlier period of the Hebrew occupation, the district seized by the sons of Jacob was the central or mountainous region, where chariots and cavalry could not easily operate. Interesting illustrations of this difficulty in employing chariots may be derived from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (circa 1100 B.C.). In Prism Inscr. col. ii. 70-74 we read: 'mighty mountains and difficult country I passed through—so far as it could be traversed, in my chariot; and that which could not be traversed, on foot. By the mountain Aruma, unsuited for the advance of my chariots, I left my chariots behind . . .' (Winckler in *KB* 1; cp also col. iii. 47-49). How difficult the Canaanites found it to make effective use of them against the Israelites, may be inferred from the later experience of the Syrians, who attributed their constant defeats to the fact that the deities of the Hebrews were potent in the mountainous country (1 K. 2023) whilst their own operations, which were largely carried on with cavalry and chariots (cp *v.* 21 and Shalmaneser II.'s Obelisk Inscr. 65, Monolith Inscr. col. ii. 90), would be successful only in the plains. It can readily be understood, therefore, how the Hebrew race, by clinging to the central mountainous region and not venturing too far into the Shephēlah or low country, as well as by dint of sheer bravery and the skilful use of bow, sling, and spear, were able, down to the time of David, to defy successfully the armies of Canaan and Syria.

5. Religious conservatism. A *third* reason was that religion—in its tendency, ever conservative of a nation's uast—sanctioned the ancient custom of warfare, and regarded horses and chariots as a foreign innovation corrupting Israel's allegiance to Yahwè. This view, constantly reflected in prophecy (Hos. 1 7 14 4 [3] Mic. 5 9 [10] Zech. 9 10), became embodied in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 17 16), and expressed in song (Ps. 20 7). When, however, under David, Israel became an aggressive state and entered into conflict with Syrian and Hittite cavalry and chariots in the plains, the stress must have been severely felt by the Hebrews, and it is not surprising that chariots and horsemen were gradually introduced into Israel's military service. This is clear from 2 S. 84, where, following 𝔊, we should restore לוֹ ('for himself'; omitted in MT from religious scruples); the passage means that David reserved 100 chariots and horsemen for his own use. His successor, Solomon, is said to have provided Israel with 1400 war chariots, which were quartered in special cities (1 K. 9 19 10 26; see BETH-MARCABOTH). In his reign the purchase of horses and chariots became an organised trade; they were imported (though Winckler denies this; see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*a*]) from Egypt, at the cost of 600 shekels, or about £80 for each chariot[1] (*v.* 28 *f.*). From this time onwards we constantly read of chariots and horsemen both in the northern and in the southern kingdom (1 K. 169 22 34 2 K. 821 13 7 Is. 2 7 Mic. 59 [Heb.]). In col. ii. 91 of Shalmaneser II.'s great monolith inscription we are startled to find that Ahab's contingent of chariots, 2000 in number, largely exceeded that of any other state in the confederacy that encountered the Assyrian army at Karkar in 854 B.C. (cp AHAB, § 7). From Is. 30 16 31 1 369 we may infer (with Kamphausen) that the supply of chariots and horses from Egypt was one of the grounds of alliance between that power and Judah.

6. Egyptian chariots. Since Egypt was the land from which the Hebrews obtained their supply of this arm, we turn to its monuments for illustrative material; and this we obtain in abundance from the eighteenth dynasty onwards (vol. vi. in Lepsins' *Denkmäler*). Before the eighteenth dynasty (1500 B.C.) chariots and horses were unknown in Egypt, and there is good evidence to show that they were borrowed from the North Palestinian race called Rutennu.[2] The Egyptian chariot usually contained two persons. Nowack (*HA* 1 367), however, is wrong in his assertion that this was invariably the case. In Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (Abth. iii. Bl. 157 *f.*) we have numerous illustrations of chariots with *three* figures. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, however, this was not common, except in triumphal processions, 'when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the royal sceptre, or the flabella, and required a third person to manage the reins.' On the other hand Hittite chariots frequently contained three occupants (see below, § 9). Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 160) exhibits figures of Egyptian chariots in which the right-hand warrior bears the bow while the left carries the shield. Here, as in many other cases, we find the reins tied round the body of one of the combatants while he is engaged in action. On another page (Bl. 165) we have a chariot with the solitary royal

[1] Cited by Zimmern in *ZDPV* 13 134 *ff.*

[2] See the representation of a chariot of the Rntennu, figured in Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 230, in which the four-spoked wheel, as well as the body of the chariot, is evidently plated with metal; and cp IRON, § 2.

[1] In 1 K. 10 28 (2 Ch. 116) the text is very uncertain in the latter part of the verse. In MT of 1 K. 10 28 we read וּמִקְוֵה סֹחֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ יִקְחוּ מִקְוֵה בִּמְחִיר. It seems simplest with Kamph. (in Kau. *HS*) to cancel the first מקוה and to render the whole verse 'And the export of the horses of Solomon was from Egypt, and the royal merchants used to fetch a troop for payment.' This is certainly preferable to the other suggestion, to which Ki. in his note on 2 Ch. 116 (*SBOT*) refers—viz., to make a transposition and read וסחרי המלך מקוא מקוא . . . 'the king's traders getting every time a troop . . .' This use of the distributive construction is very forced. Ki. himself finds a reference in [מ]קוה to Kuë—*i.e.*, E. Cilicia. See the note referred to and cp MIZRAIM, § 2 (*a*).

[2] Sayce (*Races of the OT* 123 *f.* 134) has shown that this Egyptian name included the Hittites. It is significant that the Palestinian peoples chiefly associated chariots with the Hittites and the Egyptians; 2 K. 7 6 (on which, however, see AHAB, § 6).

occupant, Rameses II., drawing the bow, while the reins of his two horses are tied around his middle. Indeed, one of the most striking features in these vivid scenes of combat, is the multiplicity of functions discharged by the chariot rider. The accompanying figure (fig. 3) exhibits an archer in the act of drawing his bow with the right hand. A whip consisting of a stick handle with leather thong

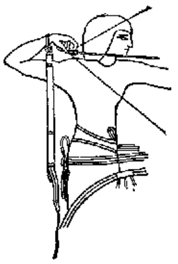


FIG. 3.—Egyptian Archer (Thebes).

and consisted of 'a wooden framework, sometimes strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding. The flat bottom was formed of a kind of network, consisting of interlaced thongs or rope, which gave it elasticity and mitigated the jolting' (Wilkinson).

The occupants of a chariot nearly always stood.. In rare instances the car was provided with a seat in which the royal personage sat. The furniture consisted of a bow-case, which was placed in a slanting position pointing forwards, and was often ornamented with the figure of a lion. There were also receptacles for arrows and spears, which, as a general rule, slanted backwards (see fig. 4).

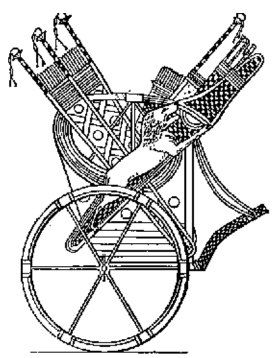


FIG. 4.—Egyptian chariot with bow- and arrow-cases (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

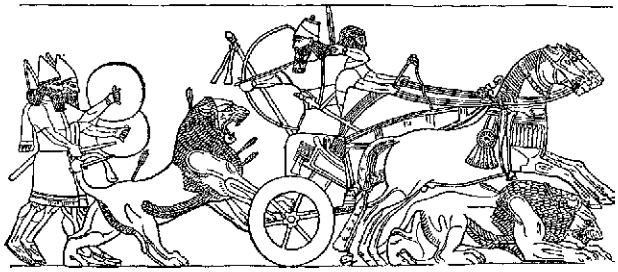
The diameter of the wheel was a little over three feet. The felloe was in six pieces and the tire was fastened to it by bands of hide passing through long narrow holes. 'The yoke, resting upon a small well-padded saddle was firmly fitted into a groove of metal; and the saddle, placed upon the horse's withers, and furnished with girths and a hreastband, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small book secured the bearing rein. The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke, and the same thong secured the girths.' Further details may be found in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's exhaustive work, from which the above description has been borrowed.

The chariots of the ***Assyrians*** were of stouter and more solid construction than those of the Egyptians, since the former were intended to sustain the wear and tear of rough and rugged paths in distant campaigns. Thus we often find that the tires and felloes of the wheels amounted together to as much as eight or ten inches in thickness. In the early part of the ninth century B.C. we find chariots of this description employed by Ašur-nāṣir-pal. Upon the obelisk of this monarch we find the archer standing on the right hand and the driver on the left, and these are their respective positions in nearly all the examples depicted on the Assyrian monuments. We observe, moreover, in all the portrayals belonging to the ninth century and the early part of the eighth, that the two receptacles for arrows are placed on the right side, and are disposed crosswise over one another,

7. Assyrian chariots: in 9th cent.

and in a slanting position as in the Egyptian examples. We notice, in one case depicted in Ašur-näṣir-pal's obelisk, an attendant on foot bearing a shield, and holding the reins. This meets us again on one of the monuments of Tiglath-pileser III.

Vivid representations of the chariots of this period may be found in the reliefs of the Nimrud gallery in the British Museum. One excellent example, reproduced in the accompanying figure (fig. 5), is borrowed from a



hunting-scene in which the monarch Ašur-nāṣir-pal is engaged. Note that we have here, as in many other instances of this period, three horses—a contrast with Egyptian usage, in which the number never exceeded two. The pole of the chariot is fixed to the base of the 'body,' to the upper part of which is fastened, on the left, a large heavy shaft[1] attached to rings upon the shoulder-pieces of the central as well as the outer horse on the left side. The rein on the right-hand steed passes through a ring on his shoulder, and is attached to the bit. The use of bits with ancient Egyptian, as well as Assyrian, war-horses can admit of no doubt. As in other examples, the two receptacles for arrows cross each other slantwise on the right side of the chariot—for that was obviously the side on which the archer most conveniently stood, thus preserving his right hand and side unencumbered by his companion in the use of the bow. A battle-axe stands among the arrows in one receptacle, whilst an extra bow is inserted among those in the other. We notice in this example, as in all others portrayed on the monuments of this period, that the axle of the wheel, as in the Egyptian chariot, is placed under the hindermost extremity of the body of the vehicle, in order to ensure more steadiness; consequently part of the weight of the chariot and its occupants rested on the horses. In another specimen on the reliefs of this period we again observe three steeds harnessed to the chariot, while in this case the driver holds a whip. Near the front of the chariot, between the two occupants, rises a pole surmounted by a symbolic device, from which hang ornamented tassels. In other examples a spear may be seen in the receptacle that slopes backwards. Often the horses are richly ornamented with crests, sometimes with a necklace[2] or collar. Leather straps pass beneath and in front of the animal. We find tassels hanging down apparently from a metal boss on its side. Otherwise the animal is unprotected.

Among the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser 111. we observe a state-chariot with two horses and three occupants. There is no archer. The king stands on the right and the driver on the left. The driver has three reins in each

1 Weiss (in *Kostümkunde* under the head of Assyrian chariots) describes this as merely 'a broad strip of cloth or leather,' but confesses that it is obscure as to its natnre or purpose. The present writer's personal inspection of numerous examples in the Nimrud gallery leads him to regard it as much more solid in structure, and as probably intended to yoke the third steed to the other two horses. When a third horse ceased to be yoked to the chariot, at the close of the eighth cent., this large and heavy shaft no longer encumbered the Assyrian chariot.

2 Not improbably this contained amulets or charms, like the crescents on the camels' necks in Judg. 8 21. See Whitehouse, *Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, 50 *f.* and footnote.

hand, a whip in his right. In front stands an attendant holding the reins. The monarch is shaded by an umbrella. We notice two new points. The receptacle for arrows stands *upright.* Also the wheels are now much enlarged, being about 49 feet in diameter, with tire and felloes of

8. In 8th cent.

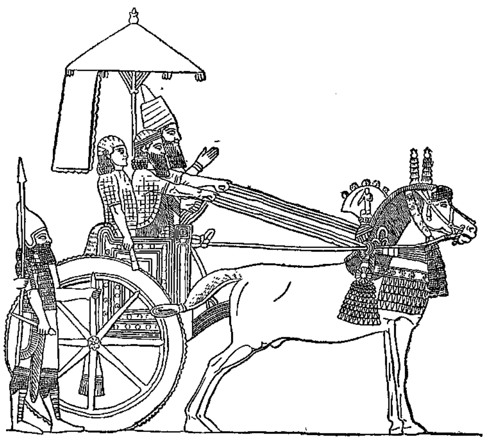


FIG. 6.—State-chariot of Sennacherih. Brit. Mus. Nimrod Gallery.

considerable thickness. Mr. T. *G.* Pinches is disposed to think that the inner rim of the wheel was of metal, and appearances would seem to justify this conclusion. It is possible, however, that we have here plating, not solid metal.

The state chariot of Sennacherib, which we here reproduce (fig. 6), exhibits wheels at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, with eight spokes. We notice the thickness of the tire and felloes, and the metal studs or nails on the outer circumference. A large umbrella is fixed in the chariot. Here the driver is on the right hand, the king on the left. We also observe no receptacle for arrows, bow, or battle-axe ; from the close of the eighth century onwards the archers become dissociated from the chariots ; in the time of Ašur-bāni-pal they usually constitute a separate corps.[1]

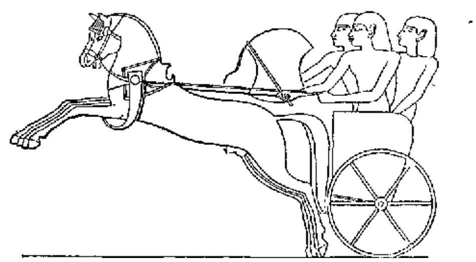


FIG. 7.—Hittite Chariot. After Meyer.

Of the ***Hittite*** chariot we obtain the clearest conception from Egyptian portrayals, and a special interest belongs to it because it is probably to be regarded as the prototype from which the Egyptian was derived, and the Israelite vehicle was ultimately, if not proximately, borrowed.

9. Hittite chariots.

[1] In one case however (45), we have a single-horse chariot carrying two archers with quivers on their hacks. Moreover, the large upper shaft to which reference has been made disappears altogether from the time of Sennacherih onwards. Not more than two horses are harnessed to the chariot. Also it becomes simpler in form, while the wheels become larger. In the representation of Ašur-bāni-pal's war against Elam (Nimrud gallery 48, 49) we observe that the wheels have as many as twelve spokes. In some cases there is only a single occupant. In others there are several occupants, and an umbrella is fixed in the chariot when it conveys a royal personage or some nobleman of distinction.

In one respect it differed from the Egyptian, viz. in carrying three, not, as a rule, two occupants. This is important, as it seems to throw light upon Hebrew usage, to which we shall presently refer. The ordinary weapons of the chariot-fighter were bow and arrows. In the annexed figure (fig. 7) it will be observed that the two-horsed chariot has among its three riders a shield-bearer, who apparently occupies the central position. The driver on the left holds only a single rein in each hand, though he is driving two steeds, which are held together by a strong collar and undergirths. Simplicity and strength combined with lightness are the chief characteristics of the Hittite chariot.

Among the ancient Hebrews, as among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Hittites, and Greeks, the horses were always arrayed side by side, never one behind another. Moreover, with the Assyrians and the Egyptians the chariot usually held two persons. This was the case perhaps occasionally in Israel ; but various considerations lead to the inference that the chariots as a rule held ***three,*** as among the Hittites, the occupants being the driver, the bowman, and the shield-bearer. (In the case of Jehu, he himself handles the bow, 2 K. 9 24.) It is therefore as something peculiar and exceptional that we find Jehu recalling to Bidkar that they were riding in pairs[1] behind Ahab, as his body-guard, when the latter was confronted by Elijah near Naboth's vineyard (2 K. 9 25). This Hebrew-Hittite usage may explain the word שָׁלִישׁ (*šālīš;* see ARMY, § 4) which, in its origin, signified one of the three occupants of the royal chariots that accompanied the king to battle. The word is used during the regal period in the sense of a distinguished attendant of the king who accompanied him in his chariot. This is evident from 2 K. 9 25 where Bidkar holds this position in relation to Jehu. It is significant that in 1 K. 9 22 the *šālīšīm* (שלשים) are placed in close connection with captains of chariots (שָׂרֵי רֶכֶב), and formed a body-guard commanded by a special officer, 'chief of the *šālīšīm*' (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁים); 1 Ch. 11 11 [2 S. 23 8]. Compare the use of *šālīš* in Ex. 14 7 15 4. That the *šālīš* held a high position is clearly shown in 2 K. 7 2 17, where he is described as one 'on whose hand the king leans.' (Probably the term is used here as equivalent to רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִשִׁים.)

10. Israelitish chariots: 'Shalish.'

In addition to the *shālīsh* the king was frequently accompanied by 'runners' (רָצִים), who were prepared to render assistance when the king dismounted from the chariot, or to hold the reins (as in the reliefs of the Assyrian kings to which we have already referred), or to discharge any other duty in the king's service, 2 S. 15 1 1 K. 1 5 2 K. 10 25 11 4 (see ARMY, § 4). In the time of David there was a special body of fifty men detailed for this special function.

We know that the Persian kings took with them on their expeditions ἁρμάμαξας — four-wheeled carriages covered with curtains, specially employed for the conveyance of women and children, as may be inferred from Herod. 7 41 Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. 4 11. Probably these closely resembled, or were identical with, the ὀχήματα ἐνθρόνια ἐνεύναια— adapted for sitting or lying down. According to 2 Ch. 35 23 *f.* Josiah, when mortally wounded, was removed from his war-chariot into a reserve chariot (רכב משנה) which was probably regarded by the Chronicler as partaking of this character.

11. Persian chariots.

In later times chariots were provided with scythes (ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα, Xenoph. ***Anab.*** i. 7 10 Diod. Sic. 17 53). This device does not meet us among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians ;[2] but we know that scythe-bearing chariots were employed by the Persians and

[1] So רֹכְבִים צְמָדִים should he interpreted (Thenius and others). 𝔊BAL makes צמדים the object of the participle.

[2] Against the view that scythes are referred to in Nah. 2 3 [4], see IRON, § 2.

later still by the Syrians (2 Macc. 13 2). It was probably the Persians who introduced this formidable addition to the war-chariot. (Cp Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vi. 130.)

The different portions of the chariot receive special names in the Heb. of the OT. 'Wheels,' אוֹפַנִּים, are mentioned in Nah. 3 2 (cp Is. 28 27 Prov. 20 26). Another name, more descriptive, was 'rollers,' גַּלְגַּלִּים (Is. 5 28 Ezek. 10 2 6 23 24 26 10). The 'spokes' of the wheel were called חִשֻּׁקִים, while the 'felloes' had the name גַּבִּים or גַּבּוֹת. The wheel revolves by a nave (חִשֻּׁרִים), round an axle (יָד). See WHEEL. All these terms are to be found in the *locus classicus*, 1 K. 7 32 *f.*

12. Parts of chariot.

The pole of the chariot, עֹל, was (according to Mish. *Kelim* 14 4 24 2) fastened below the middle of the axle, passed under the base of the 'body' of the chariot, and then, curving upwards ascended to the neck of the horses. To this, draught-animals were fastened by means of the yoke, assisted by cords or wide leather straps. Beyond these broad features it is doubtful how far we are justified in following the details contained in a treatise of the Mishna composed centuries after the latest OT literature.

13. Religious conceptions.

That the chariot, which was so closely associated with the public functions of Oriental monarchs, both in war and in peace, entered into the religious conceptions as an indispensable portion of the paraphernalia of divine monarchy, cannot awaken surprise. The chariot, therefore, has its place in ancient Semitic religion. Just as the Hellenic religious imagination endowed *Helios* with horses and chariot (as the Homeric Hymn clearly testifies), so Canaanite religion endowed the Sun-god *Šémeš* with the same royal accessories (cp HORSE, § 4). This feature in the cultus of the Sun the Hebrews blended with the worship of Yahwè in the precincts of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, in the days that preceded the Reformation of Josiah (2 K. 23 11). The combination of Yahwè, the God of Israel's armies and of the sky, with the Sun was not unnatural to the Hebrew mind, as their literature testifies both early and late. Cp 1 K. 8 12 *f.* (an old fragment of the Book of Jashar restored by We. from 𝔊^A in 1 K. 8 53); Ps. 19 1-7 84 11 [12].[1] Yahwè, as Lord of hosts, has chariots among his retinue. These were the 'chariots and horses of deliverance' whereon Yahwè rode forth to conquer and terrify Israel's foes in the days of the Exodus (Hab. 3 8 *f.*) With this graphic touch in the Prayer of Habakkuk we may compare the fiery chariots of 2 K. 2 11 6 17 13 14[2] as well as a phrase occurring in the magnificent triumphal ode, Ps. 68 18. O. C. W.

CHARITY, FEASTS OF (αἱ ἀγάπαι [Ti. WH]), Jude 12 AV. See EUCHARIST.

CHARME (χαρμη [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 25 RV = Ezra 2 39 = Neh. 7 42, HARIM, 1.

CHARMER (חֹבֵר חָבֶר, Deut. 18 11, etc.; חֲכַם חֲרָשִׁים, Is. 3 3 RV^mg.). See MAGIC, § 3.

CHARMIS, one of the three rulers of Bethulia: Judith 6 15 8 10 10 6 (χαρμεις [Bℵ], χαλμ. [A]; in 8 10 10 6 χαρμ[ε]ιν [BℵA]).

CHARRAN (χαρραν [Ti. WH]), Acts 7 2 4, RV HARAN, i.

CHASEBA (χασεβα [BA], om. L), an unknown family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii., § 9), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5 31, between the Nekoda and Gazzam of ‖ Ezra 2 48 Neh. 7 50 *f.*

CHAVAH (חַוָּה), Gen. 3 20 AV^mg., EV EVE. See ADAM AND EVE, § 3.

CHEBAR (כְּבָר, χοβαρ [BAQ]), the name of a Babylonian stream, near which Ezekiel had prophetic visions (Ez. 1 1 [adnot. Q^mg. βαρυσμος] 3 3 23 10 15 20 22 43 3; on 3 15, which is a gloss, see TEL-ABIB). In spite of the apparent resemblance of the names (but note the different initial letters), the Chebar cannot be the same as the HABOR (חבור)—Babylonia never included the region watered by this river—but must be one of the Babylonian canals (Bab. *nārāti*; cp נהרות בבל, Ps. 137 1). This was first pointed out by Noldeke (Schenkel, *BL*, 1508 ['69]). The final proof has been given by Hilprecht, who has found mention twice of the (*nāru*) *kabaru*, a large navigable canal a little to the E. of Nippur 'in the land of the Chaldeans.'[1]

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר, so eastern reading, but כְּדָר־לָעֹמֶר western reading [Ginsb. *Intr. to Mass. crit. ed.* 203 *f.*; conversely Strack, *Kohut Semitic Studies*, 566]; χοδολλογομορ [AEL] -αλλ. [*D*], -λαγ. [D]), according to Gen. 14 1 was a king of Elam, whose dominion extended as far as the SE. of Canaan, where five kings, of whom those of Sodom and Gomorrah were the chief, served him twelve years. In the thirteenth year, however, they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year they were defeated by the Elamite and his allies. In the sequel of the story (*vv.* 12-24) we are told how Abram with his own servants and some allies pursued the victorious army and rescued not only the captured kings but also his nephew Lot (see ABRAHAM, § 2). The question whether this narrative is trustworthy, and whether the Chedor-laomer of the Story and his allies are historical personages, is ruled by the other, as to the date of the chapter containing it.

1. Story.

2. Its date.

That the chapter is quite an isolated piece, and formed no part of the writings from which the Hexateuch was composed, may be considered as certain. Some scholars, however, (*e.g.*, Kittel) assign it to the eighth century B.C., and are of opinion that the author had an older writing before him; according to others, it is not older than the fourth century B.C.[2] The former hold that the antiquity and the authenticity of the story are attested by the following facts:—(1) that at least the name of the chief king is purely Elamitic; (2) that the Rephāīm, the Zamzummīn (= Zuzīm), and the Emim really occupied in ancient times what afterwards became the dwelling places of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, whilst the Horites (Gen. 36 20), according to Dt. 2 10 *ff.* and 20 *ff.*, were the oldest inhabitants of Seir; (3) that AMORITES (*q.v.*), the name of the people established, according to *v.* 7, in Hazazon-tamar (= Engedi, 2 Ch. 20 2), is the ancient name of the people of Canaan (Gen. 15 16 48 22 Am. 2 9), and that several names (En-mishpat, Hobah, Shaveh), words, and expressions not occurring anywhere else, as well as the exact description of the campaign (*vv.* 5-7), bear the impress of antiquity and trustworthiness.

The arguments of those who ascribe the narrative to a post-exilic Jew, whose aim was to encourage his contemporaries by the description of Abram's victory over the great powers of the East, his unselfishness, piety, and proud magnanimity towards heathen men, mostly take their starting-point in the second part of the chapter.

It is pointed out that the names of Abram's allies, Mamre and Eshcol, occur elsewhere (Gen. 13 18 23 17 19 25 9 35 27 50 13 Nu. 13 23) as place names; that Melchizedek (Malkiṣedeḳ) and Abram are represented as monotheists; and that the patriarch pays tithes to the priest-king, a duty not prescribed at all in Dt. (see 14 22-29 26 12 *ff.*), but characteristic of the post-exilic sacerdotal law (Nu. 18 21-28).

The criticism extends also, however, to the first part,

[1] But cp BATTLEMENT.

[2] The Xakub-el, 'chariot of El' (line 22), of the Zenjirli Panammu inscription furnishes an interesting parallel. It is possible, however, that Rakub (cp the Ar. *rakūbun*, 'a camel for riding') may mean the divine steed (cp the Heb. Kĕrūb, Ps. 18 11; but see CHERUB, § 1, begin.). It is mentioned frequently along with the deities Hadad, El, Shemesh, and Reshef. See D. H. Muller's art. in *Contemp. Rev.*, April 1894.

[1] A tablet published by Dr. Clay in vol. ix. of Hilprecht's *Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (pl. 50, No. 84, l. 2). It should be added that *Chebar* = great, so that *nāru Kab(b?)aru* = Grand Canal.

[2] See, *e.g.*, E. Meyer, *GA* 1 165 *f.* ('84); Kue. *Hex.* 324 ('85); St. *ZATW* 6 323 ('86); We. *CH* 310 *f.* ('89); Che. *OPs.* 42, 165, 270 ('91), cp *Founders*, 237 *f.*; Holzinger, *Einl. in d. Hex.* 425 ('93).

with which we are here chiefly concerned. It is remarked that there is no evidence of the historicity of the campaign in question, which is, in fact, as closely as possible connected with a view of Abraham which we know to have been post-exilic (cp ELIEZER, 1). Moreover, it is difficult to resist the impression that the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah—viz., Bera' and Birsha' (compounds conveying the idea of 'evil,' 'badness')—and the name given in the narrative to the town of Zoar—viz., Bela' = 'perdition' (see BELA)—perhaps also that of the king of Zebō'īm, which the Samaritan text gives as Shem-ebed = 'slave-name'—are, some of them at least, purely symbolical and therefore fictitious. (See, however, in each case, the special article.)

3. Name Chedor-laomer.

What is certain is this : Chedor-laomer, = Kudur-lagamar, is a purely Elamitic name, which is not, indeed, found as a royal name on the monuments, but is of the same type as Kudur-nanḫundi (Kutir-naḫḫunte in Old Susian), the name of a king who in the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C. conquered the whole; and Kudur-mabuk, the name of another king, who, probably later, was master of a part of Babylonia. Lagamar(u) (Laḳamar) occurs as the name of an Elamitic deity, not only in 5 R (p. vi., coll. 6, 33), but also in the Inscriptions of Anzan-šušinak,[1] and seems to be the same as Lagamal, the queen of the town of Kišurre (2 R pl. lx. 15*a* = 146). Hence the name cannot be the invention of a Hebrew writer. It can hardly be doubted, either, that Arioch, king of Ellasar, is really no other than Eri-aku (*i.e.*, servant of the Moon-god), the well-known king of Larsa, son of Kudur-mabuk.[2]

These discoveries have opened a wide field for ingenious combinations. It has been observed that Kudur-mabuk is called in one of the inscriptions of his son by the name Adda-martu, 'Father of the West.' Now, the word Martu being commonly used, at least in later times, to designate Western Asia, especially Canaan (*mat Aḥawi*, or perhaps better *mat Amurri*, the land of the Amorites), Adda = Father has been interpreted to mean conqueror, and this has been taken as evidence that, in a very remote period, Canaan fell under Elamite dominion. It is a pity that we must call attention to a weak point in this theorising. Kudur-mahuk is not the same as Kndur-lagamar, and *Adda-martu* seems to he only a synonym of *Adda-yamutbala*, a title which the same king, as ruler of a western province of Elam, bears in other inscriptions (see Tiele, *BAG* 123 *f.*).

4. Amraphel Tidal.

The attempts to make out the two other Eastern kings to be historical personages must be considered failures. According to Jos. Halévy, Amraphel is the famous Babylonian king Hammu-rābi himself. whose name is explained in Semitic as *Kimta-rapaštu* (*'am = kimta*, *raphel = rapaltu = rapaštu*); whilst, according to Hommel (*GBA* 364 *ff.*), he is Ḫammu-rābi's father Sin-muballit, because Sin is sometimes named Amar and *muballiṭ* may conceivably have been condensed into *pal* (*phel*). (See also AMRAPHEL.) With more confidence Shin'ar is stated to be a Hebraised form of Šumer (see Schr. *KAT*). Unfortunately, this is by no means certain. Though Ḫammurābi was king of Babylon, and therefore of Akkad, he was not king of Šumer so long as Eri-aku was king of Larsa. Not till he had put an end to the Elamite dominion in Babylonia could he be called king of Šumer, and then neither Eri-altu nor an Elamite king could join with him in the conquest of Canaan. As to Tid'al, king of Goyim, we may read his name Thargal, following 𝔊^EL; we, may identify the Goyim with the people of Gutium; we may even go so far as prudence permits in theorising on the latest discoveries : but all this does not make TIDAL (*q.v.*) historical. All that we can sav is that the writer of

5. Conclusion.

Gen. 14 no more invented the names of Amraphel and Tid'al (or Thargal)

1 F. H. Weissbach, 'Anzanische Inschriften,' in *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Classe der K. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xii., Leips., 1891, p. 125 (9 of separate copy).

2 This, rather than Rim-sin, has been proved by Schr. to be the correct reading of the name (*Sitz.-ber. k. Preuss. Ak. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 24 Oct. 1895, xli.).

than those of Chedor-laomer and Arioch; the former are very possibly corruptions of the names of historical personages whom we are as yet unable to identify. Nor do we assert that the whole story is the product of the inventive faculty of the author. That in very remote times, Babylonian kings extended their sway as far as the Mediterranean, is not only told in ancient traditions (*e.g.*, of Sargon I.), but has also been proved by the Amarna tablets. From these we learn that as late as the fifteenth centnry B.C., when the kings of Babylon and Assyria had no authority beyond their own borders and Egypt gave the law to Western Asia, Babylonian was the official and diplomatic language of the Western Asiatic nations. Hence it is not impossible, it is even probable, that a similar suzerainty was exercised over these nations by the Elamites, who were more than once masters of Babylonia. Our author, whether he wrote in the eighth century B.C., or, which is more probable, in the fourth, may have found this fact in some ancient record, and utilised it both for the glorification of the Father of the Faithful and for encouraging his contemporaries.

So much appears to be all that can be safely stated in the present state of research. Scheil, however, is of

6. Further theories.

opinion ('96) that the Ku-dur-la-a'g-ga-mar (?) whom he finds in a cuneiform epistle was the Elamite king of Larsa who was conquered by Ḫammu-rābi and Sin-idinnam, and, therefore, cannot have been any other than the son of Kudur-mabuk, who, as king of Larsa (Ur), had adopted the name of Rim-sin (Eri-aku?). Pinches has discovered a cuneiform tablet in the Brit. Mus. collection which has naturally excited great hopes among conservative critics. It is sadly mutilated ; but it is at least clear that names which may be the prototypes of Arioch, Tid'al, and possibly Chedorlaomer, were known in Babylonia when the tablet was inscribed. The tablet dates, probably, from the time of the Arsacidæ; but it is tempting to assume that the inscription was copied from one which was made in the primitive Babylonian period. It should be noticed, however, that the form of the first name is not Eri-aku but Eri-(DP)[E]-a-ku, and that the third name is not read with full certainty, the second part being *-mal*, which is only conjecturally made into *laḫ-mal*. There is also a second tablet on which two of the names are mentioned again. Pinches reads the one Eri-ē-ku (possibly Eri-ē-ku-a), and the other Ḳu-dur-laḫ(?)-gu-mal. In a third inscription the name Ḳu-dur-laḫ(?)-gu-[mal] appears. The second of the three names is mentioned only in the first tablet as Tu-ud-lpl-a, where, since the Babylonian ת answers to the Hebrew y in תרעל, Pinches and Schrader agree in recogmising the Tid'al of Gen. 14. But not by a single word do these inscriptions confirm the historicity of the invasion 'in the days of Amraphel.'

[The doubts here expressed are fully justified by L. W. King's more recent investigations. Both Scheil's and Pinches' readings of the respective inscriptions are incorrect, and 'though Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal (Kudur-KU-Ku-mal) is styled (in Pinches' inscriptions) a king of Elam, there is no reason to suppose that he was a contemporary of Ḫammu-rābi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C.]

To the references already given may be added—G. Rawlinson, ***Five Monarchies***, 169 *f.*, where older works are cited: Tiele, *BAG* 65 *f.*: Hommel, *GBA* 123 *ff.*; Schr. *KAT*² 135 *ff.* = *COT* 1 120 *ff.*; Oppert, *Comptes-rendus de l'acad. des inscr.* 9 déc. 1887; Pinches, *Acts* of *the Geneva Oriental* **Congress**, also his paper read before the Victoria Institute, Jan. 20, 1896; Schr. 'Ueher einen altoriental. Herrschernamen' in *SBAW*, 1895, no. xli.; Fr. v. Scheil in *Recueil de Travaux* (Maspero) 19 4 *ff.*, 'correspondance de Hammurabi, roi de Bahylone, avec Sinidinnam, roi de Larsa, oh il est question de Codorlahomor; cp Hommel, *AHT*, 173-180; L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurābi*, vol. i., 1898. C. P. T.—W. H. K.

CHEESE (חֲרִיצֵי הֶחָלָב, 1 S. 17 18; שְׁפָה, 2 S. 17 29; גְּבִינָה, Job 10 10). See MILK.

CHELAL (כְּלָל), one of the b'ne Pahath-moab in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 30 (𝔊 has joined Chelal with the preceding name Adna (עַדְנָא) and reads Αιδαινε Χαηλ [B; with Εδαινε B[a.b]], Εδενεχ' HA [K], Εδνε και Χαληλ [A], Αιανασηιε Χαλμαναι [L]). The ‖ 1 Esd. 9 31 has quite different names—'and of the sons of Addi; Naathus, and Moossias, Laccunus,' etc. (𝔊[L], however, reads Εδνα καὶ Σιδια καὶ Χαλαμαναι). See LACUNUS.

CHELCIAS, RV HELKIAS, *i.e.*, HILKIAH, *q.v.* (χελκ[ε]ιας [BAQ cod. 87 Theod.]).

1. The father of Susanna (Hist. of Sus., *vv.* 2, 29, and [om. cod. 87] 63).
2. An ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1 1).
3. A priest (Bar. 1 7)

CHELLIANS (χαλλαιων [B], χελεων [ℵA], Syr. ܟܠܐܢ). In Judith 2 23 mention is made of 'the children of Ishmael, which were over against the wilderness to the S. of the land of the Chellians.' The comparatively easier reading Chaldeans, which is attested, by 𝔊[B], Syr. and Vet. Lat., is no doubt rightly considered by Grimm to be a deliberate rectification of the text. See CHELLUS.

CHELLUH, RV CHELUHI, mg. CHELUHU (כְּלוּהִי, Kt.; כְּלוּהוּ, Kre; χελιασουβ [L; probably the influence of ελιας. *v.* 36]), mentioned in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10 35 (χελκεια [Bℵ], χελια [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 34. EV ENASIBUS (ενασ[ε]ιβος [BA]).

CHELLUS (χελους [BA]; χεσλ. [ℵ], ܟܣܠܘ [Syr.]), one of the places to which Nebuchadrezzar sent his summons, according to Judith 1 9. The Halhul of Josh. 15 58 may be meant; but the reading χεσλους suggests rather CHESULLOTH or CHISLOTH-TABOR, which is given by Jerome and Eusebius as *Chasalus* or χασελους (*OS*[(2)], 91 4, etc., 302 64). See CHELLIANS. Another identification should be mentioned. Chellus is perhaps the same as the place which in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 4 is called αλουσα, by Jerome and Eusebius *allus*, αλλουδ (*OS*[(2)], 85 6 211 89), viz. חלוצה (Targ. Jer. Gen. 16 14; cp Gen. 20 1 in Ar., and see BERED), or Elusa. Cp We. *Heid.*[(2)] 48, n. 1; WRS, *Kin.* 293 *f.*

CHELOD (χελεουλ [B], χεσλαιουδα [ℵ*], χελαιουδ [ℵ[c.a]], χελεουδ [A]). 'Very many nations of the sons of Chelod' (Judith 1 6) assembled themselves to battle in the plain of Arioch in the days of Nebuchadrezzar and Arphaxad (!). What we ought to understand by Chelod is quite uncertain.

Vet. Lat. has *Chelleuth*, and Syr. has 'against the Chaldæans.' One very improbable conjecture is that χαλων (CALNEH) is intended; another, hardly less unlikely, is that the word is the Hebrew חֹלֶד ('weasel'), and that by the opprobrious designation of 'children of the weasel' are meant the Syrians (Ew. *GVI* 3 543).

CHELUE (כְּלוּבַ, § 67, probably a variation of Caleb, cp below).

(1) A Judahite, doubtless to be identified with CALEB (§ 4); similarly We. (*Gent.* 20), who reads 'Caleb b. Heeron' (1 Ch. 4 11 χαλεβ [BAL], *Caleb* [Vg.] ܟܠܒ [Peih]). His designation 'brother of Shuhah' (אחי־שוחה) is not clear; 𝔊[BA] read 'father of Achsah,' possibly a correction (Ki. *SBOT*). Cp the still further corrupt Pesh. 'brother of Ahiah' (ܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܫܘܚܐ ܘܐܚܝܐ).

(2) Father of EZRI, 1 Ch. 27 26 (χοβουδ [B], χελουβ [A], χα- [L]).

CHELUBAI (כְּלוּבָי, § 67, a gentilic [= כָּלֵבִי: see 1 S. 25 3 Kre] used instead of the proper name CALEB), b. Hezron, 1 Ch. 2 9 (ο χαλεβ [A], ο χαβελ [B], ο χαλωβι [L], ܟܠܒܝ [Pesh., a corruption]); see CALEB, § 3, CARMI, 1.

CHELUHI (χελια [A]), Ezra 10 35 RV, RV[mg.] **Cheluhu**, AV CHELLUH.

CHEMARIM (כְּמָרִים), Zeph. 1 4 RV 2 K. 23 5 mg. Hos. 10 5 mg.; AV **Chemarims**, Zeph. 1 4. Rather Kĕmārīm.

The original Heb. word appears also in 2 K. 23 5, where EV gives 'idolatrous priests,' and in Hos. 10 5, where EV has 'priests.' It is also highly probable that in Hos. 4 4 we should read, with Beck 'for my people is like its Chemarim'[1] (𝔊, however, ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος ἱερεύς, perhaps an error for -οι ἱερεῦσι [Schleusner]). 𝔊 transliterates Χωμαρειμ ([BA] 2 K. *l.c.*; but ἱερεῖς is also supported, see Field, *Hex ad loc.*); it apparently omits in Zeph.; in Hos. it had a different Heb.). Vg. varies between *aruspices* (2 K.) and *æditui* (Zeph. Hos.); Targ. between כומריא (2 K. Zeph.) and פלחוהי 'the ministers thereof'; Pesh. adheres to ܟܘܡܪܐ.

As to the meaning, if we appeal to the versions, we find only the dim light which an unassisted study of the context can supply. Evidently the term was applied to the priests of Baal, who served at the high places under royal authority, but were put down by Josiah. But what special idea did the word convey? In itself it meant simply 'priests'; in Zeph. 1 4 *Kĕmārīm* and *Kōhănīm* are put side by side to express the idea of a priesthood of many members; and in Hos. 3 4 (if the view proposed above be adopted) we have *kĕmārīm* used of the priests of N. Israel, when these are spoken of objectively, and then *kōhēn*, when the priests are addressed as an organic unity. But the word *Kĕmārīm* probably also conveyed the idea of a worship which had Syrian affinities. Certainly it cannot be explained from Hebrew; כמר does not mean 'to be black' (cp ECLIPSE), and even if it did, the 'black-robed ones' is a most improbable designation for ancient priests.[2] The word is no doubt of Syrian origin (see the Aram. inscriptions in *CIS* 2 nos. 113 130). The primitive form is *kumr*, whence Aram. *kumrā* (never used in an unfavourable sense) and Heb. *kĕmārim* are normally formed. Lagarde (*Armen. Stud.* 2386) compared Arm. *chourm*; but it is more obviously reasonable to compare the Assyrian *kummaru*, which is given as a synonym of *lubaru zakū* —*i.e.*, 'a clean vesture' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 337 *a.*, cp 254 *b.*). The term *kĕmārim* probably described the Syrian and Israelitish priests in their clean vestments (cp 2 K. 10 22, the Baal festival) when ministering to their God. To derive it from an Aram. root meaning 'to be sad' is much less natural.

Delitzsch compares Ass. *kamāru* 'to throw down'; the term, he thinks, describes the priests as those who prostrate themselves in worship (*Ass. and Heb.*, 41, 42; so Che. *Hos.* 103, 111). Finally, Robertson Smith,[3] noting that the word belongs to a race in which the mass of the people were probably not circumcised (Hrrod. 2 104, cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 10 3, *c. Ap.* i. 22) while the priests were (Dio Cassius, 79 11; Ep. Barnab. 9 6; cp Chwolson, *Ssabier*, 2 114), conjectures that *kumrā* means 'the circumcised' (Ar. *kamara*, 'glans penis'). T. K. C.

CHEMOSH (כְּמוֹשׁ, in *MI* כמש; on name see § 4, end; χαμως [B[ab]ℵAFQL], αμως [B* Judg. 11 24], *Chamos*), the national god of the Moabites (1 K. 11 7, Jer. 48 7 13). Moab is the people of Chemosh; the Moabites are his sons and daughters (Nu. 21 29; cp the relation of Yahwè to Israel, Judg. 5 11 Nu. 11 29 Judg. 11 24 Is. 45 11, etc.). A king of Moab in the time of Sennacherib was named Chemoshnadab (*Kamusunadab*;[4] cp Jehonadab); the father of Mesha was Chemoshmelech;[5] a gem found near Beirūt is inscribed לכמשיחי[6] (cp Heb. יחיאל ,יְחִיָּה; Phœn. יחומלך ,מריחי). The stele of Mesha king of Moab, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram of Israel (2 K. 1 3), in the middle of the ninth century B.C. (see MESHA), was erected to commemorate the deliverance which Chemosh had wrought for his people.

1. Moab's national deity.

[1] Continue, וְכָשַׁלְתָּ הַכֹּהֵן יוֹמָם, 'and thou shalt stumble, O priest, in the daytime'; at the close of the verse read, with Ruben, תֻּמֶּיךָ, 'thy Thummim' (addressed to the priest).

[2] Cp Mishna, *Middoth* 5 4. A priest who had become unfit for service put on black garments and departed. One who was approved by the Sanhedrin clothed himself in white, and went in, and ministered

[3] *EB*[(9)] *s.v.* 'Priest.'

[4] *KB* 2 90 *f.*; *COT* 1 281.

[5] Others read Chemoshgad.

[6] Renan, *Miss. de Phén.* 352.

The inscription tells us that Omri had oppressed Moab for a long time because Chemosh was wroth with his land (*l.* 4 *f.*); the Israelites had occupied the district of Medeha forty years, but Chemosh had now restored it to Moab (*ll.* 7-9); Chemosh drove out the king of Israel before Moab from Jahaz (*ll.* 18-21); at the bidding of Chemosh, Mesha fought against Nebo and took it (*ll.* 14-17); at his command, he made war on Horonaim, and Chemosh restored it to Moab (*ll.* 31-33); the inhabitants of captured cities were slaughtered, 'a spectacle (? רית) for Chemosh and Moab' (*ll.* 11 *f.*); men, women, and children were devoted to Ashtar-Chemosh (*ll.* 15-17)—the חֵרֶם (see BAN); the spoils of Israelite sanctuaries were carried off and presented to Chemosh (*ll.* 12 *f.* 17 *f.*).

The religion of Moab in the ninth century was thus very similar to that of Israel: the historical books of the OT furnish parallels to almost every line of the inscription.

We learn from the OT that human sacrifices were offered to Cheniosh, at least in great national emergencies; the king of Moab, shut up in Kir-hareseth and unable to cut his way out, offered his eldest son upon the wall; the effect of this extraordinary sacrifice was a great outburst of Chemosh's fury upon Israel, which compelled the invaders to return discomfited to their own land (2 K. 3 27). Priests of Cheniosh are mentioned in Jer. 48 7; the language of Mesha, 'Chemosh said to me' (*ll.* 14, 32), supposes an oracle, or perhaps prophets.

The worship of Chemosh as the national god did not exclude the worship of other gods; Mesha's inscription speaks of Ashtar-Chemosh (*l.* 17)—that is, most probably, an 'Ashtar (Astarte) who was associated in worship with Chemosh,[1] perhaps at a particular sanctuary. The worship of Baal-peor (Nu. 25, cp Hos. 9 10) was probably a local Moabite cult—there is no ground for identifying the god with Chemosh. (See BAAL-PEOR.) [Beth] Baal-meon (Mesha, *ll.* 9, 30; OT) was, as the name shows, the seat of another local Baal cult. Mount Nebo may have received its name in the period of Babylonian supremacy; but we do not know that the worship of the Babylonian god was perpetuated by the Moabites. Cp NEBO.

2. Other Moabite gods.

The statement of Eusebius (OS 228 66 *ff.*, *s.v.* 'Αρινά) that the inhabitants of Areopolis in his day called their idol 'Αριήλ, 'because they worshipped Ares,' seems to be the product of a complex misunderstanding.

In Judg. 11 24, in the argument of Jephthah with the king of the Ammonites, 'Chemosh thy god' is set over against 'Yahwè our god' in such a way as to imply that Chemosh was the national god of Ammon. From many passages in the OT we know, however, that the national god of the Animonites was Milcom (see MILCOM) while Cheniosh was the god of Moab. The hypothesis that Chemosh and Milcom arc but two names of the same god (Milcom originally a title) is excluded by the contexts in which they appear side by side (*e.g.*, 1 K. 11 33). Nor is it sufficient to suppose that *Chemosh* in Jndg. 11 24 is merely a slip on the part of the author or a scribe for *Milcom*: closer examination shows that the whole historical argument applies to Moab only, not to Amnion. Whatever explanation may be given of this incongruity (see Moore, *Judges*, 283; Bu. *Richter*, 80 *f.*), the passage cannot be taken as evidence that Chemosh was the god of Ammon as well as of the sister people Moab. The statement of Suidas (*s.v.* Χαμώς) that Chemosh was a god of the Tyrians and Ammonites is, as the context shows, a confused reminiscence of 1 K. 11 5 7.

3. Chemosh outside of Moab.

From the name χωμάσβηλος, the second mythical Babylonian ruler after the flood (*Frag. Hist.* Gr. 2 503) it has been surmised that the worship of Cheniosh was of Babylonian origin; the name of the city Carchemish on the Euphrates has heeh explained as 'Citadel of Chemosh'; neither of these theories has any other basis than a fortuitous similarity of sound.

Solomon built a high place for Chemosh on the MOUNT OF OLIVES (1 K. 11 7 *a*), where, according to 2 K. 23 13, it stood until Josiah's reform—more than three hundred years.

[1] Cp Phœn. מלכעשתרת and 'the Astarte in the *ashera* of El-hamman,' in the Ma'sub inscription.

During the long reign of the theory—not yet universally abandoned—that all the gods of the nations were heavenly bodies or meteoric phenomena, Chemosh was by some thought to be the sun, by others identified with Milcom-Moloch-Saturn; the one opinion has as little foundation as the other. In Roman times Rabbath-moab, as well as the more northern Ar-moab, was called Areopolis, and this name—perhaps originally only a Græcising of Ar (Jerome)—was understood as 'City of Ares.' Coins of Kabbath-moab in the reigns of Geta and Severns (Eckkel, iii. 504; cp Mionnet, v. 591, Suppl. viii. 388) exhibit a standing warrior in whom the type of Mars is to be recognised; but even if we were sure that the old Moabite god of the city is represented, and not the Nabatæan Dusares, we could learn nothing about the nature of Cheinosh in OT times from so late and contaminated a source. Confusion of Chemosh with Dusares is probably to be assumed in the statements of Jewish writers that the idol of Chemosh was a black stone—the same which is now adored by Moslems in the Caaba at Mecca.[1]

4. Nature of Chemosh; representations.

The etymology of the name Chemosh is quite unknown: a fact which gives good reason to believe that he is one of the older Semitic gods.

5. Literature.

D. Hackmann, 'De Chemoscho Moabitarum idolo,' 1730 (in Oelrich's *Collectio opusculorum*, 1768, pp. 17-60), Movers, *Phönizier*, 1 334 *ff.*; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern*, 176 *ff.*; Baudissin, in *PRE*(2) *s.v.* 'Kemosch' (with full literature); Baethgen, *Beitr.* 13-15. G. F. M.

CHENAANAH (כְּנַעֲנָה, § 73, 'towards Canaan' (?); χανααν [BL]).

1. In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 (ii.)), 1 Ch. 7 10 (χαναναν [A]).
2. Father of the false prophet Zedekiah, 1 K. 22 11 (χααναν [B], χανανα [A]) 24; 2 Ch. 18 10 (χαναανα [A]) 23.

CHENANI (כְּנָנִי: cp Chenaniah), Levite officiating at constitution of 'congregation' (see EZRA, ii. §§ 12, 13 *f.*); Neh. 9 4 (om. B., υιοι χανανι [for MT Bani Chenani, ℵ c.a A], χωνενιας [L]).

CHENANIAH (כְּנַנְיָהוּ and כְּנַנְיָה, § 31; [ε]ιεχονιας [BℵL]; cp Chenani), chief of the Levites, who was over 'the song,' or 'the carrying' (viz., 'of the ark'—text obscure: see Ki. and Be. *ad loc.*); 1 Ch. 15 22 (κωνενια [Bℵ], χω. [A]), 27 (και χενενιας [A], χονεν. [L]), 26 29 (χωνενεια [B], χωχενιας [A]; χονενια [L]).[2]

CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI, RV Chephar-ammoni (כְּפַר הָעַמֹּנִי—*i.e.*, 'village of the Ammonite'; see BENJAMIN, § 3;—Kr. has הָעַמּוֹנָה; καραφα κ. κεφειρα και μονει [B; μονει represents also עפני]; καφηραμμιν [A]; καφαραμμωνα [L]), an unidentified place in Benjamin, mentioned with OPHNI [*q.v.*] (Josh. 18 24 P). The name is possibly of post-exilic origin (cp PAHATH-MOAB). See AMMON, § 6, and BETHHORON, § 4, TOBIJAH, 4.

CHEPHIRAH (כְּפִירָה; in Josh. הַכְּפִירָה; 'the village'? or 'the lion'? καφ[ε]ιρα [BℵA], κεφειρα [L]), a town of the Hivites, member of the Gibeonite confederation (Josh. 9 17: χεφειρα [A], κεφ. [BF], κεφηρα [L]), afterwards assigned to Benjamin (Josh. 18 26: χεφειρα [A], φ. [B]), and mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c.) Ezra 2 25 = Neh. 7 29 (χαφιρα [A]) = 1 Esd. 5 19, CAPHIRA (or εκ πειρας [B], . . . καφιρας [A], κεφηρα [L]), is the modern Kefireh, about 5 m. WSW. from el-Jib (Gibeon).

In 1 Esd. 5 19 PIRA (AV om. RV: πειρας [B]), the second name after Caphira, is apparently a cdrrnpt repetition (cp 𝔊B's form of Caphira). Buhl (*Pal.* 169) suggests that Kephirim (EV 'villages') in Neh. 6 2 may be the same as Kephirah.

[1] *Lekach Tob* on Nu. 21 29. By a strange blunder W. L. Bevan and Sayce (in Smith's *DB*(2) *s.w.*) have turned this into a black *star*.

[2] The forms Κωνενια, etc., point to a reading כוניה (cp 2 Ch. 31 12 *f.*), whilst Ιεχονιας points to יְכָנְיָה or rather to יכוניה, a scribe's error for וכוניה (cp Ki., Chron., *SBOT*).

CHEQUER WORK (תַּשְׁבֵּץ), Ex. 28 4 39 RV. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING ; also TUNIC.

CHERAN (כְּרָן ; χαρραν [ADEL], a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36 26). See DISHON.

CHEREAS, RV CHÆREAS (χαιρεας and χερ. [A], χερααc [V]), brother of TIMOTHEUS (*q.v.*), and commander of the fortress at Gazara (2 Macc. 10 32 37).

CHERETHITES (הַכְּרֵתִי, כְּרֵתִים, 𝔊 in Sam. and K. ο χερεθθει, or [by assimilation to Pelethites] ο χελεθθει ; Vg. *Cerethi ;* 𝔊 in Prophets κρητες), a people in the south of Palestine. In the days of Saul and David a region in the Negeb adjoining Judah and Caleb bore their name (1 S. 30 14 χολθει [B] χερηθει [A] χορρι [L]). From *v.* 16 it appears that the inhabitants of this region were reckoned to the Philistines ; in Zeph. 2 5 and Ez. 25 16 (AV Cherethims), also, Philistines and Cherethites are coupled in such a way as to show that they were regarded as one people. Finally, in the names mentioned in the prophecy against Egypt in Ez. 30 5,[1] where AV gives, 'the men of the land that is in league,' we should restore 'the Cherethites' (וּבְנֵי הַכְּרֵתִי ; so Cornill, Toy). It is to he inferred that the Cherethites were a branch of the Philistines ; or, perhaps, that they were one of the tribes which took part with the Philistines in the invasion of Palestine, and that, like the latter, they remained behind when the wave receded (see PHILISTINES, § 2, CAPHTOR, § 2). The 𝔊 translators of Zeph. and Ez. interpreted the name by *Cretans;* and in this, although they may have been guided only by the sound, they perhaps hit upon the truth.[2] An early connection between Gaza and Crete seems to be indicated by other evidence (see GAZA).

Except in the three passages already cited, the name occurs only in the phrase, 'the Cherethites and Pelethites' (הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי 𝔊 gen. φελεθθει) as the designation of a corps of troops in the service of David—his bodyguard (2 S. 8 18 15 18 20 7 23 Kr., 1 K. 1 38 44 1 Ch. 18 17 ; σωματοφύλακες Jos. *Ant.* vii. 5 4, etc.).[3] They were commanded by BENAIAH, 1, and remained faithful to their master in all the crises of his reign (2 S. 15 20 1 K. 1).

Only the strongest reasons could warrant our separating the Cherethites of David's guard from the people of the same name spoken of in the same source (1 S. 30 14). There are no such reasons : הכרתי has the regular form of a gentile noun ; and, although much ingenuity has been expended on the problem, all attempts to explain the word as an appellative have failed. The name Pelethite, which is found only coupled with Cherethite in the phrase above cited, also is a gentile noun ; the etymological explanations are even more far-fetched than in the case of the Cherethites. The presumption is that the Pelethites also were Philistines;[4] and this is confirmed by the passages cited from Zeph. and Ez. ; פְּלֵתִי is perhaps only a lisping pronunciation of פלשתי, to make it rhyme with כרתי.

It need not surprise us that David's guard was composed of foreign mercenaries. The Egyptian kings of the nineteenth dynasty recruited their *corps d'élite* from the bold sea-rovers who periodically descended on their coasts ; Rameses II. displays great pride in his Sardinian guards, and Sardinians and Libyans are the flower of the army of Rameses III.[1] The Philistines were more skilled in arms than the Israelites, and doubtless liked fighting better : cp ITTAI the Gittite, and see ARMY, § 4. It is the opinion of some recent scholars that where David's *gibbōrīm* (EV 'mighty men') seem to be spoken of as a body, the Cherethites and Pelethites are meant ; see especially 1 K. 1 8 10 compared with *v.* 38. This is, however, not a necessary inference from the verses cited ; and conflicts with 2 S. 20 7 (cp 15 18 𝔊). More probably the *gibbōrīm* were the comrades of David in the days of his outlawry and the struggle with the Philistines for independence. See DAVID, § 11. In 2 *S.* 20 23 for 'Cherethites' the Heb. text (Kt.) has Carites (הַכָּרִי).[2] In 2 K. 11 4 19, where this name again occurs, it probably means 'Carians.' The Carians were a famous mercenary folk, and it would not surprise us to find them at Jerusalem in the days of Athaliah (see CARITES). That the soldiers of the guard in even later times were usually foreigners has been inferred from Zeph. 1 8 *f.* and from Ez. 44 6 *ff.* : see WRS *OTJC*(2) 260 *ff.*, but also THRESHOLD. For mercenary troops in post-exilic times see ARMY, § 7.

Literature.—Dissertations by Joh. Benedict Carpzov (1661), and Hen. Opitz (1672), in Ugol. *Thes.* 27 423 *ff.*, 457 *ff.* ; J. G. Lakemacher, *Observationes Philologicæ*, P. II. (1727), pp. 11-44 ; Conrad Iken, *Dissertationes Philologico-Theologicæ* (1749), pp. 111-132 ; B. Behrend, *Die Kreti und Pleti ; ihre inhaltliche Bedeutung und Geschichte* ('88)—extract from *MGWJ* ('87), pp. 117-153 ; Riietschi, *PRE*(2) 8 268 *ff.* G. F. M.

CHERITH (כְּרִית, χορραθ [BAL]; χορρα [*Onom.*]). ELIJAH (*q.v.*) has just informed Ahab of the impending drought, when we are abruptly told that 'Yahwè's word came unto him, saying, Get thee hence' (*i.e.*, presumably from Samaria), 'and turn to the east (קֵדְמָה) and hide thyself in the torrent-valley of Cherith which is before (עַל־פְּנֵי) Jordan' (1 K. 17 3 5). This occurs in the first scene of the highly dramatic story of Elijah. In the second he appears in the far north of Palestine —at Zārĕphath, which hardly snits Robinson's identification (*BR* 1 558) of Chĕrīth with the Wady el-Ḳelt (which is rather the Valley of ZEBOIM [*q.v.*, i.]), at least if these two scenes stood in juxtaposition from the first. Besides this, the two names *Ḳelt* and Cherith begin with different palatals and since the expression 'before Jordan' is most naturally explained 'to the E. of the Jordan,'[3] it is plausible to hold with Prof. G. A. Smith that the scene of Elijah's retreat must be sought in Gilead (*HG* 580). Let us, then, look across the Jordan eastward from Samaria (where Elijah may have had his interview with Ahab). The Wādy 'Ajliin and the Wādy Rājib have been proposed by Thenius ; the Wādy el-Yābis by Mühlau. But, as C. Niebuhr *(Gesch.* 1 291) points out, Elijah would certainly go to some famous holy place. Of the burial-place of Moses (Niebuhr) we know nothing ; but 1 K. 19 3 9 suggests that the sanctuary was in the far south. It is true, Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 302 69 113 28) already place Cherith *(Χoppa, Chorath)* beyond Jordan. Josephus, however, makes Elijah depart 'into the southern parts' *(Ant.* viii. 13 2). What we have to do is to find a name which could, in accordance with analogies, be worn down and

1 [κρῆτες in 𝔊 is obviously misplaced ; this version has been conformed to the Hebrew; hence the insertion καὶ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς διαθήκης μου. Davidson's view (κρῆτες=Put) will hardly stand. In three places 𝔊 has Λιβυες for Put. See CHUB, GEOGRAPHY, § 22.]

2 Lakemacher, Ewald, Hitzig, Stade, and others. For another view see CAPHTOR.

3 [The readings vary : thus ερεθι [L in 2 S. 8 18], χεττει [B in doublet 2 S. 15 18], χετθι [L 5.1, A om. doublet χορεθθει [A in 2 S. 20 7 ; L omits and in *v.* 23], ἱερεῖς [BL] and χερηθι [A] in 1 Ch. 18 17, χορρι [L in 1 K. 1 38 44]). Variants for Pelethites are φελεττει [B in 2 S. 8 18] ωφελεθθει [A *ib.*] -τθει [B in doublet 2 S. 15 18], and φαλτεια [B] -τια [א] φαλεθθι [A] in 1 Ch. 18 17. L has uniformly φελτι, but φελθι in 2 S. 15 18, φερεθι in 1 Ch. 18 17, and πλινθίον in 2 S. 20 23 ; see BENAIAH, 1.]

4 Abulwalid, Lakemacher, Ewald, etc.

1 Many other examples in ancient and modern times will occur to the reader.

2 In 2 S. 20 23 Kt. הכרי is perhaps not a purely graphic accident ; cp also 1 S. 30 14 L χορρι, etc.

3 [עַל־פְּנֵי in geographical and topographical expressions means commonly *East;* cp 1 K. 11 7 2 K. 23 13 Dt. 32 49 Gen. 23 19 25 18, etc. Besides the vaguer meaning of *before* (*e.g.*, Gen. 16 12) it is sometimes made definite by the addition of a word or of an expression in order to denote a particular direction—*e.g.*, Josh. 15 8, the mountain *before* the Valley of Hinnom *westward* (Zech. 14 4), and the Mount of Olives, which is *before* Jerusalem *on the East* (מִקֶּדֶם) : cp Nu. 21 11 Josh. 18 14. Lastly, it is used in the sense of overlooking, cp Gen. 18 16 19 28 Nu. 23 28 (cp Dr. on 1 Sam. 15 7, Di. on Josh. 17 7, and especially Moore, *Judges*, 163). In 1 K. 17 3, קֵדְמָה, 'castward,' should be corrected to מִדְבָּרָה, 'towards the desert' (as 19 4).]

corrupted into כרית. Such a name is רחֹבוֹת, Rehoboth. The valley of Rehoboth (the Wādy Ruhaibeh) would be fitly described as עַל־פְּנֵי מצרים, 'fronting Miṣrim' (see **MIZRAIM**); cp Gen. 25 18. The alteration of מצרים into הירדן was made in order to suit the next story, in which ZEPHATH (*q.v.*) had been already corrupted into ZAREPHATH. T. K. C.

CHERUB, plural form **Cherubim** (כְּרוּב, כְּרֻבִים, כְּרוּבִים; χερουβ, χερουβ[ε]ιμ, -[ε]ιν [BAL]; etymology disputed; Ps. 1043 may allude to a popular [post-exilic] identification of כְּרוּב and רְכוּב, but *kerūb* being, like γρύψ, a loan-word, a Hebrew etymology is inadmissible).

1. Late Jewish angelology.

In the composite system of Jewish angelology the cherubim form one of the ten highest classes of angels, while another class is distinguished by the synonymous term 'living creatures' (*ḥayyōth*). These two classes, together with the *'ōphannīm* or 'wheels,' are specially attached to the throne of the divine glory, and it is the function of the cherubim to be bearers of the throne on its progresses through the worlds. The Jewish liturgy, like the 'Te Deum,' delights to associate the 'praises of Israel' (Ps. 22 3[4]) with those offered to God by the different classes of angels, and singles out for special mention in a portion of the daily morning service the *'ōphannīm*, the *ḥayyōth*, and the *sĕrāphīm*. We find an approach to this conception in the Apocalypse, where the four ζῶα (Rev. 46-8), though—like the twenty-four πρεσβύτεροι—they are always mentioned apart from the angels, and discharge some altogether peculiar functions, are yet associated with the angels in the utterance of doxologies[1] (Rev. 4 8 5 11-14 19 1-7).

A similar view is suggested in the 'Similitudes' in *Enoch*, in one passage of which (61 10*f.*) 'the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ōphannīm, and all the angels of power' are combined under the phrase 'the host of God,' and unite in the ascription of blessedness to the 'Lord of Spirits,' while in another (chap. xl.) the 'four faces on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits' (a reminiscence of Ezek. 16) are identified or confounded with the archangels. Elsewhere, however, a somewhat different view is presented of the cherubim. They are the sleepless guardians of the 'throne of His glory' (71 7); they are the 'fiery cherubim' (**14 11**), and together with the seraphim (exceptionally called 'serpents,' δράκοντες) are closely connected with Paradise, and placed under the archangel Gabriel (20 7). From these facts we gather that in the last two centuries B.C. there were different ways of conceiving the cherubim. Some writers had a stronger sense of the peculiarity of the nature of the cherubim than others, and laid stress on such points as their connection with the divine fire, and with Paradise and its serpent-guardians. Whence did they derive a notion so suggestive of mythological comparisons?

2. Ezek. 28 13*f.* 16 Isa. 14 13-15.

The most reasonable answer is, From the earlier religious writings, supplemented and interpreted by a not yet extinct oral tradition. A tale of the serpents by the sacred tree (once probably shpent-demons) may have been orally handed down, but the conception of the fiery cherubim in God's heavenly palace is to be traced to the vision in Ezek. 1, and to the account of the 'mountain of God' in Eden, with its 'stones of fire' and its cherub-guardian, in Ezek. 28 13*f.* 16. These two passages of Ezekiel form the next stage in our journey. The latter must be treated first, as being evidently a faithful report of a popular tradition. Unfortunately the received Hebrew text is faulty, and an intelligible exegesis of the passage is rarely given. Keil, for instance, admits some reference to Paradise, but feels obliged to infer from the epithet 'that covereth' (הסוכך) that 'the place of the cherub in the sanctuary (**Ex. 25 20**) was also present to the prophet's mind.' Nor is the difficulty confined to this epithet and to the equally strange word (מִמְשַׁח) which Vg. renders 'extentus,' and EV 'anointed' (*so* Theodot.); the opening phrase את־כרוב, whether rendered 'thou wast the cherub' or (pointing את differently) 'with the cherub,'[1] baffles comprehension. It is necessary, therefore, to correct the text of *vv.* 13 *f.* 16d; we shall then arrive at the following sense:—

'Thou wast in Eden, the divine garden; of all precious stones was thy covering—cornelian, etc.; and of gold were thy . . . worked; in the day when thou wast made were they prepared. To be . . . had I appointed thee; thou wast upon the holy, divine mountain; amidst the stones of fire didst thou walk to and fro.[2] Then wast thou dishonoured (being cast) out of the divine mountain, and the cherub destroyed thee (hurling thee) out of the midst of the stones of fire.'

The sense now becomes fairly clear. We have here a tradition of Paradise distinct from that in Gen. 2 and **3.** Favoured men, it appears, could be admitted to the divine garden, which glittered with precious stones (or, as they are also called, 'stones of fire') like the mythic tree which the hero Gilgameš saw in the Babylonian epic,[3] or like the interior of the temples of Babylon or Tyre,[4] or like the walls and gates and streets of the new Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. But these privileged persons were still liable to the sin of pride, and such a sin would be their ruin. This Ezekiel applies to the case of the king of Tyre, who reckoned himself the favourite of his god, and secure of admission to Paradise.

The idea of the passage is closely akin to that expressed in Is. 14 13-15. The king of Babylon believes that by his unique position and passionate devotion to the gods he is assured of entering that glorious cosmic temple of which his splendid terrace-temples are to him the symbols. Towards Marduk he is humility itself, but to the unnamed prophet of Yahwè he seems proud even to madness. From that heaven of which in his thoughts he is already the inhabitant, the prophet sees him hurled as a lifeless corpse to an ignoble grave. This is just what Ezekiel holds out in prospect to the king of Tyre, and the destroying agent is the cherub. How different this idea of the cherub from that of the apocalyptic ζῶα!

We have again a different conception of the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (Ez. 1).[5] The prophet has not the old unquestioning belief in tradition, and modifies the traditional data so as to produce effective symbols of religious ideas.

3. Ezek. 1 1 *ff.*

Out of the elaborate description it is enough to select a few salient points. Observe then that the one cherub of the tradition in ch. 28 has now become four cherubim (cp Rev. 46-8), each of which has four faces, one looking each way, viz. that of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and human hands on his four sides. They are not, however, called cherubim, but *ḥayyōth*

[1] The differences between the ζῶα of Revelation and those of Ezekiel, both as to their appearance and as to their functions, are obvious. But without the latter how could the former have been imagined? The traditional Christian view that the apocalyptic ζῶα symbolise the four Gospels can hardly be seriously defended.

[1] *So* Co., following 𝔊BAQ, Sym., but in other respects reading *v.* 14 as above.

[2] According to the ordinary view which makes the Tyrian prince a cherub, the plumage of the cherub of Ezekiel's tradition was resplendent as if with gold and precious stones. But surely it was not merely as a griffin, nor *as* a griffin's fellow, that the Tyrian prince was placed (as the prophet dramatically states) in Paradise, but as one of the 'sons of Elohim'; and the covering spoken of is a state-dress besprinkled with precious stones+ 'Stones of fire' means 'flashing stones,' like the Assyrian *aban išāti*, 'stone of fire,' one of the names of a certain precious stone (Friedr. Del. *Par.* 118).

[3] Tablet IX. See Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 30.

[4] For Babylon see Nebuchadrezzar's inscription, *RP*(2) 3 104 *ff.*, where he describes the beautification of the temple É-sagila at great length. Gold and precious stones are specially mentioned. For the temple of Tyre see Herod. 2 44 (the two brilliant pillars). Gold was also lavishly used in the temple of Solomon.

[5] There is a second description in 10 8-17, but it is the attempt of a later writer to improve upon Ezekiel's account, and to prepare the way for *v.* 20. *V.* 14 should be omitted as a very careless gloss. See Cornill, and on *v.* 14 cp Davidson.

('living creatures'), until we come to 9 3, and Ezekiel tells us (10 20) that he did not 'know that they were cherubim' till he heard them called so by God (10 2). By this he implies that his own description of them differed so widely from that received by tradition that without the divine assurance he could not have ventured to call them cherubim, Sometimes, however, he speaks of them in the singular ('the living creature,' 1 20-22; 'the cherub,' 9 3 10 24, if MT is correct), apparently to indicate that, being animated by one 'spirit,' the four beings formed but one complex phenomenon. The fourfold character of the cherub is caused by the new function (relatively to the account in ch. 28) which is assigned to it; in fact, it has now become the bearer of the throne of God (more strictly of the 'firmament' under the throne 1 22 26). But the whole appearance was at the moment bathed in luminous splendour, so that the seer needed reflection to realise it. We will therefore not dwell too much on what must be to a large extent peculiar to Ezekiel and artificially symbolic, and in so far belongs rather to the student of biblical theology. All that it is important to add is that the divine manifestation takes place within a storm-cloud, and that a fire which gives out flashes of lightning burns brightly between the cherubim; also that there are revolving wheels beside the cherubim, animated by the same 'spirit' as the living creatures, and as brilliant as the chrysolith or topaz; and that in his vision of the temple Ezekiel again modifies his picture of thc cherubim, each cherub having there but two faces, that of a man and that of a lion (41 18 *f.*).

Another group of passages on the cherubim is found in the Psalter, viz. Ps. 18 10 *f.* [11 *f.*] 80 1 [2] 99 1, and to

4. Some post-exilic passages.

the latter we may join not only Ps. 22 3 [4],' but phrases in 1 S. 4 4 2 S. 6 2 1 Ch. 13 6 2 K. 19 15 (= Is. 37 16). All these passages are post-exilic.[1] In the first we read, 'He bowed the heavens and came down, and thick clouds were under his feet; he mounted the cherub and flew, he came swooping upon the wings of the wind.' That there is a mythical conception here is obvious, but it has grown very pale, and does not express much more than Ps. 104 3*b*. The conception agrees with that of Ezekiel; the cherub (only one is mentioned, but this does not exclude the existence of more) is in some sense the divine chariot, and has some relation to the storm-wind and the storm-clonds. The other psalm-passages appear at first sight to give a new conception of the cherubim, who are neither the guards of the 'mountain of God,' nor the chariot of the moving Deity, but the throne on which he is seated. It may be questioned, however, whether the phrase 'enthroned upon the cherubim' is not simply a condensed expression for 'seated on the throne which is guarded by the cherubim.' Both in the Psalter and in the narrative-books it is the heavenly throne of Yahwè which is meant, the throne from which (as is implied in Ps. 80 1 [2] 99 1 and 2 K. 19 15) he rules the universe and guides the destiny of the nations. That is the only change which has taken place in the conception of the cherubim; they have been definitely transferred to heaven, and, strictly speaking, their occupation as bearers of the Deity should have gone, for the 'angels' are sufficient links between God and the world of men Or rather there is yet another point in which the cherub idea has been modified; it is indicated in Ps. 22 3 (4) where, if the text is correct,[2] Yahwk is addressed as 'enthroned,' not upon the cherubim, but 'upon the praises of Israel.' The idea is that the cherubim in heaven have now the great new function of praising God, and that in the praiseful services of the temple, where God is certainly in some degree present, the congregation takes the place of the cherubim. This at any rate agrees with later beliefs, and may be illustrated by the direction in Ex. 25 20 (P) that the faces of the cherubim on the ark shall be 'towards the mercy-seat' (*kappōreth*). The meaning of the priestly theorist (for the description is imaginary, the ark having long ago disappeared) is, that the cherubim are a kind of higher angels who surround the earthly throne of Yahwè and contemplate and praise his glory. It is also stated that their faces are to be 'one to another,' and, if we add to this that they have to guard, not Yahwè, but the sacramental sign of his favour, we get three points in which the cherubim of the priestly writer are closely analogous to the seraphim of the vision of Isaiah (Is. 6).

We now come to the cherubim in the temple of Solomon. Carved figures of cherubim were prominent

5. Solomon's temple.

in the decoration of the walls and the doors, and two colossal cherubim stood in the *dĕbīr* or 'adytum,' where they 'formed a kind of daïs, one wing being horizontally stretched towards the lateral wall, whilst the other overshadowed the ark, a felicitous arrangement resulting in charming effects'[1] (see 1 K. 6 23-35). Obviously they are the guards of the sacred ark and its still more sacred contents. Cp TEMPLE.

There is no record of any myth which directly accounts for the temple-cherubim. But an old tradition

6. 'story.ise

said that after the first human pair had been driven out of the divine garden, Yahwè 'stationed at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and the blade of the whirling sword,'[2] and the function of these two allied but independent powers was 'to guard the way to the tree of life' (Gen. 3 24). Neither in this case, nor in the preceding one, is any account given of the physiognomy of the cherubim. In the height of the niythological period no such account was needed.

We see therefore that the most primitive Hebrew myth described the cherubim as beings of superhuman

7. Development.

power and devoid of human sympathies, whose office was to drive away intruders from the abode of God, or of the gods. Originally this abode was conceived of as a mountain, or as a garden on the lower slopes of a mountain, and as glittering with a many-coloured brightness. But when the range of the supreme god's power became wider, when from an earth-god he became also a heaven-god, the cherub too passed into a new phase; he became the divine chariot. We have no early authority for this view, but the age which produced the story of Elijah's ascent to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 K. 2 11) may be supposed to have known of fiery cherubs on which Yahwk rode. At a still later time, the cherubim, though still spoken of by certain writers, were no longer indispensable.[3] The forces of nature were alike Yahwè's guards and his ministers. Mythology became a subject of special learning, and its details acquired new meanings, and the cherub-myth passed into an entirely new phase.

There is much that is obscure about the form of the primitive Israelitish cherub. It was in the main a land-animal, but it had wings. That is all that we know, though a probable conjecture (see below) may lead us further. **As** to the meaning of the cherubim, they have been thought to represent the storm-clouds which sometimes hang around the mountain peaks, sometimes rush 'on the wings of the wind,' sending forth arrow-

1 In the three passages from S. and 1 Ch. the phrase יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים has been interpolated (cp ARK, § 1)

2 See Che., *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*, where the text of the deeply corrupt verse is restored with some confidence.

1 Perrot and Chipiez, ***Art in Judæa*** 1 245.

2 The sword is not the sword of the cherubim hut that of Yahwè; it is the same with which he 'slew the dragon' (Is. 27 1). Marduk, *too*, has such a sword (see Smith. *Chald. Gen.* 86 ['80], and the illustration, opp. 114).

3 In Hab. 3 8 a very late poet speaks of Yahwè as riding, not upon a cherub, but upon horses. This is **a** return *to* **a** very old myth (see tablet 4 of the Babylonian Creation epic, **p.** 52, Zimmern's restoration in Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 411).

like flashes of lightning. This theory is consistent with the language of Ps. 18 9 *f.* Ez. 1 4 *f.* 24, and the passages in *Enoch.* but hardly explains the symbolism of the cherub in its earliest historically known forms. At any rate, we can affirm positively that the myth is of foreign origin. Lenormant thought that he had traced it to Babylonia,[1] on the ground that *kirūbu* occurs on a talisman as a synonym for *šidu*, a common term for the divine bull-guardian of temples and palaces. This theory however is not confirmed as regards the derivation of כְּרוּב (see *ZA* 1 68 *f.* ['86]). We may indeed admit that Ezekiel probably mingled the old Palestinian view of the cherub with the *analogous* Babylonian conception of the divine winged bulls. But, so far as can be seen at present, the early Hebrew cherub came nearer to the griffin, which was not divine, but the servant of the Deity, and the origin of which is now assigned to the Hittites of Syria.[2] The idea of this mythic form is the combination of parts of the two strongest animals of air and land—the lion and the eagle, and a reminiscence of this may perhaps be traced in the reference to these animals in Ez. 1 10. It was adopted by various nations, but to understand its true significance we must go, not to. Egypt nor to Greece, but to the Hittites, whose originality in the use of animal-forms is well known. The Hittite griffin appears almost always, in contrast to many Babylonian representations, not as a fierce beast of prey, but seated in calm dignity like an irresistible guardian of holy things. It is only on later Syrian monuments that the Sun-god is represented in a chariot[3] drawn by griffins, which agrees with a statement respecting the Indian sun-god in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* (348). The Egyptians imported this form, probably from Syria or Canaan at the beginning of the New Empire, but the griffin never acquired among them the religious significance of the Sphinx.[4] The Phœnicians, and probably the Canaanites, and through them the Israelites, evidently attached greater importance to the griffin or cherub, and it is said that among the discoveries at Zenjirli in N. Syria (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2) is a genuine representation of this mythic form as described in Ez. 41 18 *f.*[5] Whether the sculptured quadruped with a bearded human head, Assyrian in type, discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau in the subterranean quarries in the north of Jerusalem,[6] is rightly called a cherub seems very doubtful.

8. Origin.

For a general sketch of the different conceptions of winged composite animals, see B. Teloni, *ZA* 6 124-140 ['91], and cp Furtwängler's art. in Roscher, *Lex.*, cited already; also, for OT criticism, Vatke, *Die Rel. des AT*, 329-334 ['35]. T. K. C.

CHERUB (כְּרוּב; χαρουβ [Bא*A]), a town or district in Babylonia, unless Cherub-Addan-Immer should be taken as one name, Ezra 2 59 (χαρους [B]. χερουβ [AL]) = Neh. 7 61 (χερουβ [א^{a?c.a}A], αχ. [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 36 (χαρααθαλαν [B], χερουβιδαν [L], χαρα αθαλαρ [A]), where the former two of these names are run together (CHARAATHALAR, RV CHARAATHALAN) and the names are regarded as personal rather than as local.

CHESALON (כְּסָלוֹן; χασλων [B], -σαλ. [AL]), on the N. side of Mount Jearim, one of the places which in Joshua (15 10) mark the northern frontier of the tribe of Judah. It is the modern *Keslā*, 2087 ft. above sea-level, on a high ridge immediately to the S. of the Wādy Ghurab, and about half-way between Karyat el 'Enab (Robinson's Kiriath-jearim) and Eshū' (Eshtaol). (See Rob. *BR* 230 3 154.) In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who place it on the border, the one in Benjamin and the other in Judah, it was 'a very large village in the confines of Jerusalem' (OS, Χαλασων, *Chasalon*). Stanley (*SP* 496) fitly compares the name and situation with that of Chesulloth or CHISLOTH-TABOR (*q.v.*).

CHESED (כֶּשֶׂד, χασαδ [*D*], χασζαδ [A], χαζαθ [L]), son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. 22 22), the eponym of a branch of the Chaldæans. See ARAM, § 3, ARPHAXAD.

CHESIL (כְּסִיל), Josh. 15 30 = 19 4, BETHUL.

CHESNUT (עַרְמוֹן), Gen. 30 37, RV PLANE.

CHEST. 1. אֲרוֹן, in 2 K. 12 9 *f.* [10 *f.*] = 2 Ch. 24 8 *ff.*, used of a box with lid (דֶּלֶת, see DOOR) and hole (in) into which money might be dropped (γλωσσοκομος [BAL], θησαυρος [Jos. *Ant.* ix. 8 2]). The same word is used of a coffin (Gen. 50 26, see DEAD, § 1), and of the Ark of the Covenant (see ARK, and cp COFFER).

2. גִּנְזֵי בְרֹמִים, Ezek. 27 24, EV 'chests of rich apparel,' but though גנז (see TREASURE HOUSE), like θησαυρός (Mt. 2 11), might conceivably mean a repository for costly objects, yet the parallel expression 'mantles (not 'wrappings,' as RV) of blue and broidered work' shows that גנזי must mean 'garments,' or the like. ד and ז are so easily confounded that we need not hesitate to read בִּגְדֵי (Che.), rendering 'robes of variegated stuff.'[1] See EMBROIDERY, and cp DRESS, § 4.

CHESULLOTH (כְּסֻלּוֹת), Josh. 19 18. See CHISLOTH-TABOR.

CHETTIIM (χεττιειμ [AאV]), 1 Macc. 1 1 AV, RV CHITTIM. See KITTIM.

CHEZIB (כְּזִיב), Gen. 38 5†. See ACHZIB, 1.

CHIDON (כִּידֹן), 1 Ch. 13 9. See NACHON.

CHIEF, CHIEFTAIN. The former, like 'captain,' is often used in AV as a substantive with a convenient vagueness to render various Heb. words (such as נָשִׂיא ,רֹאשׁ ,פִּנָּה ,קָצִין) which appear to be used in a more or less general sense.

For 'chief ruler' or 'chief minister' (2 S. 8 18 20 26 1 Ch. 5 2) cp PRIEST and PRINCE; for 'chief man' (πρῶτος Acts 28 7), see MELITA; and for 'chief of Asia,' (Acts 19 31) see ASIARCH.

CHIEFTAIN occurs only in Zech. 9 7 12 5*f*: RV for אַלּוּף, for which see DUKE.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE. See DANIEL, §§ 19, 22.

CHILEAB (כִּלְאָב, § 4), son of David (2 *S.* 3 3). In 1 Ch. 3 1 he is called DANIEL (*q.v.* 4).

CHILIARCH (χιλιαρχος [Ti. WH]), Rev. 19 18 RV^{mg}. See ARMY, § 10.

CHILION (כִּלְיוֹן; § 74, χελλαιων [L]), and MAHLON (מַחְלוֹן, μααλων [BAL], § 74), 'sickness' and 'wasting,' the names given to the sons of Naomi in the narrative of Ruth (Ruth 1 2 κελαιων [B], χελεων [A]; *v.* 5 χελαιων [B], χελεων [A]; 4 9 χελαιων [B], χαιλεων [A]).

CHILMAD (כִּלְמַד, χαρμαν [BAQ]), Ez. 27 23, MT, usually supposed to be a place or land not far from Assyria. If this be correct, it must at any rate be some fairly well-known place or land. But no name resembling Chilmad occurs anywhere else, and, as two

1 See Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 112 *ff.*; Schrader, *COT* 140; Frd. Del. *Par.* 153; Che. *Is.*(5) 2 297 *f.* Delitzsch, however, still holds to a connection between כְּרוּב and Ass. *kurūbu* (?) = *karūbu* 'mighty' (*Ass. HWB*, 352). Sayce compares the quasi-human winged figures represented on Assyrian walls as fertilising the 'tree of life,' the date-palm (*Crit. Mon.* 102; cp Tylor, *PSBA*, 12 383 *ff.* [1889-90]).

2 Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. ii., art. 'Gryps.'

3 Rakūb'el (D. H. Müller) or perhaps Rekab'el or Rakkāb'el (*G.* Hoffmann) is one of the gods of the Syrian district of Ya'di (Zenjirli inscriptions). *G.* Hoffmann explains Rekah'el 'charioteer of El' (*ZA*, 11 ['96], 252).

4 Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* Bd. ii. (*ut sup.*); cp Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 434 *f.*

5 See *ZA* 9 420 *f.* ['94].

6 *Rev. crit.*, 16 Mai, 1892.

1 Cp Ass. *burrumu*, 'variegated cloth' (Muss-Arnolt).

corruptions of the text have already been found in this verse (CANNEH, SHEBA, iii.), we may presume a third. Read with Targ. 'and Media' (ומדי). Less probably Grätz, 'Babylon and Media' (בבל ומדי); Mez and Bertholet, 'all Media' (כל־מדי). כל should be disregarded. It came from ה; the scribe began to write רכל too soon. ר fell out owing to the ר which precedes; restore ו. T. K. C.

CHIMHAM (כִּמְהָם, §§ 66, 77, or [2 S. 19 41] כִּמְהָן,[1] or [Jer. 41 17 Kt.] כִּמוֹהָם—*i.e.*, if the text is right, 'blind' [cp ܟܡܗ, *cæcus fuit*, and note Nestle's view on the Aramæan origin of BARZILLAI]; χαμααμ [B], χαναάν [A], αχιμααμ [L], αχιμανος, Jos. *Ant.* vii.11 4; in Jer. 41 17 -χαμαα [B], -χαμα [K], -χαμααμ [AQ"]), one of the sons of the Gileadite Barzillai, in whose stead he entered the service of David (2 S. 19 37 [38] *f.* χααμ [B*] 40 [41]). Most probably his real name was Ahinoam (אחינעם); note the ו in Jer.'s form, the ן in 2 S., the Gr. forms with αχι and ν, and the Egyptian form (? see below) with n-ma (Che.). Following Ew. (*Hist.* 3 216), Deans Stanley and Plumptre have supposed that he carried on the family tradition of hospitality by erecting at Bethlehem a khan or hospice for travellers (see Jer. 41 17, גֵּרוּת כִּמְהָם, RV^mg. 'lodging-place of Chimham'). This view, however, is based on the faulty reading גֵּרוּת. This should be corrected into גִּדְרוֹת, which is the reading of Jos. (see *Ant.* x. 9 5), of Aq., and of the Hexaplar Syriac (see Field), and has been adopted by Hitzig and Giesebrecht. In the text represented by 𝔊 [see Swete] the ר in נדרות had become a ב. Gidroth-chimham—*i.e.*, 'the hurdles, or sheep-pens, of Chimham'—seems a probable name for a locality in a pastoral district. 'Chimham' (or Ahinoam?) is appended to distinguish this Gederoth from other places of the same name. It is just possible that the family of Chimham or Ahinoam had property there. Among the names of the places in Palestine conquered by Seti I. we find Ha(?)-ma-he-mu, 'the city of Ḳaduru in He(?)-n-mā,' which may *possibly* belong to the same place (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 193, 202),—*viz.*, Gidroth-chimham (Sayce, *Pat. Pal* 157), or rather Gidroth-ahinoam. T. K. C.—S. A. C.

CHIMNEY (אֲרֻבָּה), Hos. 13 3. See COAL, § 3, LATTICE, § 2 (1).

CHINNERETH (כִּנֶּרֶת, in Josh. 13 27 χενερεθ [B], χενερωθ [AL]; 19 35, κενερεθ [B], χεν. [L], χενεροθ [A]; in Dt., מִכִּנֶּרֶת, 'from Chinnereth'; μαχαναρεθ [B], απο μαχενερ. [AF], απο χ. [L]), the name of one of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19 35). Possibly it is also referred to in 1 K. 15 20, where we should perhaps read 'and Abel-beth-maacah, and Chinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali.'[2] It is of great antiquity, for it occurs under the form *Rn-nu-m-tu* in the list of places conquered by Thotmes III., n. 34 (*RP*[(2)] 5 45; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 84). It is also given (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake (Nu. 34 11 [χεναρα BF, -ερεθ AL] Josh. 13 27); (2) to the same inland 'sea' without that prefix (Dt. 3 17, cp Josh. 11 2 and see below). The site of the town can no longer be identified.

Jerome identified it with Tiberias (*OS* 112 29); some rabbins with a town at the S. of the lake called Beth-jerach (probably the Tarichæa of Josephus). Others included Sanbari (the Sennabris of Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 7) under the designation; a third extended the application of the name to Beth-shean (*Ber. rabba*, par. 98, Wunsche). This vagueness sufficiently shows that nothing was known as to the site of the ancient town. Cp Neubauer, *Géog. Talm.*, 214 *f.*

On the derivation of Chinnereth, see GENNESARET. T. K. C.

[1] The Kt. reading כִּמוֹהָם, Jer. 41 17, may safely be disregarded.

[2] ואת כנרת ואת כל־ארץ נפתלי. ni in MT's כנרות may conceal nul. 𝔊, in 2 Ch. 16 14, however, presupposes כִּכְּרוֹת נפתלי (τὰς περιχώρους; see Ki., *SBOT*).

CHINNEROTH ([Gins.] כִּנְּרוֹת or [Bä.] כִּנֲּרוֹת, the '*pluralis extensivus*' of CHINNERETH) is the name applied (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake in Josh. 12 3 (χενερεθ [BFL], χενν. [A]), (2), without this prefix (cp Dt. 3 17), to the same lake in Josh. 11 2 (κενερωθ [B], χενερεθθι [A], -εθ [FL]), (3), in the spelling CINNEROTH (AV only), to a district (?) in Naphtali laid waste by Benhadad king of Damascus (1 K. 15 20, χενερεθ [AL], χεζραθ [B]). See CITY, § 2 (*f.*), n. The second and third passages need a brief comment. In 1 K. 15 20, Ewald (*Hist.* 2 290, n. 6) explains 'all Chinneroth' to mean the W. shore of Lake Merom and the Sea of Galilee and of that part of the Jordan which flows between those lakes; Thenius, the basin which extends from Lake Merom to the upper point of the Sea of Galilee. Such a large extent of meaning, however, is improbable. Unless we adopt the correction suggested above (CHINNERETH) it is best to suppose Chinneroth to mean here the shores (or the W. or E. shore alone) of that famous lake. In support of this explanation, the second passage mentioned above (Josh. 11 2) may be appealed to.

The text, however, is not quite correct. The rendering 'in the Arabah south of Chinneroth' (RV) can hardly be defended. The difficulty lies in נֶגֶב, for which it is better with Di. to read נֶגֶד (𝔊^BAFL ἀπέναντι); we shall then get the phrase 'in the Arabah over against Chinneroth.' This may be a designation of the fertile plain called *el-Ghuweir*, the GENNESARET of the Synoptic Gospels, in which the town of Chinnereth was presumably situated. Cp GENNESARET, and JUDAH UPON JORDAN.

CHIOS (χιος [Ti. WH]: *Chius*), the beautiful and fruitful *Scio*, the central member of the triad of large islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. It has little connection with biblical history, but the solitary mention of it (Acts 20 15) very clearly indicates its geographical position. Paul returning from Macedonia, to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, touched at Mitylene in Lesbos; next day he was 'over against' Chios (κατηντήσαμεν ἄντικρυς Χίου); probably somewhere about Cape Argennum. mod. *Asprokavo*, which was a place of anchorage (Polyb. 16 8). On the third day at Samos. The ship evidently anchored each night and sailed with the early morning breeze, which prevails generally in the Ægean during the summer, blowing from the N. and dying away in the afternoon. The run from Mitylene to Chios is something over 50 m. Herod's voyage as related in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 2, in the reverse direction, illustrates the apostle's journey.

Strabo describes the town as having a good harbour with anchorage for eighty ships (645). Paul possibly lay becalmed in the channel (about 7 m. wide), and may not have landed. The island was noted for its wines (Strabo, 645, 657). W. J. W.

CRISLEU, RV Chislev (כִּסְלֵו), in Assyr. Kisilivu, cp *KAT*[(2)] 380, in Palm. כסלול De Vog. *Syr. Cent.* nos. 24, 75): Zech. 7 1 χασελευ [ABΓ^a], -σιλ. [ℵ^1?c.a c.b], -σλ. [Γ*], ρασιλευ or γασ. [ℵ*]); Neh. 1 1; σεχεηλου [B], -χενλ. [B*^vid.], -χεηλ [ℵ*], χεσελευ [ℵ^c.a mg.], χασεηλου [A], χασαλευ [L]). AV has CASLEU in 1 Macc. 1 54 4 52 (χασελευ [Aℵ^c.a V], -σαλ. [ℵ*], but χασελεου [A in 4 52]). See MONTH, § 5.

CHISLON (כִּסְלוֹן 'confidence'? χασλων [BAFL]), the father of Elidad (Nu. 34 21).

CHISLOTH-TABOR (כִּסְלֹת־תָּבוֹר; § 99 'loins' or 'flanks' of Tabor; cp Aznoth-tabor, 'ears' or 'peaks of Tabor; χασελωθαιθ [B], -σαλωθ Βαθωρ [A], -σελλαθ, θαβωρ [L]), Josh 19 12 or in *v.* 18 CHESULLOTH (כְּסֻלּוֹת; χασαλωθ [B], αχασελ. [AL]), lay on the border between Zebulun (Josh. 19 12) and Issachar (*v.* 18). It is the Xaloth (Ξαλωθ) of Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 1 *Vit.* 44), the *Chasalus* or Χασελους of Eusebius and Jerome—described by them as a small village on the plain below Mount Tabor, 8 R. m. from Diocæsarea or Sepphoris (*OS*[(2)] 91 4 94 25 223 59). It is represented by the modern *Iksāl*, 460 ft. above sea level, 7 m. SW. from Sepphoris, 5½ m. N. from Shunem,

and nearly **3** m. W. from the base of Mount Tabor. The name has been suggested as an emendation for Μαισαλωθ or Μεσσαλωθ in 1 Macc. 9 2 and of Chellus in Judith 1 9 (see CHELLUS). The position of the place on the main road N., in the pass between Tabor and the hills of Nazareth, explains its strategical value, as witnessed in its various appearances in history.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ), Josh. 15 40 RV, **AV** KITHLISH.

CHITTIM (כִּתִּים), Is. 23 1 AV, etc.; Gen. 10 4 KITTIM (*q.v.*).

CHIUN (כִּיּוּן) and **SICCUTH** (סִכּוּת), Am. 5 26 RV, 'Yea, ye [O house of Israel] have borne Siccuth your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god.' AV, RV^mg. differ by rendering סכות, 'the tabernacle (of).'

1. Identification. These words have long been a puzzle to scholars. The primary question is, whether they should be considered appellatives or proper nouns. The problem is ancient, as appears from the phenomena of the versions (see below, § 2). Into the syntactical and exegetical difficulties of *v. 26*, taken with its context, we cannot here enter; our object is to consider the explanation of the above-mentioned words offered by Schrader (*St. Kr.* 324 *ff.* ['74], and *COT* 2 141 *f.*), which, though widely accepted, fails to satisfy some good critics. According to Schrader's theory סִכּוּת is to be pointed סַכּוּת and כִּיּוּן כֵּיוָן, the former representing the divine name Sakkut, the latter Kaiwān. Oppert had already recognised in Chiun the Babylonian Kaiwān, and this identification may be regarded as almost certain. The word is of frequent occurrence in Babylonian mythological and religious texts as the name of the planet Saturn. It is of uncertain meaning and etymology.

Other Semitic peoples have preserved the same name, probably as loan words, for Saturn is called by the Mandæans כיואן, by the Syrians ܟܐܘܢ, and by the Persians *Kaiwān* (for references to the occurrence of the word in Babylonian texts, see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 111 *ff.*).

The name Siccuth presents much greater difficulties. Schrader has shown that the name Sak-kut, which is probably the same as the Siccuth of the text, is used in a Babylonian list as a name, or an ideographic writing, for the god Ninib (2 R. 57 40). Ninib, however, appears to be the god of the planet Kaiwanu or Saturn (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 136 *ff.*; Lotz, *Quæst. de hist. Sabbati*, 27 *ff.*). We seem, therefore, to be brought to the conclusion that Sakkuth and Kaiwan are the same (which would be still more clear if it could be shown with certainty that SAG-UŠ, 2 R. 32 no. **3** *l.* 25, might be read Sak-kut, as Oppert and Schrader believe). Not all the steps in the argument made to connect Sak-kut and Kaiwan are perfectly clear. Still, indirect confirmation of the correctness of the result has lately come to hand, the two words having been found together in a mythological text. In the Šurpu texts Sak-kut and Kaiwānu are invoked together (**4** R. 52 col. **4** *l.* 9; cp Zimmern, *Beit. zur Kenntniss der Bab. Rel.*, *1896*, p. *10 l.* 179). In this text at least the two words Sak-kut and Kaiwan appear together as they do in Amos.

[Not improbably, according to Che., there is **a** reference to Saccuth-Kaiwān in 2 K. 17 30 (see SUCCOTH-BENOTH) and another to Kaiwan in **a** passage of Ezekiel. 'The image of jealousy' in Ezek. **8** 3 5 is not a possible title; קִנְאָה seems to be a corruption of כיואן. The word for 'image' is סֶמֶל; it was probably a statue of Kaiwan which Ezekiel saw (in ecstasy) 'northward of the altar gate' in the outer court of the temple, unless indeed סמל (IDOL, § 1c.) should rather be לַמַּס—*i.e.*, *lamassu*, one of the names for the colossal winged bulls which guarded the entrances of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces and temples (cp Ezek. **8** 3 5 where, however, read בַּמָּבֹא, 'at the entrance' with **Gra.** for בכאה). At any rate, we now seem to know the period to which the interpolation of Am. 5 26 refers (see further Che., *Exp. Times*, 10 142, Dec. '98)].

The connection of Siccuth and Chiun with the Babylonian name and the ideographic value for the planet Saturn agree well with their juxtaposition in Am. 5 26, and if כוכב אל' and צלמיכם are transposed, the verse becomes at least intelligible (see Schr. *ib.*, and cp Orelli, *ad loc.*).

2. Text. The phenomena of 𝔊's text, however, and also those of the MT, suggest the inference that there may be a more deeply-seated corruption (see AMOS, § *13*).

[For the סכות of Heb. text 𝔊^BAQ Symm. give τὴν σκηνήν—*i.e.*, סֻכַּת (cp Acts 7 43), Pesh. ܡܫܟܢܗ, **Aq.** συσκιασμούς, Theod. τὴν ὅρασιν, Vg. *tabernaculum*, Tg. (Lag.) סיכות, which confirms MT. For כיון (Heb. text and Tg.), **Aq.** and Symm. have χιοῦν, Theod. ἀμαύρωσιν Vg. *imaginem* (for 𝔊 see REMPHAN). The pointing of MT seems to be suggested by that of שִׁקּוּץ, 'abomination' = 'idol'; cp גִּלּוּל. For references to recent critics see AMOS, § 13, and **cp** Che., *Exp.* Jan. **1897**, pp. **42-44.**]

R. W. R.

CHLOE (χλοη [Ti. WH]), a woman of whom nothing is known, save that 'they of Chloe' (οι χλοης) were the first to let Paul know at Ephesus of the division which had arisen in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1 11).

Whether she belonged to Ephesus or to Corinth, who the members of her household were, whether even she was a Christian or not, are questions on all of which only conjectures can be offered. It is possible, but hardly probable, that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. 16 17 *f.*) may have been servants of Chloe.

CHOBA (χωβα [BA], χαβα (ℵ), ܟܘܒܐ [Lag.], ܟܘܒܐ [Walton]), called in Judith 15 4 *f.* **Chobai** (χωβαι [Bℵ^c.aA], χωβα [ℵ*], in 15 5 χωβα [BRA], ܟܘܒܐ [Lag.]), is mentioned in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes (Judith 4 4). Reland (p. *721*) proposed the *Coabis* of the Tab. Peut. near Jericho, a site that would agree with both the Greek and the Syriac of Judith **4** 4; and in connection with it Conder (*PEF Mem.* 2 231) points to the ruin *el-Mekhubby* and the cave *'Arāk el Khubby* on the Roman road 3 m. from *Ṭūbās* (see THEBEZ) and 11 from *Beisān*.

CHOENIX (χοινιξ; in Ezek. 45 10 *f.* 𝔊^BAQ for BATH), a measure of capacity Rev. 6 6 RV^mg. (EV 'measure'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CHOIR. The subject of the hereditary choirs, or better, guilds of singers is considered elsewhere (see PSALMS).

1. Members. We content ourselves here with the Talmudic statements relative to the Temple choir in the narrower sense of the word, postponing, however, the question of choral psalms. The Talmud affirms that the choir in the Second Temple consisted of not less than twelve adult Levites, nine of whom played on the instrument called the Kinnor (lyre?), two on the Nebel (lute?), while the remaining one beat the ṣelṣĕlīm (cymbals). This number might, however, be exceeded on the occasion of festivals (Mish. *Erach.* 2 3-5). No statement is made as to the number of the singers whom these musicians accompanied, from which Gratz infers that the instrumental and the vocal music were performed by the same persons. This seems to illustrate Ps. 92 1 [2] 3 [4] (Che.)—

> Good is it to give thanks to Yahwb
> To make melody to the name of thk Most High,
> To the sound of the horn and the lute,
> To the sweetly sounding notes **of** the lyre.

Certainly the most important duty of the choir of Levites was the service of song. The Talmud also states that boys' voices were called in to modify the deep bass of the men's voices. The choir-boys did not stand on the platform with the Levites, but lower down, so that their heads were on a level with the feet of the Levites. They were sons of persons of rank in Jerusalem (בני יקירי ירוש', Talm. *Erach. 136)*. See Gratz, *Psalmen*, 65 *f.*; Del., *Ps.* 26 *f.*, 372; and cp MUSIC, § 13 *f.*

The duty of the choir is briefly summed up in Neh. 12 24 2 Ch. 5 13. It is לְהַלֵּל וּלְהוֹדוֹת, *i.e.*, to raise the

2. Duty. strain of praise (Hallĕlū = praise ye) and thanksgiving (Hōdū = give ye thanks). See HALLEL, CONFESSION, § 3. The formula of 'thanks-

giving which served as a refrain in the later eucharistic songs was, 'For he is good, for his loving-kindness is for ever' (2 Ch. 5 13 7 3 6 Ezra 3 11 Jer. 33 11—the last passage has been expanded by a late writer—and cp the psalms beginning 'Give thanks unto Yahwè'). Were there any female singers in the temple choirs? From Neh. 7 67 Peritz infers that there were ('Women in the Ancient Hebrew Cult,' *JBL* 17 148 ['98]).

Strange to say, the word 'choirs' occurs but once and only in RVmg. Mattaniah (if this mg. is right) was {over the choirs' (MT הֻיְּדוֹת), Neh. 128. Del. (*Psalmen* 26), Ry., and Kau. (*HS*) however, give 'choir' as the rendering of תּוֹדָה in Neh. 12 31 where RV has 'companies that gave thanks.' This may be Accepted, but the mg. 'choirs' in 12 8 is but a confession of the great improbability of MT. Neither הֻיְּדוֹת nor הירות (which Ry. and Kön. prefer) can be naturally defended. Read עַל־הוֹדוֹת, 'over the thanksgiving' (Battch., Ol., Guthe). EV in Neh. 12 8, therefore, virtually corrects the text. 𝔊L ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομολογήσεων : 𝔊BℵA pointed הַיָּדוֹת (ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν). Cp Neh. 11 17, and see MATTANIAH, 2. T. K. C.

CHOLA (χωλα [B]), Judith 15 4 RV, AV COLA (*q.v.*).

CHOR-ASHAN, RV COR-ASHAN (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן), 1 S. 30 30. See ASHAN and BOR-ASHAN.

CHORAZIN (χοραζειν [Ti. WH] Mt. 11 21 Lk. 10 13 Eus. *OS*(2) 303 77 χωρ.). In these two passages Jesus calls woe upon Chorazin and Bethsaida (and immediately after on Capernaum) as towns in which his wonderful works have produced no effect. From his direct address to all three, they appear to have lain together within his sight. Jerome (*OS*(2) 114 7 Chorozain) places Chorazin 2 R.m. from Capernaum (Euseb. 12 R.m., but this seems a copyist's error). In his commentary on Is. 9 1 Jerome describes the town as on the shore of the lake—like Capernaum, Tiberias, and Bethsaida. From this Robinson (*BR* 3 359 *ff.*) argues for the site at Tell Ham. But about 1 m. N. of Tell Ḥūm, in a shallow wādy running from the Lake into the hills, there are black basalt ruins, including those of a large synagogue, with Corinthian columns, which bear the name *Kerazeh* (*PEF Mem.* 1 400-2). Now, Willibald (722) says that he went from Capernaum to Bethsaida, thence to Chorazin, and thence to the sources of the Jordan—a course which, in spite of what Robinson asserts, suits Kerazeh as it does not suit either Tell Hiim, or any other site on the Lake. Accordingly, most moderns, since Thomson discovered the site in **1857,** agree that Kerazeh is Chorazin, and take Jerome's statement as either vague or inaccurate. (Robinson thinks the name may have drifted from Tell Ḥūm to Ḳerāzeh.) Jesus calls Chorazin a city and treats it as comparable with Tyre and Sidon. The ruins are extensive, and there are traces of a paved road connecting the site with the great trunk road from Capernaum to Damascus.

The Bab. Talmud (*Menaḥoth* 85*a*) praises the wheat of Chorazin (כרזים cp Neuhauer, *Géog. Talm.* 220). In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (330 and 400 A.D.) the place was in ruins. Willibald found a Christian Church there. G. A. S.

CHORBE (χορβε [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 12 RV=Ezra 2 9 ZACCAI.

CHOSAMEUS (χοcαμαοc [B], -ομαιοc [A], ܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܚܫܡܘܢ [Syr.]), 1 Esd. 9 32. The name follows Simon (=Shimeon in ∥ Ezra 10 31), and hence may represent one of the three names in Ezra 1032 otherwise omitted in 1 Esd. Possibly in a poor MS only the final ך of Malluch and the third name Shemariah were legible, and out of these the scribe made Choshamiah (Ball, *Var. Apoc.*). Otherwise the name has arisen from Hashum (חָשׁוּם), *v.* 33; but the Syr. ܚܫܡܘܢ still remains a difficulty.

CHOZEBA, RV COZEBA (כֹּזֵבָה), 1 Ch. 4 22†. See ACHZIB, 1.

CHRIST (ο χριστος [Ti. WH]), Mt. 2 4. See MESSIAH, § 2, end.

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF. We can readily understand that the followers of Jesus confessed to the name of their Master whenever occasion arose. On the other hand, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the origin of the name Χριστιανός as a specific designation are obscure. According to Acts 11 26 the matter seems a simple one; but, with this passage before us, it is remarkable how seldom the name occurs elsewhere in the records of early Christianity. In the NT the only other places where it is found are Acts **26 28** and 1 Pet. 4 16. It is certainly not alluded to in Acts 5 41; for 'the name' on account of which the apostles here suffer dishonour was, as we are expressly told in *v.* 40, the name of Jesus. This passage, accordingly, belongs to the same category as Mk. 9 37 41—where, besides, the words 'because ye are Christ's' after ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου (so Ti.) may be merely the explanatory marginal gloss of some early reader—and Mk. 13 13. In Ja. 2 7 also, the 'honourable name' by which the readers are called is not the name 'Christian,' but the name of Christ himself as their Lord; for the expression is to be explained in the same sense as Am. 9 12 ('the heathen, which are called by my name')—viz., by reference to 2 S. 12 28 ('lest . . . it be called after my name'). All passages of this class must here be left out of account, inasmuch as they do not presuppose the specific name 'Christian.' The name is presupposed, as far as the NT is concerned, only in Lk. 6 22 (τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν).

1. Infrequency.

Outside of the NT, according to the exhaustive researches of Lipsius,[1] the name does not occur in either of the epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; it is absent from Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, the Pseudo-*Clementine Homilies*, Tatian, and the *Cohortatio ad Græcos.* The Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions,* as also the Catholic Acts of Peter and Paul, have it only in a few passages of later insertion; so also with the Gnostic writings. As a word in regular use it makes its earliest appearances in the Apologists—Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minucins Felix—and in the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' in Ignatius, who uses also the word Χριστιανισμός, in the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' in the Catholic κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in the letter of the churches of Lugdūnum and Vienna (Eus. *HE* 5 1 *f.*), in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. To this list must be added the passage in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (12 4), discovered after the publication of Lipsius's essay

Lipsius, it is true, points out allusions to the existence of the name 'Christian' in older writings. As far as Hermas, however, is concerned, the only valid passage is *Sim.* ix. 17 4.

The phrase is ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖσθαι. Such expressions as τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορεῖν (ix. 13 2 *f.* 14 5 *f.* 16 3) or λαμβάνειν (ix. 13 7) or φέρειν (Polycarp, 6 3) do not necessarily presuppose the word Χριστιανός, and the simple phrase τὸ ὄνομα φορεῖν (*Sim.* ix. 13 2 *f.*), or πάσχειν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, or ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος (ix. 28 3 5; *Vis.* iii. 19 2 1), in several cases is clearly in juxtaposition to the words τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ or τοῦ κυρίου (*Sim.* ix. 13 3, 28 2-6; *Vis.* iii. 5 2).

Even 1 Clem. 14 3 *f.* cannot with certainly be taken in the sense which is so abundantly plain in Justin (*Apol.* 1 4): Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. This play upon words seems, besides, to be sufficiently explained by the consideration that χρηστός had at that time the same pronunciation as χριστός. Tertullian (*Ap.* 3; *Ad Nat.* 1 3), however, expressly says that the Gentiles *perperam* or *corrupte* pronounced it *Chrestiani*. Χρηστιανοί is the reading in all three NT passages of the uncorrected ℵ; it preponderates in the inscriptions; and Justin, according to Blass (*Hermes*, **1895**, pp. 465-470), associates this word with χρηστός in his *Apology* (i. 4 46 49; ii. 6, where, as he says, κεχρῆσθαι ought to be read), just as in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he associates it with χρίειν. Blass con-

[1] 'Ueber den Ursprung u. d. ältesten Gehrauch des Christennamens,' Gratulationsprogramm der theologischen Facultät Jena für Hase, **1873**, pp. 6-10.

jectures from this that the Pagans to whom the *Apology* is addressed had derived the wosds 'anointed, followers of the anointed,' which were mysterious to them, by a popular etymology from χρηστός; and Justin, for simplicity's sake, accepted the derivation without seeking to correct it.

We have thus seen that the name was left unused by a series of Christian writers at a time when it was already familiar to the younger Pliny (*Epist.* 10 96 [97]) in 112 A.D., to Tacitus (*Ann.* 15 44) in 116-117 A.D., and to Suetonius (*Nero*, 16) in 120 A.D. The plain fact is that they did not need it. For designating their community there lay at their command an ample variety of expressions,[1] such as 'brethren,' 'saints,' 'elect,' 'called,' 'that believed,' 'faithful,' 'disciples,' 'they that are in Christ,' 'they that are in the Lord,' 'they that are Christ's,' and ['any . . . of the way'?]. It follows that, notwithstanding its absence from their writings, the name of Christian may very well have originated at a comparatively, early time.

2. Possible early origin.

It can hardly, however, have been current at so early a date as that indicated in Acts 11 26.

The famine predicted at that time, according to Acts 11 28, occurred in Palestine between the years 44 and 48. (The belief that it extended over the whole of the habitable world is a mistake.) The prediction itself must, of course, have been earlier. Indeed, the expression 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' may be held to imply that it was made before the accession of that emperor—that is to say, before 47 A.D. With this it agrees that the death of Herod Agrippa I. (44 A.D.) is mentioned in the following chapter (12).

Some fifteen years later, or more, the claim to be 'of Christ' was made by a single party in Corinth (1 Cor. 1 12).

Presumably certain personal disciples of Jesus had first applied this designation to themselves, whilst denying to Paul the right to be so called, as also his right to the apostleship (2 Cor. 10 7). Paul, on the other hand, takes great pains to establish the right of all believers in Christ to the designation (1 Cor. 1 13 3 23; also 7 22 15 23 Rom. 8 1 Gal. 3 29 5 24).

Thus it can hardly have been already a current name.

As for Jesus himself, it is permissible to doubt whether he used in their present forms such expressions as we now find in Mk. 9 37 41 13 13—that is to say, with the emphasis upon his own name. The theory that he presupposes the currency of the name 'Christians' in Lk. 6 22 is absolutely excluded by the consideration that, ac'cording to the same gospel, he does not himself lay claim to the name of Christ till later (9 20), and even then wishes it to be kept secret, and further that, according to the same author (Acts 11 26), the name 'Christians' did not arise till a considerable time after his death.

All this makes it more than doubtful whether the writer had even here any trustworthy authority for assigning the occurrence to so early a date. His reason for doing so may have been simply that the founding of the first Gentile Christian church seemed to be the most likely occasion for its coming into use.

3. Used by and with Pagans.

The suddenness with which the name, 'Christian' becomes one of frequent occurrence in the writings of the apologists shows that the word first became necessary for Christians in their dealings with Pagans. In speaking to the latter, such periphrases as 'those of Christ' were found to be inadequate: a definite name was wanted. In fact, it is probable enough that the name came from the heathen themselves in the first instance. With such a view of its origin Acts 11 26 fits in very well. At all events, the name did not come from the Jews. These were still looking for their Messiah. By using a name which signified 'those of the Messiah,' they would by implication have justified the sect that regarded Jesus as such, and so have stultified themselves. Even Herod Agrippa II., notwithstanding his Greek training and the indifference towards his ancestral religion which this carried with it, could not have gone so far; moreover, he still held by Judaism to the extent at least that he insisted upon King Azizus of Emesa and King Polemo of Cilicia being circumcised before being allowed to marry his sisters Drusilla and Berenice (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7 1 3 [§§ 139, 145 *f.*]). If, accordingly, the saying attributed to him in Acts 26 28[1] is authentic, the name 'Christian' must by that time have become so thoroughly established that its etymological meaning was no longer thought of.

The whole scene. however, is in full accord with the tendency of Acts (see ACTS, § 51) to set forth Paul's innocence, and at the same time the truth of Christianity, as accepted by the Roman authorities; and this of course is more effectively done by the mouth of a Jew. An obvious parallel is the statement of Herod Antipas in the gospel by the same author (Lk. 23 6-15); but its historicity is open to grave suspicion, 'both in view of what we know of Herod's relations to John the Baptist and in view of the fact that the story is absent from the other gospels. Even if Paul's meeting with Herod Agrippa II. is historical, the word Χριστιανός may very easily have come into the narrative out of the author's own vocabulary. We are informed by the same writer (Acts 24 5) with much greater precision that 'sect of the Nazarenes' (αἵρεσις τῶν Ναζωραίων) was the name given by the Jews to the Christians, as we learn also from Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4 8) and Jerome (in Jes. ch. 5 18 *f.* 49 7 52 5). It was not till afterwards that the expression was restricted to a particular sect of Christians—a fact by which Epiphanius allowed himself to be misled. He tells us (*Hær.* 29 9) that the Jews, in their public prayers, which were offered three times daily in their synagogues, pronounced a solemn curse upon this sect—a curse which, as we learn from Justin (*Dial.* 16 and elsewhere), and indeed as we see from the nature of the case, applied rather to all Christians.[2] Its Hebrew name, Birkat-ha-Minim, shows that the Jews had still another name for the Christians—and this name could also be Græcised into Μιναῖοι.

4. Place of origin.

As for the place where the name Christian arose, the apparent Latin termination used to be thought to point to a western, indeed (Tac. *Ann.* 15 44) to a Roman, origin; but that it was there that the name first came into use is by no means said by Tacitus, whilst in such a word as Herodian, Ἡρῳδιανός (Mk. 3 6 and elsewhere), we have evidence that in the Greek-speaking domain this colloquial Latin formation of personal names (*e.g.*, Cæsariani), in incorrect imitation of forms like Pompeiani (where the *i* is part of the root), was not unknown. The ancient Greek grammarians recognise the termination -ανός for derivatives from town and country names, and even designate it specially as the τύπος Ἀσιανός, as being met with, not in Greece itself, but in Asia (Buttmann, *Ausf. Gr. Sprachlehre*, § 119 54; many examples in Lipsius, 13-16). In this matter, therefore, Acts 11 26 is not open to criticism (yet see above, § 2).

5. Pompeii inscription.

The time at which the name arose could not with assurance be placed earlier than 79 A.D., even if a certain inscription (which hisappeared soon after its discovery) at Pompeii, on the wall of a building (at first supposed to have been a Christian meeting-house), had actually contained the letters *HRISTIANI*.

This reading might very well have been a derivative from the tolerably frequent proper name Chrestus (see above, § 1); but, in point of fact, the reading is only a conjecture, and, according to Kiessling's original transcription (which is still extant), the word really was *ceristiræ*—whatever that may mean.

The architecture of the house shows it to have been an 'inn' (*caupona*), provided even with a *cella meretricia*, where, accordingly, it is hardly likely that Christian

[1] ἀδελφοί, ἅγιοι, ἐκλεκτοί, κλητοί, πιστεύοντες, πιστοί, μαθηταί, οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ, οἱ ὄντες ἐν κυρίῳ, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντες.

[1] The best-attested reading, ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι (unless we are to read, with TR, γενέσθαι or, with A, πείθῃ, or, to conjecture with Hort, πέποιθας (instead of με πείθεις) is perhaps mast easily explained as a Latinism: 'you are persuading me somewhat to act the part of a Christian' (*Christianum agere*; so Potwin, *Bibl. Sacr.* 1889, p. 562 *f.*).

[2] This solemn curse is said to have first taken shape at Jabneh in the time of Gamaliel ii. (80-117 A.D.).

meetings would have been held; in fact, the inscription, which begins with the words, 'Vina Nervii,' was probably an advertisement of wines.[1]

An answer to our question can, therefore, be hoped for only from examination of the history of the Christian persecutions. The character of these has been placed in an entirely new light by the proposition of Mommsen in 1885 (*Röm. Gesch.* 5520, n.), which has since then been more fully and elaborately developed by him in Sybel's *Hist. Ztschr.* **64** 389-429 ['90], and accepted by C. J. Neumann (*Der. röm. Staat a. d. Allgem. Kirche*, 1 16 ['90]) and by Ramsay (chap. 10, § 5)—that 'the persecution of the Christians was always similar to that of robbers.' On this view, every provincial governor had, without special instructions, the duty of seeking out and bringing to justice *latrones, sacrilegos, plagiarios* (kidnappers), and *fures* (*Dig.* i. 18 13 xlviii. 13 4), and for this end was invested, over and above his ordinary judicial attributes, with a very full power of magisterial coercion, which was not limited to definite offences, or to a regular form of process, or to any fixed scale of punishments. Only, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, banishment was forbidden, and the capital penalty was reserved for the judgment of the emperor.

6. Early persecutions.

i. *Legal* Status *of* Christians.—While actually throwing into still further obscurity the date of the origin of the Christian name, this discovery of Mommsen's (above, § 6) sheds much light upon the question of legal position. The points on which the scholars named, as well as others, are agreed are, briefly, these. Among the duties of a Roman citizen a fundamental place was held by that of worshipping the ancestral gods. By these in the earliest period were meant only those of the city of Rome; but subsequently those of Latium were included, and finally all those of Italy and Greece, as soon as they had been formally recognised by decree of the senate. Non-citizens were forbidden to proselytise to strange gods, but not to worship them, so far as this did not appear to be of danger to the state. The Christian religion, however, was held to be dangerous in this way, as denying the existence of the gods of the state. The Jewish religion was, strictly, under the same ban; and, therefore, circumcision was laid under severe penalties by Hadrian, and, as far as non-Jews were concerned, by Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus also. For themselves, however, the Jews, apart from the prohibition by Hadrian just mentioned, possessed religious freedom on the ground of special privileges conceded to them, particularly by Julius Caesar and Augustus, in accordance with the favoured position which they had enjoyed, long before the Roman rule, in Egypt and elsewhere in the East. These privileges included exemption from military service, which would have interfered with their strict observance of the sabbath, and exemption from the obligation to appear before the courts on that day. When Caesar, on account of suspected political activity, suppressed *cuncta collegia præter antiquitus constituta* (Suet. *Cæs.* 42), the Jews were expressly exempted. New corporations in the older (*i.e.*, senatorial) provinces required the sanction of the senate; in the imperial provinces still under military government that of the emperor himself was doubtless sufficient. It is probable that burial societies had a general sanction from the senate. Apart from these, however, there were many societies which had never obtained any special concession. They were left alone if they did not appear to be dangerous; but at any moment they could be suppressed by the police. In the cases of those which had been sanctioned by the senate, suppression was made lawful only by a new senatorial decree. Now, the Christians could never have obtained such a concession, for their religion did not belong to the class of permitted religions. In their case, accordingly, the well-known rule (*Dig.* xlvii. **22** 1) did not apply: ('permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coeant . . . sed) religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur.' They had, therefore, to hold their meetings simply on sufferance, and were never for a moment free from the risk of police interference. Still, they did not expose themselves to persecution or to death merely by holding unauthorised meetings. For such an offence these penalties were much too severe. When a *sodalitas* of this sort was broken up, unless its object had been in itself criminal, the members were subjected only to a mild punishment. In fact, they were allowed to divide among themselves the fnnds of the society, which were confiscated in the case of all capital offences. Persecution and capital punishment fell to the lot of the Christians, therefore, only because their religion was regarded as criminal. In the case of Roman citizens it implied a violation of the duty to worship the gods of the state; in the case of provincials who were not citizens, ἀθεότης as against the local gods of the place was in like manner implied. In a (legally) very lax sense they were accused of *sacrilegium*, which originally meant only theft of sacred objects. Over and above this, all Christian subjects were chargeable with the offence of refusing to worship the Emperor, an offence legally construed as majestas, or *crimen læsæ* majestatis—more precisely, as *majestatis* Imperatorum—the majestas *populi Romani* not being touched by this class of offences. Thus, either as sacrilege or as majestas, Christianity could at all times be prosecuted, and—certainly in the case of non-citizens, probably also in that of citizens—by the mere exercise of arbitrary coercive power. The penalties under either charge were, approximately, the same.

ii. *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan.*—Thus we gain a new light on the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan (see above, § 2). Let it be premised that by the *flagitia* (2), as may be gathered from the allusion in the words *cibum promiscuum et innoxium* (7), were certainly intended the *epulæ Thyesteæ* and the *concubitus Oedipodei*, which, as we learn from Justin (*Apol.* 1 26 212) and other writers of the second century, were laid to the charge of the Christians. Acts 20 8 already appears to be intended to meet the familiar accusation. The story ran that before the beginning of these orgies all lights were put out. Pliny's question, then, whether the mere fact of being Christian (*nomen ipsum*), or whether only the crimes associated therewith ought to be punished, is, from what we have seen, already answered in the first sense, and is so decided by Trajan also. On the other hand, Trajan's injunction, *conquirendi non sunt*, with which also is to be associated his order to disregard anonymous letters of accusation, is an important mitigation of the law, as is his other direction that a Christian who formally renounces his Christianity by sacrificing to the images of the gods shall be exempt from punishment. Such a degree of favour could, from the nature of the case, never be shown to the robber or to the thief, with whom, nevertheless, the Christian is classed. Let it be noted, also, that Pliny had no difficulty in deciding on his own responsibility the earlier cases that came before him (2-4). His reference of the matter to the emperor was first occasioned by the largeness of the number of those who ultimately came to be denonnced, and by certain leanings, on grounds of policy, towards clemency (4 9 *f.*), to which Trajan gives his sanction by both of his decisions.

We must, therefore, no longer hold to the view that in this rescript (which, although originally intended

[1] So Victor Schultze, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 1881. pp. 125-130 and also, as regards the text, *CIL* 4679 ('71). The inscription ought not, therefore, to be relied on, as it is still relied on by Ramsay (*Church*(3) chap. 12, § 5, p. 268, and *St. Paul*, chap. 15, § 1, ed. 1896, p. 346).

only for Pliny, was shortly afterwards published, along with the whole correspondence, and taken as a norm by other provincial governors) the persecution of the Christians was now for the first time authorised. Accordingly, we must proceed to investigate such notices as we have of earlier persecutions, and especially to discuss the question whether in these cases the *nomen Christianum* was known to the authorities and constituted the ground of accusation.

iii. *Claudius.*—Of Claudius we are informed by Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) that *Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.* It is quite impossible, however, to determine whether by *Chrestos* (on the form of the name, see above, § 1) we are here to understand Jesus, the preaching of whom by Christians divided the Jews in Rome into two parties, or whether Suetonius conceived him to have been personally present in Rome, or whether we should take him to be a Jewish agitator of whom nothing further is known. Acts 18 2 is by no means decisive for the first or the second alternative, even if we are to suppose that Aquila and Prisca were already Christians when they came to Corinth.

iv. *Pomponia Græcina.*—Of Pomponia Græcina we learn from Tacitus (*Ann.* 13 32) only that in 57 A.D. she was accused *superstitionis externæ*, and that she was acquitted of the charge by her husband, the consular A. Plautius, before whom she had been brought for trial. At that time, however, the Jewish and Egyptian religions were regarded as foreign, just as much as the Christian, which has been supposed to be meant in her case (Tac. *Ann.* 2 85; Suet. *Tib.* 36). For full details see Hasenclever, *JPT*, 1882, pp. 47-64.

v. *Neronian* Persecution.—The notices we have of the Neronian persecution are very obscure.

Tacitus (*Ann.* 15 44) says: 'abolendo rumori (of having planned the burning of Rome) Nero subdidit reos et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat . . . primum correpti, qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio generis humani coniuncti sunt.' *Conjuncti* here could mean only that the *ingens multitudo* was added to the *primum correpti* (Ramsay, chap. 11, § 3); the reading *convicti* for *coniuncti* is a conjectural emendation almost universally adopted.

At the outset the only thing quite clear is that the Christians were from the first accused not as Christians, but as incendiaries. Otherwise Nero could not have been freed from the suspicion of being the guilty party. The Christians, however, were innocent (*subdidit*); and the ground on which they were condemned, accordingly, was not so much (*haud proinde*) the evidence that they had been incendiaries as the *odium generis humani.* By this expression there cannot be understood a hatred of which they were the objects: Roman society, which alone could be regarded as cherishing it, cannot possibly have been spoken of as *genus humanum* by Tacitus. Still, understood as cherished by the Christians, 'hatred of the human race' is no less an idea foreign to all legal conceptions, nor could it be supposed to represent another ground of accusation against them, over and above that of incendiarism.

Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalt.* 478, 2nd ed. 462; ET 2 143) and Ramsay (chap. 11, §§ 2 4) try indeed to make out that this actually was brought as a charge against them by referring to Suetonius (*Nero* 16): *afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*, holding that by *maleficium* witchcraft and poisoning are meant, and that it was precisely for these offences against society that the two punishments *bestiis objici* and *crucibus affigi* were threatened and (according to Tacitus) inflicted. These same punishments: however, were attached to many other crimes also. Suetonius says nothing about the conflagration as having occasioned the accusation against the Christians. In other words, he follows an entirely different account, and we are not justified in seeking to explain Tacitus by referring to Suetonius. The two authors agree only in believing that the occurrence in question was confined to Rome.

The main question, then, in the case of Tacitus, is as to what it was that the persons first accused made confession of (*fatebantur*). The answer seems to lie to our hand: *se incendium fecisse.* Such a confession may very well have been made by them, though innocent, under torture. As regards the *ingens multitudo* nothing more was required than merely some vague suspicions, or a few false witnesses, to whom the judges, on account of the commonly assumed general perversity of the Christians (their *odium generis humani*), were only too ready to give credence. There remains, therefore, a possibility that the religion of the accused did not come into question at all, and that Tacitus and Suetonius have, unhistorically, carried back the name *Christiani* from their own time into that of Nero. Were this not so, the reader, moreover, would expect to find in Tacitus a name indicating the characteristic attribute of those denoted by it; after *quos per flagitia invisos vulgus* one would expect not *Christianos* but some such expression as *flagitiarios appellabat.*

Another interpretation of *fatebantur* is not less possible. It is that at first only those who had already habitually confessed themselves in public to be Christians (*fatebantur se Christianos esse*) were apprehended, and that only afterwards, on the evidence obtained from these in the course of the legal proceedings, a great number (*ingens multitudo*) of those who had not hitherto made any such public profession shared the same fate. The Christians were laid hold of because it was hoped that popular belief would readily attribute the incendiarism to them. Although, on this supposition also, their religion constituted no ground of accusation, it was recognised as distinct from the Jewish; whereas if the other interpretation of *fatebantur* is adopted the Christians may have been regarded simply as Jews: Tacitus (*Hist.* 5 5) attributes *adversus omnes hostile odium* to the Jews also.

Clement of Rome further (i. 5 1-6 2) tells us only that the Christians suffered, without informing us why; and Paul's trial in Rome could throw light upon the question before us only if we knew what was its result. Gallio was not led by the accusation, as cited in Acts 18 13, to suppose that Paul taught a religion dangerous to the state. The representation, too (though not necessarily the fact), is open to suspicion on account of the 'tendency' observable in Acts (see ACTS, § 5 1). In a word, the little that we really know of the Neronian period does not enable us to come to a decision on the question as to the date and origin of the name 'Christian.'

Ramsay, however (chap. 11, §§ 2 6 f.), considers that in the second stage the Neronian persecution was permanent, otherwise than in the first stage. As the persecution is mentioned by Suetonius along with other measures of police which must have been of a permanent nature, he holds that it must have had the same character: in the second stage, of course, the persecution was not on account of incendiarism, but on account of alleged witchcraft and other *flagitia*. Tacitus, Ramsay believes, also gives proof of this permanence of the persecution under Nero when he says, *unde . . . miseratio oriebatur tanquam non utilitate publica sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur;* and Sulpicius Severus (ii. 29 3) is understood to speak to the same effect—hoc initio *in Christianos sæviri cœptum: post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat.* Immediately upon this, however (11 7 12 1; 3rd ed., pp. 244, 255), Ramsay explains that the word *post* refers to *other* emperors than Nero, and also concedes that the expressions *edicta* and *leges* are 'loosely and inaccurately' employed by Sulpicius. Further, the *unde* in Tacitus traces the *miseratio* to the horrors of the public celebration of the executions and Nero's personal participation in them—incidents which were, of course, not of constant recurrence. The argument based on the context in Suetonius is too precarious to rest history upon, even apart from the doubtful interpretation of *maleficæ*.

vi. *Titus and Vespasian.*—We read in Sulpicius Severus (ii. 30 6-8) that, in a council of war, Titus finally decided on the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem *quo plenius Judæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur: quippe has religiones licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen (ab) auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judæis exstitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram.* Now, even were we to reject, as a falsification of history from motives of complaisance, the very different statement of Josephus, an eye-witness (*BJ* vi. 4 3-7), that Titus wished the temple to be preserved, and were we to carry back the words of Sulpicius Severus to Tacitus,

whom he elsewhere always follows, we should still be a long way from having proved the account of Severus to be historical. It is in the highest degree improbable that Titus had such erroneous ideas as to the dependence of the Christians on the temple, while attributing to them such dangerous qualities and so great a degree of independence as apart from the Jews. Even Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 5539; ET *Provinces*, 2216 *f.*), on whose authority Ramsay relies, detects here traces at least of a Christian editor. Ramsay, however (chap. 121 *f.*), regarding the speech as a programme for treatment of Christians, holds it to be 'a historical document of the utmost importance,' and further assumes that the programme was actually carried out by Vespasian. For this he has not a word of proof to allege apart from the statement of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 15)—*neque cæde cujusquam unquam lætatus est el* (by the three last words he conjecturally fills a hiatus) *justis suppliciis illacrimavit etiam et* ingemnit—which, he considers, we are entitled to interpret as referring to processes against Christians. Were this the case, it would be natural at least to expect that these should have begun immediately after the destruction of the temple; but, according to Ramsay, they did not begin till towards the end of the reign of Vespasian. As far as the documents are concerned, this last hypothesis finds still less support than that of Vespasian's Christian persecution as a whole. All that can be said for the hypothesis is that it is requisite in order that, by the shortness of the persecution nnder Vespasian, the silence of Christian writers respecting them may be explained (see below, § 16).

vii. *Domitian.* —With regard to Domitian, Suetonius (*Dom.* 15) tells us that eight niunths before his death *Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemptissimæ inertiæ . . . repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso ejus consulatu interemit.* Cassius Dio (lxvii. 141 *f.*), according to the excerpt of the monk Xiphilinus, adds that at the same time his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was banished to the island of Pandataria: *ἐπήχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν.* Now, Christian legend, and in particular the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, speak of Flavius Clemens as Bishop of Rome, and of his father as, like the consular in Suetonius, related to the imperial family; the daughter of his sister (also called Flavia Domitilla) became involved in a Christian persecution, and was banished to Pontia (the island adjacent to Pandataria). This last statement is all the more important because Eusebius (*Chron.* ann. 2110, 2112 Abrah.: *HE* iii. 184) takes it from a heathen chronographer, Bruttius or Brettius, who wrote before 221 A.D. For further details see Lipsius, *Chronol. d. röm. Bischöfe*, 152-161. It is alike natural and difficult to assume that Clement and Domitilla represent each only one person, and that person a Christian. The charges in Cassius Dio, taken by themselves alone, show either that the question was one not of Christians but of Jews, or that Christians at that time still remained undistinguished from Jews. The view that they were Jews can hardly be maintained.

In the heathen writer Bruttius, Domitilla figures expressly as a Christian, and in all later Christian writings Domitian is represented as a violent persecutor of the faith (see, *e.g.*, Melito *ap.* Euseb. *HE* iv. 269). He is called by Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) *portio Neronis de crudelitate*; and, though the heathen Juvenal (437 *f.*), it is true, says something to the same effect, the Christian bases his accusation expressly upon the persecution of his brethren in the faith.

We are, then, left with the second interpretation of the words of Cassius Dio, that they relate to Christians. Ramsay's method of evading this (chap. 12, § 4) is surely forced—that in Dio's time (211-222 A.D.), it was 'a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters to ignore the existence of the Christians and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews.' Further, in the collection of temple money now a state-fax) from the Jews, accdrding to Suetonius *Dom.* 12), those also were taken account of *qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam* (or: *Judaicam idem similem viverent* vitam) vel *dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent.* As at that time the *Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*, it would be very remarkable if here we were not intended to understand both the Jewish Christians regarded as circumcised persons and the Gentile Christians regarded as proselytes. The Roman officers, we know from Suetonius, in cases where it was necessary, satisfied themselves as to the fact of circumcision by inspection. Even though greed may well have been a motive for conniving at the profession of the Christian religion, it is plain that the danger to the state presented by the Christians cannot have been taken very seriously. We are led to the same conclusion by the story (as far as it can be believed) of Hrgesippus (in Eus. *HE* 319 *f.*) that Domitian released the grandchildren of Jude, the brother of Jesus, as not being dangerous persons, although they confessed themselves to be not only descendants of David, but also Christians. It was not till the end of his reign that the persecution began.

viii. *Nerva.*—As far as the accusations under Domitian had reference to Christians they are covered by the regulations of Nerva (Cassius Dio, lxviii. 12, after Xiphilinus).

Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) and Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* iii. 20 5) erroneously attribute the regulations to Domitian himself. The text of Cassius Dio is: *τούς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε . . . τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὔτ' ἀσεβείας οὔτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου καταιτιᾶσθαί τινας συνεχώρησεν.*

The preceding discussion of the Christian persecutions makes it evident that the grounds upon which these

7. Result of discussion.

were conducted were by no means clearly set forth, and that (partly on this account, but mainly from want of information) we can hardly venture to suppose the persecutions to have been of so great frequency as we should have expected on the principles laid down by Momnisen and Ramsay. In particular, had they been so frequent, the hesitation of Pliny—or, at all events, that of Trajan—would be quite inexplicable. Ranisay's answer (chap. 10, § 6), that Trajan's words—*neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest*—refer to Pliny's doubt whether or not the question of age should be allowed to make a difference in the punishment, is quite inadmissible. *Neque enim* does not refer to the decision upon a matter which was still in question. It refers, in commendation, to a judgment which Pliny had already taken: *actum quem debuisti . . . secutus es.* Thus Ramsay's conjectures of some archive which Trajan caused to be searched for the decisions of his predecessors upon previous references by other procurators must also be rejected. Whatever the principles of the government, and however strongly they may have led, if rigidly interpreted, to unremitting search for and punishment of Christians once these had been definitely distinguished from Jews, they can have been carried into practice only in an intermittent way. In the conditions of privacy in which, as we know, the Christians carried out the exercises of their religion, no direct danger to the state can have manifested itself. In Pergamum Antipas was the only martyr (Rev. 213). Therefore, Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt* was a mitigation in principle, indeed, but not necessarily in practice. If only parties could be found to denounce, persecutions could be instituted, after Trajan's time, on a much greater scale than before under the influence of the stricter—but seldom used—principle of *conquirere.* Such, according to all documents, was in reality the case.

For the period before Trajan we know of persecutions only under Nero and Domitian. Tertullian, for example, was not aware of aiiy others (*Apol.* 5), and Melito in his Apology to Antoninus Pius (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 269) expressly says that only Nero and Domitian (*μόνοι πάντων Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός*) had given up the Christians to the slanders of denouncers. To the

same purpose we have the statement of Origen (*c. Cels.* 38) that ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφόδρα εὐαρίθμητοι . . . τεθνήκασιν; over against which the πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν spoken of by Clemens Romanus (i. 61) in the reign of Nero, and the *ingens multitudo* of Tacitus, must, of course, not he overlooked.

In view of such definite statements as these, it is not possible to explain the silence of our authors—especially that of Christian authors—on the persecutions which Ramsay infers to have been instituted under Vespasian and Titus, as being due only to the shortness of those reigns—or rather the shortness of the portions of them in which persecutions occurred (above, § 6, vi. end)—or *to* the fact that the Christians had no eyes for anything except the imminent end of the world (Ramsay, chap. 12, § 2).

Ramsay, it is true, finds support by assigning 1 Pet. to about the year 80 A.D.—that is to say, the reign of Titus (chap. 13 1-3)—or to 75-79 A.D., in the reign of Vespasian (*Expositor*, Oct. 1893, p. 286). He does so, however, on grounds the validity of which depends on that of his hypothesis.

8. Date of 1 Pet.

He shows with truth that the epistle presupposes accusations on account of the mere *nomen Christianum* (4 15 *f.*), and that it was composed at the beginning of a persecution (4 12 3 14 17 2 14). It has also been rightly urged that there is no reason for assigning it to the year 112 on the mere gronnd that then for the first time a persecution of Christians over the whole οἰκουμένη (5 9) became possible. On the other hand, before that date there had been no persecution which had touched or threatened the provinces named in 1 1 and gave cause to anticipate its extension over the whole habitable world.

When the contents of this letter are considered, no one who can be reached by critical considerations will unreservedly maintain its genuineness, containing as it does so little that is characteristic of Peter and so much that is reminiscent of Paul.

The presence in 1 1 7 of the words διασπορά and δοκίμιον, which here are superfluous and disturbing, and have their appropriate place only in Ja. 1 1 3, shows its dependence on that epistle, which in its turn depends not only on the Epistles of Paul but also on that to the Hebrews (11 31, cp Ja. 2 25). Dependence on James is shown also in 1 Pet. 5 5 *f.*, which is borrowed from Ja. 4 6 *f.* In the latter passage the οὖν is logical (θεοῦ 4 4 . . . θεῷ), and in the former, therefore, in like manner, the ἀλλήλοις of *v.* 5 should have been followed by some such expression as 'submit yourselves one to another,' if the writer had been following a natural and not a borrowed train of thought.

As for the word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος, the only satisfactory explanation of its use in 1 Pet. 4 15, to denote a criminal of the same class as φονεύς and κλέπτης, is that of Hilgenfeld, according to whom what is intended is the class of *delatores*, who made a trade of denunciation, which was first made criminal by Trajan (Plin. *Panegyr.* 34 *f.*). By ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοποι Ramsay understands people who stir up strife between members of the same family, or between servants and masters. This accusation could be very easily brought against Christians, as soon as they began to attempt conversions. Ramsay's assertion, however, that Nero gave power to the courts of justice thenceforward to regard such persons as magicians and to punish them as criminals (chap. 15 1), rests upon no documentary evidence: it proceeds solely upon his own interpretation of the *maleficæ* of Suetonius (above, § 6, v.). Nor has Ramsay made out (chap. 8, §§ 1 2, pp. 280 *f.* 290) that 1 Pet. presupposes search for Christians to have been made by the state.

Were this *so*, the epistle could, of course, have been written only either before Trajan's decision, *conquirendi non sunt*, or after the re-enactment of *conquirere* by Marcus Aurelius; but here again it has to be remarked that, if only there were denunciations enough—and Ramsay himself (chap. 10, § 2) is aware how readily these could at any time appear among the class of sellers of sacrificial animals (Pliny to Trajan, 10), or among people in the position of Demetrius (Acts 19 24-34), or of the masters of the damsel with the spirit of divination (16 16-19)—1 Pet. 3 15 5 8 become intelligible enough, even after the publication of Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt*.

We may still hold, therefore, that 1 Pet. was written in 112 A.D.

The one new thing we have learned is that, when 1 Pet. touches upon the subject of punishment for the mere name of Christian (4 16), it is describing not a new attitude of the authorities but one that they have been taking for some time. This very fact makes it impossible to use this passage as Ramsay does as fixing the date of the epistle for the transition period during which punishmeiit of Christians only for *flagitia* was giving place to a system of persecution for the mere name. Ramsay (chap. 13, § 1) argues that this last mode of persecution must have been new to the author, because at the same time his language constantly presupposes the continuance of the old state of things; but the exhortation in 4 15 that none should suffer as a flagitious person is not in any case out of place, even if *flagitia* had not thitherto been the only ground on which the punishment of Christians proceeded; against such *flagitia* Paul also constantly warns his readers (Gal. 5 19-21 1 Cor. 6 9 *f.* 2 Cor. 12 20 *f.* Rom. 13 1-13), and that at a time when there was no thought of Christian persecution. Further, the hope of being able by 'seemly behaviour' and 'good works' to convince the secular power of the injustice of persecution (1 Pet. 2 12 3 13 etc.) is one that Christians can never have wholly abandoned, and it found a reasonable justification in the plea of Pliny (27-10) for mild treatment of those who had been denounced. We can understand its persistence most easily on the assumption, as made above, that persecution was only then beginning.

9. Conclusion.

The very positions argued for by Mommsen (and accepted by Ramsay) make it clear that there never had been a period during which Christians, although recognised as a distinct religious society, were punished for *flagitia* merely, and not on account of the *nomen*. The strength of Mommsen's view lies precisely in this: that the name, as soon as it was known, also became punishable. According to Mommsen, we must also conclude, conversely, that where *flagitia* alone are punished the *nomen* is not yet known. Even for the time of Nero this argumentation would be conclusive, had he not wanted incendiaries. But if, as Ramsay says, Christians under Nero were already recognised as distinct from Jews, then *flagitia* other than fire-raising—as, for example, witchcraft—cannot, even in the second stage of the Neronian persecution (on the assumption of there having been such a stage at all), have been the sole ground on which condemnation proceeded. On the question as to the date at which Christianity first began to be recognised as a distinct religion we must confess ourselves completely at a loss. Only this much is certain: that it had come about before the time of Pliny's governorship. From what has been said above, the view of Neumann (and Lipsius) appears the most plausible: the view, namely, that the distinction first received recognition under Domitian, and, more precisely, in the last year of his reign. To this Weizsaclcer and others' object, with good reason, that it is highly improbable that Christians should have passed for Jews so long. The simple facts that they did not accept circumcision, and frequented, not the synagogues but meeting-places of their own, and moreover often came into conflict with the Jews, made the recognition of a distinction inevitable—especially as the Roman authorities, most notably in matters affecting societies, were wont to take careful cognisance of even the minutest trifles, and of course, in a formal investigation, had means readily at their disposal for eliciting every detail. If we had nothing but Suetonius's account of Nero to go upon, these considerations would certainly be held to be conclusive even for the time of Nero; but we have Tacitus, who makes us hesitate; and what is said about Domitian goes against Weizsäcker's conclusion. Christian sources give no hope of a decision. Ramsay's citation of 1 Pet. does not hold good; that of the Apocalypse

[1] *E.g.*, Keim, the only one besides Lipsius (and Carr, *Expos.*, June '98, pp. 456-463) who has *ex professo* taken up the question of the origin of the name of Christian (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1878, 1 171-181).

is worthless as long as the unity and the date of the book continue to he as questionable as they are; and the Pastoral Epistles are too doubtful. Moreover, it is not at all certain that they speak of *flagitia* as the ground of persecution, so as to necessitate their being assigned to the period of Nero, even if Ranisay's view is adopted as correct; for 2 Tim. 29 does not necessarily mean that Paul suffers *because* he is regarded as a κακοῦργος—it can just as well mean that he suffers the same penalties as those to which a κακοῦργος is liable, but that the cause of them is in his case his preaching of the gospel (ἐν ᾧ)—in other words, his Christianity. In like manner, it is quite as conceivable in 2 Tim. 312 that the *nomen* is the cause of the sufferings of all Christians as that *flagitia* are. As for the Third Gospel and Acts, according to what has been said above (§ 2), they show only that their author, about 100-130 A.D., was acquainted with the name, and knew nothing as to its origin that rendered it impossible for him to place its date ahout the year 40. All that the present discussion can be regarded as contributing towards the solution of the question is the conjecture that the Pagans, in as far as they knew the true character of Christianity at a time before that which we have definitely ascertained, hardly took any cognisance of it—on account of the infrequency with which it came under public notice. P. W. S.

CHRONICLER (מַזְכִּיר), 2 S. 816 2024, Is. 363, RVmg.; EV RECORDER (*q.v.*).

CHRONICLES (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים), 1 K. 1419. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 13*f.*

CHRONICLES, **BOOKS OF.** In the Hebrew canon Chronicles is a single book, entitled דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Events of the Times.*

1. Name. The full title would he סֵפֶר דברי הימים, *Book of Events of the Times;* and this again appears to have been a designation commonly applied to special histories in the more definite shape—*Events of the Times of King David*, or the like (1 Ch. 2724 Esth. 102 etc.). The Greek translators divided the long book into two, and adopted the title Παραλειπόμενα, *Things [often] omitted* [*scil.* in the other historical books; cod. A adds βασιλέων *respecting the kings* or τῶν Βασιλειῶν Ιουδα: see Bacher, *ZATW* 15305 *ff.* ('95)]. Jerome, following the sense of the Hebrew title, suggested the name of *Chronicŏn* instead of *Paralipomenōn primus et secundus.* Hence the English *Chronicles.*

The hook of Chronicles begins with Adam and ends abruptly in the middle of Cyrus's decree of restoration.

2. Connexion with Ezra-Nehemiah. The continuation of the narrative is found in the Book of Ezra, which begins by repeating 2 Ch. 3622*f.*, and filling up the fragment of the decree of Cyrus. A closer examination of chose parts of Ezra and Nehemiah which are not extracted word for word from earlier documents or original memoirs, leads to the conclusion that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was originally one work, displaying throughout the peculiarities of language and thought of a single editor (see § 3). Thus the fragmentary close of 2 Chronicles marks the disruption of a previously-existing continuity. In the gradual compilation of the canon the necessity for incorporating in the Holy Writings an account of the establishment of the post-exilic theocracy was felt, before it was thought desirable to supplement Samuel and Kings by adding a second history of the pre-exilic period. Hence Chronicles is the last book of the Hebrew Bible, following the hook of Ezra-Nehemiah, which properly is nothing else than its sequel.

Whilst the original unity of this series of histories can hardly he questioned, it will he more convenient in the present article to deal with Chronicles alone, reserving the relation of the several books for the article HISTORICAL LITERATURE (*q.v.*, § 14*f.*). The author used a different class of sources for the history of the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods respectively; and thus the critical questions affecting Chronicles are for the most part quite distinct from those which meet us in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. Besides, the identity of authorship cannot be conclusively demonstrated except by a comparison of results drawn from a separate consideration of each book.

Of the authorship of Chronicles we know only what can be determined hy internal evidence. The colour

3. Date. of the language stamps the hook as one of the latest in the OT (see § 11); hut it leads to no exact determination of dare. In 1 Ch. 297, which refers to the time of David, a sum of money is reckoned by *darics* (hit *see* DRAM), which certainly implies that the author wrote after that Persian coin had long been current in Judea. The chief passage appealed to by critics to fix the date, however, is 1 Ch. 319 *ff.*, where the descendants of Zerubbabel seen to be reckoned to six generations (so Ewald, Bertheau, etc.).

The passage is confused, and 𝔊 reads it so as to give as many as eleven generations (so Zunz, Nold., Knen. § 295; cp Kön. § 54 3*b*); whilst on the other hand those who plead for an early date are disposed to assume an interpolation or a corruption of the text, or to separate all that follows the name of Jesaiah in *v.* 21 from what precedes (Movers, Keil). It seems impossible, however, by any fair treatment of the text to obtain fewer than six generations, and this result agrees with the probability that Hattush (*v.* 22), who, on the interpretation which we prefer, belongs to the fourth generation from Zerubbabel, was a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 82).

Thus the Chronicler lived at least two generations after Ezra. With this it accords very well that in Nehemiah five generations of high priests are enumerated from Jeshua (1210*f.*), and that the last name is that of Jaddua, who, as we know from Josephus, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. That the Chronicler wrote after the period of the Persian supremacy was past has been argued by Ewald (*Hist.* 1173) and others, from the use of the title King of Persia (2 Ch. **3623**).

The official title of the Achæmenidæ was not 'King of Persia,' but 'the King, 'the Great King,' the 'King of Kings,'. the 'King of the Lands,' etc. (see RP(1) 1111 *ff.* 5151 *ff.* Y65 *ff.*); and the first of these expressions is that used by Ezra (727*f.* 81 etc.), Neh. (111 21 *ff.*), and other Jews writing under the Persian rule (Hag. 11 15 Zech. 71 Ezra 48 11 56*f.* etc.).

What seems to be certain and important for a right estimate of the book is that the author lived a considerable time after Ezra, probably indeed (Nold. Kuen.) after 300 B.C., and was entirely under the influence of the religious institutions of the new theocracy. This standpoint determined the nature of his interest in the early history of his people.

The true importance of Hebrew history had always centred in the fact that this petty nation was the people of

4. Character: its explanation. Yahwè, the spiritual God. The tragic interest which distinguishes the annals of Israel from the forgotten history of Moab or Damascus, lies wholly in that long contest which finally vindicated the reality of spiritual things and the supremacy of Yahwè's purpose, in the political ruin of the nation which was the faithless depositary of these sacred truths. After the fall of Jerusalem it was impossible to write the history of Israel's fortunes otherwise than in a spirit of religious pragmatism. Within the limits of the religious conception of the plan and purpose of the Hebrew history, however, more than one point of view might be taken up. The book of Kings looks upon the history in the spirit of the prophets—in that spirit which is still echoed by Zechariah (15*f.*): 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, could they live for ever? but my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers? so that they turned and said, Like as Yahwè of Hosts thought to do unto us . . . so hath he dealt with us.' Long before the Chronicler wrote, however, there had been a great change. The new Jerusalem of Ezra was organised as a municipality and a church, not as a nation. The centre of religious life was no longer the living prophetic word, but the ordinances of the Pentateuch and the liturgical service of the sanctuary. The religious vocation of Israel was no longer national,

but ecclesiastical or municipal, and the historical continuity of the nation was vividly realised only within the walls of Jerusalem and the courts of the temple, in the solemn assembly and stately ceremonial of a feast day.

These influences naturally operated most strongly on those who were officially attached to the sanctuary. To a Levite, even more than to other Jews, the history of Israel meant above all things the history of Jerusalem, of the temple, and of the temple ordinances. Now the author of Chronicles betrays on every page his essentially levitical habit of mind. It even seems possible, from a close attention to his descriptions of sacred ordinances, to conclude that his special interests are those of a common Levite rather than of a priest, and that of all levitical functions he is most partial to those of the singers, a member of whose guild Ewald conjectures him to have been.

To such a man the older delineation of the history of Israel, especially in Samuel and Kings, could not but appear to be deficient in some directions, whilst in other respects its narrative seemed superfluous or open to misunderstanding, as for example by recording, and that without condemnation, things inconsistent with the pentateuchal law. The history of the ordinances of worship holds a very small place in the older record. Jerusalem and the temple have not that central place in the Book of Kings which they occupied in the minds of the Jewish community in post-exilic times. Large sections of the old history are devoted to the religion and politics of the northern kingdom, which are altogether unintelligible and uninteresting when measured by a strictly levitical standard; and in general the whole problems and struggles of the earlier period turn on points which had ceased to be cardinal in the life of the new Jerusalem, which was no longer called upon to decide between the claims of the Word of Yahwè and the exigencies of political affairs and social customs, and which could not comprehend that men absorbed in deeper spiritual contests had no leisure for such things as the niceties of levitical legislation.

Thus there seemed to be room for a new history, which should confine itself to matters still interesting to the theocracy of Zion, keeping Jerusalem and the temple in the foreground, and developing the divine pragmatism of the history, with reference, not so much to the prophetic word as to the fixed legislation of the Pentateuch (especially the Priest's Code), so that the whole narrative might be made to teach that Israel's glory lies in the observance of the divine law and ritual.

I. *Outline of Chronicles.* The book falls naturally into three parts. 1. *Introductory resumé* (1 Ch. 1-9).—

5. Contents.

For the sake of systematic completeness the author begins with Adam, as is the custom with later Oriental writers. He bad nothing, however, to add to the Pentateuch, and the period from Moses to David contained little that served his purpose. He, therefore, contracts the early history (1 Ch. 1-9) into a series of genealogies,[1] which were doubtless by no means the least interesting part of his work at a time when every Israelite was concerned to prove the purity of his Hebrew descent (see Ezra 2 59 62, and cp **GENEALOGIES**, I. § **3**). The greatest space is allotted naturally to the tribes of JUDAH and LEVI (*qq.v.*) (2 3-4 23 6 [5 27-6 66]); but, except where the author derives his materials from the earlier historical books (as in 13 1-16 6 54-81), his lists are meagre and imperfect, and his data evidently fragmentary. Already, however, the circumstances and interests of the author betray themselves for even in these chapters his principal object is evidently to explain, in a manner consonant with the conceptions of his age, the origin of the ecclesiastical institutions of the post-exilic community.

Observe that 1 Ch. 9 2-17*a* is excerpted (with merely clerical differences) from Neh. 11 3*b*-19*a* (on the passage see **EZRA**, ii. § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*); and that the [s]tage to which the genealogies in 1 Ch. **3** 17-24 and 8 33-40 (cp 9 35-44, and see **BENJAMIN**, § 9) are carried, shows that their purpose is to give the pedigree of post-exilic families who traced their descent from David and Saul respectively. In ch. 2 We. (*De gent.*; cp more briefly *Prol.*(4) 6 *ff.* [ET *ib.*]) has shown that *vv.* 9 25-33 42-50*a*, forming the kernel of the chapter, relate to pre-exilic Judah, whilst *vv.* 10-17 21-24 **34-47** 50*b*-55 (like the greater part of 4 1-23) have reference to the circumstances of the post-exilic community; the chief aim of ch. 2 is to explain how the Calebites, who before the fall of Jerusalem had their home in the S. of Judah, had in post-exilic times to find new homes in the more northerly parts of Judah (see CALEB, § 3 *f.*).

2. *Israel before the schism* (1 Ch. 10-2 Ch. 11.—From the death of Saul (1 Ch. 10) the history becomes fuller and runs parallel with Samuel and Kings. The limitations of the author's interest in past times appear in the omission, among other particulars, of David's reign in Hebron, of the disorders in his family and the revolt of Absalom, of the circumstances of Solomon's accession, and of many details as to the wisdom and splendour of that sovereign as well as of his fall into idolatry.

3. *The Southern Kingdom* (2 Ch. 12-36)—In the later history the northern kingdom is quite neglected, and political affairs in Judah receive attention, not in proportion to their intrinsic importance, but according as they serve to exemplify God's help to the obedient and his chastisement of the rebellious. That the author is always unwilling to speak of the misfortunes of good rulers, is not to be ascribed with some critics to a deliberate suppression of truth, but shows that the book was throughout composed not in purely historical interests, but with a view to inculcate a single practical lesson.

II. *Additions to Kings.* 1. The more important additions which the Chronicler makes to the old narrative consists of (*a*) statistical lists (1 Ch. 12, see DAVID, § 11, iii.); (*b*) full details on points connected with the history of the sanctuary (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 15) and the great feasts (see FEASTS), or the archæology of the Levitical ministry (see LEVITES), 1 Ch. 13 15 16 (these three chapters expanded remarkably from 2 S. 6) 22-29 2 Ch. 29-31 35 1-17 etc.); and (c) narratives of victories and defeats, of sins and punishments, of obedience and its reward, which could be made to point a plain religious lesson in favour of faithful observance of the Law.

See the following passages:—2 Ch. 13 3-21 (Abijah), 14 9-15 (Zerah), 15 1-15 (Asa and the prophet Azariah), 16 7-10 (Asa and Hanani) **19** 1-3 (Jehoshaphat and the prophet Jehu), 20 Jehoshaphat and Moab, etc.), 21 11-17 (Jehoram), 25 5-10 12-16 (Amaziah) etc.

These narratives often include prophetical discourses, inculcating the same principle of the theocratic conditions of success and failure, with much uniformity of expression, and in a tone very different from that of the prophets who appear in Samuel or Kings.

2. Attention should be directed also to the *short insertions*, introduced often into the narratives excerpted from the older historical books, for the purpose of supplementing them at some point where they appeared to the author to need explanation or correction.

Such are the notes on ritual 1 Ch. 15 27*a* 28*b* (David); 2 Ch. 5 11*b*-13*a* 6 13 7 6 8 13-15 (Solomon); 23 6 8*b* 13 (*middle*) 18 (from כיר) 19 (deposition of Athaliah); **34** 9 ('the Levites') 12 (from 'and the') 13, etc.; the reflections in 1 Ch. 21 6 *f.* (Joab's census); 2 Ch. 8 11*b* (Solomon's wife's palace); 12 12 (Rehoboam humbling himself); 18 31*b* (Yahwè delivers Jehoshaphat); 22 3 8 46 (cause of Ahaziah's wickedness); 25 27*a* (to 'Yahwè,' cause of plot against Amaziah); 26 21 (*middle*) 23 (*middle*; consequences of Uzziah's leprosy); 27 6 (effects of Jotham's piety); 33 23 (character of Amon).

The minor variations of Chronicles from Samuel and Kings are analogous in principle to the larger additions and omissions, so that the whole work has a consistent and well-marked character, presenting the history in quite a different perspective from that of the old narrative.

Here, then, a critical question arises. Is the change of perspective wholly due to a different selection of items from authentic historical tradition?

6. Sources.

May we assume that everything which is new in Chronicles has been taken exactly from older

[1] See the articles on the several tribes.

sources, or must we judge that the standpoint of the author has not only governed the selection of facts, but also coloured the statement of them? Are all his novelties new data, or are some of them inferences of his own from the same data as lie before us in other books of the OT?

To answer these questions we must first inquire what were the materials at his command. The Chronicler makes frequent reference to earlier histories which he cites by a great variety of names.

1. The ***Book** of the Kings.*—That the names 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.' 'Book of the Kings of Israel,' and 'Affairs of the Kings of Israel' (2 Ch. 33 18, *Heb.*) refer to a single work is not disputed. Under one or other title this book is cited some ten times (1 Ch. 9 1 2 Ch. 16 11 25 26 27 7 28 26 33 18 35 27 36 8, also 20 34 32 32, noted below).

That it is not the canonical Kings is manifest from what is said of its contents.

It must have been quite an extensive work, for among other things it contained genealogical statistics (1 Ch. 9 1), *as* well as other particulars, not mentioned in the existing Book of Kings (see 2 Ch. 27 7 33 18 36 8); and it incorporated certain older writings of (or about) prophets—in particular the *Dĕbārīm* (*Words*, or rather ***Matters,* i.e.,** *History*) of Jehu ben Hanani (2 Ch. 20 34, where read with RV, 'which is inserted in') and the Vision of Isaiah (2 Ch. 32 32).

Now it is noticeable that, where the Chronicler does not cite this comprehensive work at the close of a king's reign, he generally refers to some special authority which bears the name of a *prophet* (1 Ch. 29 29, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; 2 Ch. 9 29, Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo; 12 15, Shemaiah and Iddo; 13 22, Iddo; 26 22, Isaiah). Never, however, are both the ***Book** of the* **Kings** and a special prophetic writing cited for the same reign. It is therefore highly probable that, in other cases as well as in those of Jehu and Isaiah (see above), the writings cited under the names of various prophets were known to the author only as parts of the great *Book of tile* Kings.

Even 2 Ch. 33 19 (cp *v.* 18), where **AV** departs from the received Hebrew text, hut probably expresses the correct reading [1] seems rather to confirm than to oppose this conclusion (which' is now disputed by very few scholars) except in the case of Isaiah's history of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26 22), where the form of the reference is different.

The references to these Dĕbārīm will thus not imply the existence of historical monographs written by the prophets with whose names they are connected; they will merely point to sections of the *Book of the* **Kings,** which embraced the history of particular prophets, and were hence familiarly cited under their names.

2. The *Midrash* ***of* the** *Book of the* Kings.—Whether the Book of the Icings is identical with the *Midrash* (RV, badly, *Commentary*) ***of* the** *Book of the Kings* (2 Ch. 24 27) is not certain. On the one hand, the peculiar title would suggest a distinct work; on the other hand, it is not apparent why, if (as-its title shows) it was a comprehensive work, dealing with the kings generally, it should be cited for only one reign. The term 'Midrash,'[2] moreover, from דָּרַשׁ *to search out, investigate,*—as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface,—denotes a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (such, for instance, as that of Tobit or Susannah); the Midrash here referred to will thus have been a work intended to develop the religious lessons deducible from the history of the kings. This, however, is just the guiding motive in many of the narratives, peculiar to Chronicles, for which the author cites as his authority the ***Book** of* ***the*** *Kings;* the last-named work, therefore, even if not identical with the *Midrash of the Book of the* Kings (as Ew. We. Kue. with much probability suppose), will nevertheless have been similar in character and tendency (cp below, § 9, end).

The *Midrash of the prophet Iddo* (2 Ch. 13 22) will have been either a particular section of the *Midi-ash of the Book of the Kings,* or, more probably, perhaps, a separate work of the same character, which was attributed to Iddo as its author, or in which the prophet Iddo played a prominent part. For allusions to other authorities, see 1 Ch. 5 17 23 27 27 24 2 Ch. 35 25.

3. Conclusion.—All these writings must have been post-exilic works; nor is it probable that, except for some of his statistical information, the Chronicler had access to any sources of early date other than the canonical histories of the OT. The style (see below, § 11) is conclusive evidence that no part of the additional matter[1] peculiar to Chronicles is an *excerpt* from any pre-exilic writing.

The general conclusion is that it is very doubtful whether the Chronicler used any historical work not accessible to us, with the exception of this lost *Book of* ***the*** *Kings.* Even his genealogical lists may have been derived from that work (1 Ch. 9 1), though for these he may also have had other materials at command.

4. Sources of the Canonical Kings.—Now we know that the two chief sources of the canonical hook of Kings were entitled *Annals* ['events of the times'] *of the* **Kings** *of Israel* and *Judah* respectively. That the lost source of the Chronicles was not independent of these works appears probable both from the nature of the case and from the close and often verbal parallelism between many sections of the two biblical narratives Whilst the canonical Book of Kings, however, had separate sources for the N. and the *S.* kingdoms, the source of Chronicles was a history of the two kingdoms combined, and so, no doubt, was a more recent work, in great measure extracted from the older annals. Still it contained also matter not derived from these works, for it is pretty clear from 2 K. 21 17 that the *Annals of the* **Kings** *of Judah* gave no account of Manasseh's repentance, which, according to 2 Ch. 33 18 *f.*, was narrated in the great ***Book** of the Kings of Israel.*

5. ***Dependence** of Chronicles on Kings.*—It was formerly the opinion of Bertheau, and other scholars (*e.g.*, Keil), that the parallelisms of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings are sufficiently explained by the ultimate common source from which both narratives drew. Most critics hold, however, that the Chronicler also drew directly from the canonical Samuel and Icings, as he unquestionably did from the Pentateuch. This opinion is probable in itself, as the earlier books of the OT cannot have been unknown to the author; and the critical analysis of the canonical Book of Kings shows that in some of the parallel passages the Chronicler uses words which were not taken from the annals but written by the author of Kings himself. In particular, Chronicles agrees with Kings in those short notes of the moral character of individual monarchs which can hardly be ascribed to a hand earlier than that of the final author of the latter book (cp *e.g.*, 2 Ch. 20 32 *f.* [Asa] with 1 K. 22 43; 24 2 [Joash], with 2 K. 12 3 [2] [Jehoash]; 25 1-4 [Amaziah], with 2 K. 14 2 *f.* 5 *f.*, etc.). It is of course possible, as Bertheau (xliv. *f.*) and Kuenen (§ 32 15) suppose, that the author of the chief source of Chronicles had already incorporated extracts from our canonical book of Kings; and in general the connections of the successive historical books which preceded the present canonical histories are sufficiently complex to make it unwise to indulge in positive assertions on a matter in which so many possibilities may be suggested.

[1] 'The Seers': so 𝔊, RVmg., Bertheau, Kuenen, Ball, Oettli, Kautzsch. Budde and Kittel read חוֹזָיו *his seers* (cp *v.* 18). Those who follow MT (as Ew. *Hist.* 1 184, Keil) find in *v.* 19 an unknown prophet Ḥozai (cp AVmg. RV).

[2] Though common in Rabbinical literature, it occurs otherwise in the OT only in 2 Ch. 13 22.

[1] Including the genealogies and statistical matter, which (in so far *as* they are not colourless lists of names) show unmistakable marks of the Chronicler's hand, and must therefore be regarded as his compilations: see, *e.g.*, the **late** expressions in 1 Ch. 2 30 4 21 22 33 38 39 42 5 1 2 etc.

7. Treatment of sources.

In[1] studying Chronicles a sharp distinction ought always to be drawn between the parts excerpted (without substantial alteration) from thk earlier canonical historical books and the aarts peculiar to the Chronicler. The recently published edition of Chronicles by Kittel (*SBOT*) in which such excerpts are coloured light red, will materially assist the reader in doing this.

The question arises, What is the historical value of the passages peculiar to Chronicles? After what has been said, it can hardly be doubtful that, except for some of his statistical information, his one genuine ancient source was the series of the 'Former Prophets,' Samuel and (more largely) Kings. The MSS of these books which he employed preserved occasionally a better reading than is found in the existing MT; but where he adds to the earlier narrative or departs from it, his variations are seldom such as to inspire confidence. In large measure these variations are due to his assumption, the validity of which he never questions, that the religious institutions of his own time must have existed in the same form in old Israel.

1. *High Places.*—Living in a time when high places were universally regarded as idolatrous, the Chronicler could not imagine that a good king had tolerated them.

Thus, whereas 1 K. 15 14 22 43 state that **Asa** and Jehoshaphat did not abolish the high places, the Chronicler (2 Ch. 14 5 17 6) says that they ***did*** abolish them.

2. ***Levitical*** Choirs.—Again, he assumes that the Levitical organisation of his own time, and especially the three choirs of singers, were established by David.

Had this really been the case, the silence of the older history would he inexplicable, indeed the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah shows that, even at the time of the return from Babylon, the system with which the Chronicler was familiar had not been elaborated, for the 'singers' there still form a separate class not yet incorporated with the Levites.

(*a*) The narrative in 2 S. 6 of the removal of the ark to Zion does not say a word respecting the presence of Levites upon the occasion. In 1 Ch. 13 15 *f.* this omission is made good: the Levites, including the singers, take a prominent part in the ceremony: the mishap of Uzzah is represented (15 13) as due to the fact that the ark had not at first been properly carried by the Levites, and **a** psalm composed of parts of three *post*-exilic psalms (105 1-15 96 1-13*a* 106 1 47 *f.*) is placed in David's mouth (16 8-36).

(*b*) In 1 K. 8 3 the ark is borne by priests (in accordance with Dt. 31 9, and **all** pre-exilic allusions); but in 2 Ch. 5 4 'Levites' is substituted for 'priests,' to bring the passage into conformity with the later Levitical law.

(*c*) In 2 K. 11 Jehoiada's assistants in the revolution which cost Athaliah her life, are the foreign body-guard, which we know to have been employed in the temple down to the time **of** Ezekiel (44 7); hut in 2 Ch. 23 the Carians (see CHERETHITES) and the foot-guards give place to the Levites, in accordance with the rule of the second temple, which did not allow aliens to approach so near to the holy things. 'Deliberate alterations' (Be.) are in consequence introduced throughout the narrative: and a new colouring is imparted to the whole occurrence.

(*d*) There are other incidental allusions, also, which show that the author is really describing institutions of a date later than the age to which he refers them. Thus (i.) not only do the gates mentioned in 1 Ch. 26 (under David) presuppose the existence of **a** temple, but also the Persian name PARBAR (*q.v.*), given to one of them (*v.* 18), shows that the writer is thinking of the post-exilic temple. (ii.) The allusions in 2 Ch. 13 11 (in the speech put into Abijah's month) to the golden candlestick and the evening burnt-offering, point also to the usage of the same age: in the pre-exilic temple the number of golden candlesticks was not one but ten (1 K. 7 49; see, however, CANDLESTICK, § 1), and the evening sacrifice of the pre-exilic temple was not a holocaust but **a** cereal oblation (מנחה: 1 K. 18 36 2 K. 16 15 **Ezra** 9 4).[2]

In his descriptions of pre-exilic solemnities, as in the speeches which he places in the mouth of pre-exilic characters, the Chronicler is unconsciously an unimpeachable witness to the religious usages and beliefs of his own time; it **is** inconsistent with sound historical principles to treat his testimony with regard to antiquity as of equal valne with that of the older and more nearly contemporary historical writings, where the two, whether directly or by legitimate inference, are at variance.

8. The Chronicler's theories.

Another principle traceable in the Chronicler's additions is the tendency not merely to lay stress upon the doctrine of divine retribution, but also to represent it as acting immediately (see especially below *[e]*). To the earlier prophets the retributive justice of God is manifest in the general course of the history—the fall of the Hebrew nation is the fruit of sin and rebellion against Yahwè's moral commands—but God's justice is mingled with long-suffering, and the prophets do not suppose that every sin is punished promptly, and that temporary good fortune is always the reward of righteousness. The aim of very many of the additions made in Chronicles to the old history, is to show that in Israel retribution followed immediately on good or bad conduct, especially on obedience or disobedience to prophetic warnings.

(*a*) In 1 K. 22 48 we read that Jehoshaphat built Tarshish-ships (*i.e.*, great merchant vessels) at Ezion-geber for the S. Arabian gold-trade; hut the ships were wrecked before starting. For this the Chronicler seeks a religious reason. As 1 **K.** proceeds to relate that, after the disaster, Ahaziah of Israel offered to join Jehoshaphat in a fresh enterprise and the latter declined, the narrative of 1 K. 22 48 is so altered in 2 Ch. 20 35 *f.* 37 6 as to represent the king of Israel as having been partner in the ships that were wrecked; whilst in *v.* 37*a* there is an addition stating that Jehoshaphat was warned by **a** prophet of the certain failure of an undertaking in which he was associated with the wicked Ahaziah.

(*b*) In 2 K. 3 we read of **a** war with Moab in which Jehoshaphat was associated with the wicked house of Ahab, and came offscathless. In Chronicles this war is entirely omitted and in its place we have (**2** Ch. **20**) **an** expedition of Jehoshaphk alone against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in which the Jewish king, having opened the campaign—with the assistance of the Levites—with suitable prayer and praise, has no further task than to spoil the dead of the enemv who have fallen bv one another's hands.

(c) Kings states simply as **a** fact that Shishak invaded Judah and carried off the treasures of the temple and palace: the Chronicler inserts between 1 K. 14 25 and 26 **a** notice explaining that this was because Rehoboam had forsaken Yahwè, but that, as he and his princes had humbled themselves, they should not he entirely destroyed (2 Ch. 12 2*b*-8; cp *v.* 12).

(*d*) In Kings, Asa, who according to 1 **K.** 15 14 was a good king all his days, had in his old age (*v.* 23) **a** disease in his feet. With the object, apparently, of accounting for this, the Chronicler explains (**2** Ch. 16 7-10; cp the addition in *v.* 12*b*[1]) that three years previously he had shown **a** distrustful spirit by contracting an alliance with Benhadad (which is mentioned in 1 K. 15 17-22, without any mark of disapproval on the part of the narrator). The singular dates in 2 Ch. 15 19 16 1 (which place Baasha's invasion at **a** period which, according to 1 K. 15 33 16 8, was ten years after his own death) are most naturally explained as **an** attempt to hring the fault sufficiently near the punishment.

(*e*) Similarly the misfortunes of Jehoash, Amaziah, and Azariah are explained by sins of which the older history knows nothing (2 Ch. 24 23 *f.* 25 14-16 20*b* 26 16-20);[2] and Pharaoh Necho himself is made **a** prophet, that the defeat and death of Josiah may be due to his rejection of **a** divine warning (2 Ch. 35 21 *f.*), whilst on the other hand, Manasseh, whose character as depicted in 2 K. 21 1-18 23 26 (cp 24 3 *f.* Jer. 15 4) is without **a** redeeming feature, is represented as a penitent (2 Ch. 33 12 *f.* 15 *f.*) in order, it would seem, to justify his long reign.[3]

All this is eniirely in the style of the Jewish 'Midrash'; it is not history, but 'Haggādā,' moralising romance attaching to historical names and events. The Chronicler himself, it will be remembered (see above, § 6 [2], gives the-name of 'Midrash' to-two of the sources from which

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1 **A** portion of Robertson Smith's article in the *EB* is here omitted; and this and the following section (§8) exhibit the (presumably) more matured view expressed **by** the author in *OTJC*(2) (92), pp. 140-148 (cp ed. 1, pp. 419-423).

2 Cp 1 Ch. 21 28-22 1 (excusing David's sacrifice on Arannah's threshing-floor and explaining why he could not go to Gibeon); 2 Ch. 1 3*b*-6*a* (legalising the worship at the high-place of Gibeon; cp 1 Ch. 16 39 *f.*); 7 9 *f.* (1 K. 8 65 *f.*, altered to harmonise with the practice of the post-exilic temple); and the short notices relating to ritual, especially the functions of the singers, instanced above (§ 5, end; cp § 7 [2]).

1 Where the 'yet' of RV should he 'and also' (**viz.**, **as well as** in the alliance with Benhadad).

2 2 **K.** 15 5 mentions only the fact that Uzziah became **a** leper.

3 Cp 1 Ch. 10 13 *f.* (the cause assigned for Saul's death), 2 Ch. 12 2*b* (cause of Shishak's invasion), 21 10*b* (cause of Libnah's revolt), 22 7 25 20*b* 28 5 19 22 *f.* (Ahaz's troubles attributed **to** his idolatry), 36 12*b*. **In** 2 **Ch.** 24 4-14 28 22 *f.* 24 *f.* the older narratives of Kings have been not less curiously transformed than in 2 Ch. 23 (see above, § 7 *c*); Be., ***ad** loc.*; **Kue.**(2), **5** 30 21, § 31 2; We. *Prol.*(4), 193, 198 *f.* [**ET** 194, 198 *f.*]. The correspondence between Hiram and Solomon (2 Ch. 2 3-16; cp 1 K. 5 2-9) has been rewritten by the Chronicler (with reminiscences from other parts of Kings) in his own style.

his materials were derived. There need be no uncertainty, therefore, as to the nature of his work when it departs from the older narratives of S. and K.

Another peculiarity of the Chronicler is to be found in the incredibly high figures with which he deals.

9. Exaggerations. David (1 Ch. 22 14) amasses 100 000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talent; of silver for the temple (contrast the much more modest estimate of even Solomon's revenue in 1 K. 10 14 *f.*); the army of Ahijah numbers **400**,000 men, that of Jerohoam 800,000, of whom 500,000 perish in one day (2 Ch. 13 3 17); Asa musters **580,000** soldiers, Zerah 1,000,000 (14 8 9), Jehoshaphat 1,160,000 (17 14-19),—although in 20 12 he complains that he has 'no might,'—Uzziah 307,500 (26 13); of the army of Ahaz 120,000 are slain in one day, while 200,000 women and children are taken captive (**28** 6 8).

Manifestly such figures cannot be historical. The past was magnified, as it was also idealised. The empire of David and his successors was imagined on a scale of unsurpassed power and magnificence; pre-exilic Judah was pictured as already in possession of the institutions, and governed—at least in its greater and better men—by the ideas and principles which were in force at a later day. The past was read in the light of the present, and the history, where necessary, re-written accordingly. No doubt in many instances a traditional element lies at the basis of the Chronicler's representation; but this element has been developed by him, and embellished with fresh details, for the purpose of giving expression to the ideas which he had at heart, and of inculcating the lessons which he conceived the history to teach. It is probable that the new conception of Israel's past history, and the characteristic didactic treatment of it, did not originate with the Chronicler himself, but had already appeared in the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* or the *Midrash of the Book of Kings,* which he so frequently cites as his authorities (cp Re. xxxvii.).

A usage, not peculiar to the Chronicler among OT writers, which must be carefully taken into account by the historical critic, is that of giving information that is really statistical in the form of a narrative.

10. The genealogies. This is the principle which underlies many of the OT statements of genealogical relationships, and which alone explains the variations between different accounts of the genealogy proceeding from a single ancestor: information as to the subdivisions of clans, the intermingling of populations, and the like, is thrown into a genealogical form (see GENEALOGIES, § 1). The most striking example of the application of this principle is the ethnographical table of Gen. 10 (cp also 22 20-24 25 1-4 13-16, and parts of 36); but these instances by no means stand alone; there are many in 1 Ch. 1-9.

Thus it is avowedly the intention of 2 24 42-45 49-55 4 2-5 11-14 17-23 to indicate the origin of local populations: in 2 43 Hebron, the town, has 'sons.' Several of the names in 2 4 are also those of Edomite clans (Wellh. *De Gentibus etc.* 38 *f.*); these came gradually to be treated as belonging to Judah, and the connection was afterwards exhibited artificially in a genealogical scheme. Caleb and Jeraḥmĕēl were not originally Israelite; Caleb belonged to the Edomite clan (Gen. 36 11) of the Kenizzites (Jos. 14 6-14); and clans bearing the name of Caleb and Jeraḥmĕēl are in David's time (1 S. 27 10, cp 30 29; note also the terms of Jos. 14 15*a*) still distinguished from Judah: in course of time, however, they were regarded as an integral part of the tribe, and a genealogy was formed (1 Ch. 2 18 25) to give expression to the fact.[1]

A different application of the same principle seems to lie in the account of the institutions of Levitical service which is introduced in connection with the transference of the ark to Jerusalem by David. The author is not concerned to distinguish the gradual steps by which the Levitical organisation attained its full development. He wishes to describe the system in its complete form, especially as regards the service of the singers, and he does this under the reign of David, who was the father of Hebrew psalmody [cp *OTJC*(2) 223 *f.*] and the restorer of the sanctuary of the ark.

The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically

11. Style. late linguistic novelties (which are not confined to the vocabulary, but, as Konig's *Syntax der hebr. Sprache* fully shows, extend to the Syntax), but it has also a number of special mannerisms. Even the reader of a translation can see that this must be the case. Modern words, often with Aramaic affinities, inelegant syntax, cumbrous and uncouth sentences, in strongest possible contrast to the ease and grace of the earlier Hebrew historical books,—these are the predominant marks of the Chronicler's style; and so constant are they that there is hardly a sentence, not excerpted from Samuel or Kings, in which they are not observable.' For details we must refer to the Introductions and Commentaries (see *e.g.*, Be. xiv.-xviii.; Dr. *Introd.* 535-540; F. Brown, Hastings' *DB* 1 389-391). It might be thought, by those unacquainted with the Chronicler's manner, that the *speeches* in Chronicles might form as a whole an exception to what is here stated, and that they might conceivably be based on some special sources of older date. But this would be a great mistake. The tone and literary style of the speeches which have parallels in Samuel and Kings are both very different from those which have been added by the Chronicler. The latter not only reflect, almost uniformly, the ideas and point of view of the Chronicler himself, but also exhibit frequently the same literary peculiarities. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are, one and all, his own composition.[2]

12. Bibliography. Be.'s work in the *Kurzgef. Hdb.* (ed. 2, 1873) is still a most helpful commentary; see also Keil ('70); Zöckler in Lange's *Bibelwerk* ('74); Oettli, *Kgf. Komm.* ('89); Rawlinson, *Speaker's Comm.* ('73); Ball (learned), Ellicott's *Comm.* ('83); Bennett (suggestive), *Expos. Bib.* ('94). On isagogic questions (structure, sources, credibility of narrative, etc.), the principal works are De Wette, *Krit. Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit d. Chron.* 1806 (*Beiträge,* vol. 1); Keil, *Apolog. Versuch.* ('33), and *Einl.*(3) ('73), §§ 138-144; Movers, *Krit. Unterss. über die Bibl. Chron.* ('34); Graf, 'Das Buch der Chron. als Geschichtsquelle,' in *Die Gesch. Bücher des ATs* ('66), p. 114-247 (see also Be. viii.); Ew. *Hist.* 1 169 *ff.*; De Wette-Schr. *Einl.* ('69), §§ 224-233; We. *Prol.*(4) 169-228 [*ET,* 171-227]; Kue. *Ond.*(2) §§ 28-32 (very thorough); Dr. *Introd.*(6) 516-540; Wildeboer, *Letterkunde,* § 25; König, *Einl.* § 54. Cp also Bu. 'Vermutungen zum "Midrash" des Buches der Könige' in *ZATW,* 1892, p. 37 *ff.* (speculative); Ki. *Chronicles, Critical Edition,* etc., with Notes, *SBOT* (Hebrew), '95; W. E. Barnes, 'Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler,' *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. and Lit.,* Oct. '96; 'Chronicles a Targum,' *Ex. Times,* 8 316 *f.* ('97); *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* ('97) (contains a rather surprising number of variants in the primary MSS); F. Brown, art. 'Chronicles,' Hastings' *DB* ('98).

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

[1] So in 7 22 Ephraim is not an individual, but the tribe; and in *v.* 21 Ezer and Elead are, no doubt, Ephraimite clans. Cp Bennett in *Expos. Bib.* chap. iv. esp. p. 87 *ff.*

[1] The peculiarities in question may often he observed even in the short sentences which the Chronicler sometimes introduces into a narrative otherwise excerpted without material alteration from Samuel or Kings: *e.g.*, 1 Ch. 21 1 (עמד), 3 end (אשמה), 11 end (קבל), 2 Ch. 2 3 (2) 5 11*b*-13*a* 12 12 18 3 end, 31*b*, etc.

[2] For illustrations see Dr., 'The Speeches in Chronicles,' *Expositor,* Apr. and Oct. 1895, pp. 247-254, 294 *f.*, 304-307.

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TABLES.

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

1. No fixed era.

The advantages afforded by a fixed and uniform chronological system of defining historical events seem so evident that one might expect to find some such method of determining dates in use from the very earliest times. History, however, shows that a long development was needed to lead to this simple result. Only in connection with a universal history did the desire for a uniform and comprehensive method of determining dates spring up. The impulse towards a real universal history and a general chronology came, not when the attempt was made to collect and record all human events, but when men learned to look at them from a single point of view and to comprehend them in a single plan. The roots of such a universal history lie in the prophets of Israel, who regarded the plan of Yahwè as realising itself in the experience of the nations of the earth as well as in the history of Israel; and its actual beginnings, strange as it may seem, are to be found in the Apocalyptic writers, who regarded history as a comprehensive whole (see APOCALYPTIC, § 2). This mode of regarding history was continued by Christianity. It is not strange, therefore, that Christianity felt the need for a universal chronology and found a way of meeting that need, thus proving its own world-embracing significance. This is not the place to enter upon the long and involved history of the adoption of the Christian era, which, after its author, the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus of the first half of the sixth century, is also called the Dionysian era. In order, however, to obtain a fixed starting-point from which to reckon, we must simply state here that the year 1—*i.e.*, the year of the birth of Christ—is equivalent to the year 754 of the era of Varro—*i.e.*, the era of the city of Rome,—and to the first year of the 195th Olympiad; and, also, that King Herod died in the year 750 of the city of Rome, and so in the year 4 B.C. (cp Schiir. *GJV* 1 343-345).

The same phenomenon of gradual arrival at a satisfactory chronological method is repeated in the narrower sphere of the national history of the several nations. We never find a settled era, a definite date from which years were counted, at the very beginning or even at an early period of a nation's history. If anything of this kind has seemed to appear in early times, it has always turned out to be in the highest degree uncertain, or really to rest on later calculations. Nor is the OT any exception to this rule. Only once had the Jews before Christ a national era, and that was for a very short time. When Simon the Maccabee had obtained from the Syrians complete freedom from taxation along with the acknowledgment of the political independence of Judea, documents and contracts were dated by years of Simon, the High Priest and Prince of the Jews, the first year of Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 13 41 *f.* 14 27) representing the 170th year of the era of the Seleucides (=143-142 B.C.).[1]

On the other hand, since the time when the Jews fell under the dominion of Syria, they had used the so-called era of the Seleucidæ (*βασιλεία* Ἑλλήνων, 1 Macc. 1 11; *βασιλεία* Ἀσσυρίων [Assyrian=Syrian], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 67; מנין שטרות=*æra contractuum* amongst the Jews, and year *dᵉyawnāyē* amongst the Syrians). This era has for its starting-point the defeat of Nicanor, the general of Antigonus, by Seleucus Nicator, and the final establishment of the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Syria and Babyloniain the year 01. 117, 1—*i.e.*, 312 B.C. It is used in the Books of the Maccabees, but there, it would seem, with this difference, that in the first book it begins, not, as was usual elsewhere, in the autumn, but in the spring of 312, thus about half a year earlier.[2] This era reached in general as far as the Syrian power, and although, usually, where states were able to obtain freedom they introduced new eras of their own, none was able to maintain itself so long as that of the Seleucidæ. It remained in use, indeed, among the Syrians for centuries alongside of the Arabic era, which counts from the Hegira (*hijra*, flight of Mohammed), 16th July, 622 A.D.

Real eras are not met with in the OT in earlier times. We cannot cite as an exception the practice of the Jews during the Exile, of counting the years since they were carried away from their land (לגלותנו, Ezek. 33 21 and 40 1; לגלות יהויכין, 2 K. 25 27; also Jer. 52 31, and Ezek. 1 2, and, without mention of the point from which the reckoning is made, Ezek. 81 201 291 17). In truth, they desired nothing more eagerly than to be delivered from the need of counting in this way. Besides, there

[1] Whether the numbers 1-5 that are found on silver shekels and half-shekels with the inscription ירושלם קרשה or ירושלים הקרשה refer to another era than this of Simon's, and, if so, to some pre-Christian era, has not been decided. That Simon had coins stamped, however, is hardly to he doubted (cp 1 Macc. 156; also Schürer, *op. cit.* 1 192 *ff.* 636.6:).

[2] So Schürer, *op. cit.* 133; We., however (*IJG* 129 *f.* 208), regards this assumption as unnecessary (cp YEAR, § 9).

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was along with it a reckoning from the final fall of Jerusalem (Ezek. 40 1), while Ezek. **1** 1 (if the text has reached us intact) must rest on still a third mode of reckoning.' It is, moreover, a very unsafe hypothesis which ventures to retain in the case of the statement of 2 Ch. **16** 1 (as a whole clearly untenable) at least the number 36 as based on trustworthy tradition, and proposes to find therein a trace of a Judæan era, thought to date from the division of the kingdom (Sharpe, ***Chronology of the Bible***, 29 ; cp Braudes, *Abhandl.* 62). Nor, lastly, are we any more justified in finding any trace of a real era counting from the Exodus in the late passage 1 K. **6** 1, where the building of Solomon's temple is assigned to the 480th year after that event. This number does not rest on tradition : it has been reached by calculation based on some hypothesis. No corroboration can be obtained from the numbers in the late Priestly Code—if the passages containing them are original even there—numbers which date the events of the journey through the wilderness by years from the deliverance out of Egypt (לְצֵאת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם ; cp Ex. **16** 1 19 1 Nu. 1 1 9 1 **33 38**). Nor can any support, in fact, be found for the notion that the Jubilee period was turned to chronological purposes. There is not the slightest trace of a real carrying out of the regulations concerning it mentioned in Lev. 25 9 *ff.*: even the Books of the Maccabees speak only of Sabbatic years, never of Jubilee years (1 Macc. **6** 49 53 ; cp Jos. ***Ant.*** xiv. 16 2).

In spite of this lack of a proper era, the OT is not without notes and data intended to serve **as** a means of fixing events chronologically.

2. Miscellaneous data.

In addition to isolated observations (none the less important that they are incidental) setting an occurrence in relation to another prominent event (*e.g.*, to the death of the king, as in Is. **6** 1 14 28, or to an important expedition, as in Is. 20 1, to the building of a city, as in Nu. 13 22, or to an extraordinary natural phenomenon, as in Am. **1** 1), we generally find, in the case of any important OT personage, the year of his life or his reign specified ; and in the books edited during the Exile the date of the events narrated begins to he given by years of the reigning king. Besides, there are the various synchronistic data often supplied by headings of books (*e.g.*, in the case of certain of the prophets), and by the Books of Kings, which have a complete synchronistic record for the time of the coexistence of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Finally, the evidence of the contemporaneousness of certain events furnished at times by the historical narrative itself is of the highest importance.

The weightiest question, howeser, is, to what degree of credibility this chronological material can lay claim.

3. Late origin.

Before undertaking the examination of this question for the several points of the history, we must premise some general considerations that thrust themselves on our notice. First of all, there is the remarkable fact that these chronological notes are to be found in greatest abundance in those parts of the historical books that are confessedly to be regarded as the youngest. In the Pentateuch they belong to the post-exilic Priestly Code or to additions of even later date ; in the other historical books into which the older sources have been worked, they are due, in the main, to the latest exilic editors. Then, it must be regarded as proved that the superscriptions of the prophetic books containing detailed information concerning the time of the respective prophets do not come from the prophets themselves, but are much younger additions, such as the erudition of later ages delighted in. This appears from the inexplicable double date (by kings of Judah and of Israel) found in Hosea and Amos, as well as from the inaccuracy, or tlie crowding, of the data in Is. Jer. and Ezek. Nor is the remarkable addition in Amos 1 1, 'two years before the earthquake,' any exception to this rule : the fact that a later event is employed to define the date shows that the statement is a subsequent addition, and it is therefore very probable that it rests on the exegesis and calculation of the scribes (cp Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3 123 ['83]). Lastly, it is remarkable that the text presents no uniformity of reading in the matter of recording dates : nay, that there are even to be found unfilled blanks. Thus in 1 S. **13** 1 the numbers have been omitted from the formula giving the age of Saul and the length of his reign, and in 𝔊B the whole verse is omitted.[1] There are also other places in the LXX where such chronological data are lacking—*e.g.*, Jer. 47 1 [BAR]—and elsewhere in the old versions we come on considerable variations from the traditional Hebrew text. All these are marks that indicate a late origin for the chronological numbers and warn us in the most emphatic way to submit them to a thorough examination.

As regards the oldest period, with which Genesis deals, the time down to the Exodus, it is known that

4. Oldest period.

the numbers supplied by the Samaritan and the LXX texts, and even by the Book of Jubilees (dating from the first century A.D.), differ in many points fronithose of the Massoretic text:

The divergence will be made most plain by **a** comparison showing the sum of the years according to each tradition. In Gen. **5** the period from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood is, according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years ; according to the Samaritan, 1307, and, according to 𝔊B, **2242** In Gen. **11** 10 *ff.* the interval from the birth of Shem to the birth of Abraham is, according to the Hebrew text, 390 years; according to the Samaritan, 1040 ; and, according to the text of 𝔊B, 1270. In this no account is taken of the variations exhibited hy the other MSS of 𝔊 itself, nor is it inquired whether the tradition represented hy any one given text is free from internal inconsistency (cp, *e.g.*, Gen. **11** 10, 'two years after the flood,' with Gen. **5** 32 **7** 6, and Gen. **11** 10*a* ; further Gen. **12** 4 with Gen. **11** 26, **32**).

This state of matters shows, what was indeed probable to begin with, that there was no fixed tradition concerning the early history of Israel : that, indeed, even at so late a time as that of the LXX and the Book of Jubilees, there was no clear idea of how the period in question should be measured. Thus the numbers of the Hebrew text, since they are not earlier than the Priestly Code, go back at the best only to the fifth century B.C., and do not rest on tradition, but have been reached by the application of some artificial theory. Since they are useless, therefore, at least for chronology (if indeed one could ever have hoped to obtain such a thing for those earliest times) it is unnecessary to attempt to discover what the actual theory underlying them is.

It will be enough tomention that v. Gutschmid observed that 2666—the number of years resulting from the summation of the Massoretic numbers for the period (Gen. **5** to Ex. **12** 40) from the creation of Adam to the Exodus[2] is exactly two-thirds of 4000 years. These 4000 years be took to represent a period (of 100 generations of **40** years each) assigned for the duration of the world. In this way he sought to explain the artificial origin of the system (cp Nold. *Untersuch. zur Krit.* ***des AT***

[1] In that case nothing would meet the requirements of the passage but a reckoning that counted from the reform of Josiah **(622).** Of any such mode of reckoning we know nothing, any more than we do of a reckoning by Jubilee periods, or of a Babylonian era meeting the requirements of the text (cp Kue. *Einl.* 2 60 n. **4**). Wi. (***AT Unters.*** **94-96**) therefore alters the text, and reads Ezek. 1 1 thus, ויהי בשנה השלישי [read השלישית] ברביעי, or ויהי בשנה הרביעי [read הרביעית] בשלישי, which must he understood like 8 1, and give an earlier date than 8 1. It would be better, however, to assume the original reading to have been 'in the fifth year' (cp the following verse)—i.e., בשנה החמישית,—and that from the fact of Jeremiah's having predicted seventy years for the Exile (**25** 11, cp **29** 10) while Ezekiel gave only forty (4 *6*), **a** later writer drew the inference that Ezekiel prophesied thirty years after Jeremiah, and accordingly inserted as **a** date in Ezek. **1** 1 the thirtieth year of the Exile (Duhm).

[1] 𝔊L follows MT, 𝔊A is lacking at this point (see further Dr. *TBS*).

[2] The number 2666 results from the addition of 1656, the number of years from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood (cp Gen. **5**), +290, the sum of the years from the flood to the birth of Abraham (cp Gen. **11** 10 *ff.*) +75 to the departure of Abraham from Haran (Gen. **12** 4) +215 to the departure of Jacob for Egypt (=25 to the birth of Isaac [Gen. **21** 5], +60 to the birth of Jacob [Gen. **25** 26], +130 years of Jacob's life [Gen. 47 9 28]), +430 years **of** stay in Egypt (Ex. **12** 40).

111). It is worth while, however, noticing the relation in which, according to Oppert (*GGN*, 1877, pp. 201-223), the Chaldean numbers for the first ages **in** Bērōssus and the statements in Genesis stand to each other. The Chaldeans reckon from the beginning of the world to Alexander 215 myriads of years, of which **47** myriads represent the time from the first man to Alexander. Thus they allow for the creation 168 myriads of years. **Now,** the **7** days of the biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. Thus in the creation age a myriad of years is represented in the biblical account by an hour. Again, for the time of the first ten men down to the flood, the Chaldeans reckon 432,000 years,[1] Genesis **1656.** If both numbers be divided by **72,** we get 6000 and 23 respectively, and 23 years—*i.e.*, **8400** days—represent 1200 weeks, while 6000 years is 5 times 1200 years. Hence the Chaldeans seem to have reckoned 5 years (*i.e.* 60 months) as **a** ***lustrum*** **(*sosse*),** where Genesis has reckoned 1 week. 1656 years (Genesis) = 72 × 23 years = 72 × 1200—*i.e.*, 86,400—***weeks;*** 432,000 years (Chaldean) = 86,400 *lustra*. This remarkable relation, which can hardly rest on pure accident, presupposes a complicated calculation, and a very late origin for these numbers. Whatever be the theory underlying the numbers of Genesis, one thing, therefore, is certain : for **a** sure chronology of the times before the Exodus, the OT numbers, appearing as they do for the first time in the youngest sources of the Pentateuch, afford no security.

The case is no better with the chronology of the interval that extends from the Exodus to the building

5. Exodus to Temple.

of the temple of Solomon. We have here, indeed, a check in **1** K. **6 1** which makes the building of the temple begin in the 480th year after the Exodus; but this number did not make its appearance till a time when the temple of Solomon was no more (cp above, § 1). It bears, moreover, the clear impress of being artificial; for it plainly counts from Moses to David twelve generations of forty years each, which **we** can easily identify as follows : Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. This explanation of the origin of the number 480 is corroborated by the fact that the five "little" Judges in Ju. 10 and 12 appear to have been inserted into the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges later (on the object of their insertion, see JUDGES, § **9**). Nor can anything certain be obtained from the individual numbers, since they are neither quite clear nor free from gaps.

It remains obscure, *e.g.*, how the numbers relating to the supremacy of the Philistines and the judgeship of Samson **(13 1** 15 20 and 16 31) are related to each other; how the twenty years from the arrival of the ark at Rirjath-jearim to the victory of Samuel over the Philistines are to be fitted into Samuel's history **(1 S. 7 2);** and how the ninety-four years of foreign oppression are to be combined with the data concerning the length of rule of the individual Judges.[2]

The tradition also presents gaps, however, since it does not mention the time during which Joshua was the leader of the Israelites, and in 1 S. **13 1** the numbers for Saul are entirely wanting. Finally, 𝔊BAL allows Eli in 1 S. 418 only twenty years instead of the forty of MT : and the frequently recurring round numbers—such as **40** for Moses, Othniel, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Eli **(𝔊 20)** and David: 80 (= 2 × 40) for Ehud; and 20 (= $\frac{40}{2}$) for Samson, for Eli (according to **𝔊**), for Samuel, and (approximately) for Tola (23), and **Jair (22)—go** to set in still clearer light the unhistorical character of the data.

The matter may rest, then, as Noldeke left it at the end of his chronology of the period of the Judges (*op. cit.* 197), with the verdict that 'neither for the several divisions of the period of the Judges nor for its whole duration is a chronology any longer attainable.' It is, therefore, also useless to seek, by calculation from these numbers, to ascertain the time of the leadership of Joshua and the reign of Saul. The furthest we can go is to conclude, from passages like Am. 2 10 5 25, that an old tradition estimated the journey through the wilderness at forty years. (On the chronology of the Book of Judges, see JUDGES, § 15.)

It is much harder to deal with the chronological dates for the period from the building of the temple by

6. Temple to Nebuchadrezzar.

Solomon to the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. In various important instances we now meet with statements concerning the year of the reigning king to which the event narrated belongs. Thus in regard to events of war we read: 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem' (**1** K. 14 25), and 'In the ninth year of Hosea the king of Assyria took Samaria' (2 K. 17 6). *So* also in regard to home affairs : 'In the three and twentieth year of King Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house' (2 K. **12 7**). Clear as such passages seem to be, we need to know which year of a given king was called the first—the year in the course of which he ascended the throne, or the first complete year at the beginning of which he was already seated on the throne. Sound information on this point is still more indispensable, however, for the understanding of the further data for our period supplied by the Books of Kings. These give the sum of the years of reign of each several king. If, however, for any interval that can he defined by means of events related, we add together these amounts, the totals for the parallel kingdoms of Judah and Israel do not agree. The question becomes very complicated when at each accession the date is regularly defined **synchronistically,** by years of the contemporary ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel or Judah. This synchronism again leads to a reckoning of its own. What we have first to do is to estimate the value of the various chronological data which form a sort of framework for the whole history of the period. Then **we** can determine the importance and range of the individual dates assigned **by** years of accession.

The statements concerning the duration of a reign as well as the synchronism of its beginning form Darts of

7. Reigns and synchronisms.

the brief reviews which pass judgment on each king from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic law (see **KINGS**, BOOKS OF, § 1 *ff.*). The two chronological elements, however, have a diverse origin; for the synchronistic notes betray their character as 'subjective additions of the Epitomator.' It is clear, to begin with, that this noting of synchronism was not in actual use during the existence of the two kingdoms : apart from dates of accessions, we find it only once—at the fall of Samaria (2 K. 18 9 10), the point where the system comes to an end.

It would be natural to maintain that the very construction of the chronological notes reveals their diverse origin : the verb מלך **has** in the same sentence one meaning for the words that precede, and another for those that follow. It is to be construed as inchoative (= 'he became king') as well as progressive (= 'he reigned'). For instance, in 2 K. 14 23 'In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash, king **of** Judah, Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel מלך (= became king, and also = reigned) forty-one years in Samaria.' **If here** and there (1 K. 15 ***25*** 16 ***29*** 22 ***52*** : 2 K. **3 1 15** 13) וימלך **is** added **to** מלך, this only proves, it would seem, **a** sense of the irreconcilability of expressing both the date of accession and the duration of the reign hy the simple verb מלך. The double sense of this verb, however, is peculiar to such annals, and is to be explained by the brevity of the style. Exactly so in the list of kings of Tyre given by Josephus (*c. Ap.* 118) from Menander of Ephesus, ἐβασίλευσεν is used in both senses at the same time : 'he became king' as well **as** 'and he reigned.'

The decisive proof, however, of the secondary character of the synchronistic numbers is reached only when

[1] Cp *KAT*(2) 419 n.

[2] If we reckon together the numbers for this period, we get as follows:—**40** (stay in the wilderness) **+40** (Othniel, Ju. 3 11) + 80 (Ehud, **3 30**) **+40** (Deborah-Barak, 5 31) +40 (Gideon, 8 28) **+23** (Tola, 10 2) + 22 (Jair, 10 3) + 6 (**Jephthah, 12 7**) **+7** (Ibzan, **12 9**) + 10 (Elon, 12 11) + 8 (Abdon, 12 14) + 20 (Samson, 16 31) + 40 (Eli, 1 S. 4 18) + 20 (Samuel, **1 S. 7 2**) **+40** (David, **1 K.** 2 11) + 4 (Solomon, 1 K. 6 1) = **440 years.** If we deduct the 'little' Judges (Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon = 70), we shall have a total of only 370 years. For Joshua and Saul, for whom the numbers are lacking, there still remain, to complete the 480 years, according to the first calculation 40 years according to the second 110. If, however, we are to insert between the periods of the several Judges the 94 years of foreign oppression (= 8 [Cushan **Rishathaim,** Ju. 3 8] + 18 [Eglon, **3 14**] **+ 20** [Jabin, **4 3**] + 7 [Midianites, 6 1] + 3 [Abimelech, 9 22] + 18 [Ammonites, 10 8] + 20 **[Philistines,** cp 13 1 15 20 and 16 31]), we get 534 or **464** years—according to the first reckoning already **54** years too many, with nothing left for Joshua and Saul ; according to the second, only sixteen years for these two together, a period far from sufficient for the deeds of both.

we compare them with the years of reign. It then appears that the former has been attained by calculation from the latter, although the method that has been followed cannot in all points be discerned.[1] A tabular exhibition of the data will be the best way to make this clear. In the first column we give the date reckoned from an imaginary era of the division of the kingdom, and in the last the references from the Books of Kings.

TABLE I.—OLD TESTAMENT DATA AS TO REIGNS : SOLOMON TO FALL OF SAMARIA. SYNCHRONISMS AND LENGTH OR REIGNS.

Year acc. to imaginary era of division of Kingdom.	Israel. Synchronistic Date.	Israel. Length of Reign. Acc. to Synchronisms.	Israel. Length of Reign. Acc. to Tradition.		Judah. Synchronistic Date.	Judah. Length of Reign. Acc. to Synchronisms.	Judah. Length of Reign. Acc. to Tradition.	References to the Books of Kings.
1	1st year of Jeroboam	..	22 years	=	1st year of Rehoboam	17 years	17 years	1 K. 14 20 *f.*
18	18th „ Jeroboam.	..	..	=	1st „ Abijah	2	3	
20	20th „ Jeroboam.	20 years	..	=	1st „ Asa	„	41 „	1 K. 15 1 *f.*
21	1st „ Nadab	1 year	2 „	=	2nd „ Asa		..	1 K. 15 9 *f.*
22	1st „ Baasha	23 years	24 „	=	3rd „ Asa		..	1 K. 15 33
45	1st „ Ela	1 year	2 „	=	6th „ Asa		..	1 K. 16 8
46	1st „ Zimri	4 years	7 days	=	7th „ Asa		..	1 K. 16 15
50	1st „ 'Omri		12 years	=	1st „ Asa		..	1 K. 16 23
57	1st „ Ahab		22 „	=	8th „ Asa	40 „	..	1 K. 16 29
60	4th „ Ahab	19 „	..	=	1st „ Jehoshaphat	..	25 „	1 K. 22 41
76	1st „ Ahaziah	1 year	2 „	=	7th „ Jehoshaphat		..	1 K. 22 52
77	1st „ Jehoram	..	12 „	=	8th „ Jehoshaphat	21 „	..	2 K. 3 1
81	5th „ Jehoram	..	..	=	1st „ Jehoram	7 „	3 „	2 K. 8 16 *f.*
88	12th „ Jehoram	12 years	..	=	1st „ Ahaziah	1 year	1 year	2 K. 8 25 *f.*
	Sum of Years of reign in Israel . . 98			=	Sum of Years of reign in Judah . . 95			
89	1st year of Jehu	..	28 years	=	1st year of Athaliah	6 years	6 years	{ 2 K. 10 36 / 11 1 3
95	7th „ Jehu.	28 years	..	=	1st „ Jehoash	..	40 „	2 K. 12 1 2
117	1st „ Jehoahaz.	14 „	17 „	=	3rd „ Jehoash	.	..	2 K. 13 1
131	1st „ Jehoash	..	16 „	=	7th „ Jehoash	37 „	..	2 K. 13 10
132	2nd „ Jehoash	15 „	..	=	1st „ Amaziah	..	29 „	2 K. 14 1 2
146	1st „ Jeroboam (II.)	..	41 „	=	5th „ Amaziah	40 „	..	2 K. 14 23
172	27th „ Jeroboam (II.)	63 „	..	=	1st „ Azariah	..	52 „	2 K. 15 1 2
209	1st „ Zechariah	1 year	½ year	=	8th „ Azariah	..	..	2 IC. 15 8
210	1st „ Shallum	0 „	$\frac{1}{12}$ „	=	9th „ Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 13
210	1st „ Menahem	11 years	10 years	=	9th „ Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 17
221	1st „ Pekahiah	2 „	2 „	=	0th „ Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15 23
223	1st „ Pekah	..	20 „	=	2nd „ Azariah	52 „	..	2 K. 15 27
224	2nd „ Pekah	..	..	=	1st „ Jotham	15 „	16 „	2 K. 15 32 *f.*
239	17th „ Pekah	27 „	..	=	1st „ Ahaz	..	16 „	2 K. 16 1 *f.*
250	1st „ Hoshea	..	9 „	=	2th „ Ahaz.	13 „	..	2 K. 17 1
252	3rd „ Hoshea	..	..	=	1st „ Hezekiah.	..	..	2 K. 18 1
258	9th „ Hoshea	9 „	..	=	7th „ Hezekiah to Fall of Samaria	7[1] „	6[2] „	[1]so 2 K. 18 1 / [2]so 2 K. 18 10
		258 years	$241\frac{7}{12}$ yrs.	=		258 years	260 years	

This table shows that at the end of the 258th year after the division of the kingdom, there had elapsed 258 synchronistic years, $241\frac{7}{12}$ years of reign in Israel, and 260 such years in Judah ; and we have thus the singular equation $258=241\frac{7}{12}=260$. The result is even more singular, however, when we examine separately the parts before and after the first point of coincidence obtained through a contemporaneous accession in both lines. Before the year of accession of Jehu and Athaliah there were only 88 years according to the synchronisms for 98 years of reign in Israel and 95 in Judah ; but for the second part there are 170 years according to the synchronisms for only $143\frac{7}{12}$ years of reign in Israel and 165 in Judah. Whilst thus, in the first period, the number, according to the synchronistic calculation, is smaller than the sum of the traditional years, in the second period, which is longer by about a half, it exceeds the traditional years not inconsiderably. Similar variations for smaller periods can easily be proved by a glance at the table. Nor can we equalize the synchronistic and the traditional numbers by assuming that the latter represent a popular way of counting according to which from the middle of the first to the beginning of the third year was considered three years, as in the case of the siege of Samaria (2 K. 18 10). The excess of the traditional values in the period before Jehu could perhaps be thus explained, but not their defect in the following period. Nor is it possible by altering the individual numbers to bring the synchronisms into harmony with the years of reign ; even were one to alter all the synchronistic statements, this would do nothing towards removing the differences between the numbers for Israel and those for Judah. Thus, almost along the whole line, the discrepancy between synchronisms and years of reign is incurable.

We must not fail, however, to appreciate a remarkable agreement. The sum of the synchronistic years is very nearly equal to the sum of the years of reign for Judah (258=260). The slight difference of two years can have no weight, and can perhaps be entirely removed. In the surprising statement of 2 K. 13 10 that the accession of Jehoash of Israel happened in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah, we may follow *v.* 1 and change 37 to 39 ; for, according to that verse, Jehoahaz, who had acceded in the 23rd year of Jehoash of Judah,

[1] It has recently been shown by Benzinger (*Comm. zu den Königen*, 1899, pp. xviii.-xxi.) that the synchronisms start from two different points and proceed upon two distinct methods of reckoning, one of which is followed by preference in the Hebrew text and the other in ©L.

reigned 17 years. In this way the sum of the years of reign in the lines of Israel and Judah, according to the synchronisms, would be increased in each case by two years—for Jehoahaz would have reigned, according to the synchronism, 16 years instead of 14, and Jehoash 39 instead of 37—while the traditional numbers would undergo no alteration. Even without this slight emendation—adopted in the *Aldine* edition of the LXX, and demanded by Thenius, Klostermann, and Kamphausen—it is apparent that it is the sum of the Judean years of reign that forms the basis on which the synchronistic numbers are calculated. In this process, however, though the individual sums have not been disregarded, it has been impossible, especially in the case of the kings of N. Israel, to avoid important variations.

Care, however, has been taken not *to* alter the synchronism of events.[1] It is worthy of note that the following reqnirements are satisfied:—Jerohoam's reign runs parallel with those of Rehohoam and Ahijah (1 K. 14 30 15 7); Baasha is king during the reign of Asa (1 K. 15 16); Jehoshaphat survives Ahah and Ahaziah, and reigns contemporaneously with Jehoram of Israel (1 K. 22 2 *ff.* 50; 2 K. 3 7 *ff.*); the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah fall in the same year (2 K. 9); Amaziah and Jehoash of Israel reign contemporaneously (2 K. 14 8 *ff.*); and Pekah is a contemporary of Jotham and Ahaz (2 K. 15 37 16 5 *ff.*).

Although the synchronistic dates have thus not been attained without regard to tradition, they are obviously, as belonging to the youngest parts of the text, not a standard for chronology. They apply to the past a method of dating with which it was quite unacquainted. This is true not only of the practice, which could never be carried out in actual life, of connecting the years of one kingdom with reigns of kings in a neighbouring kingdom, but also of the methodical practice, presupposed in such a custom, of indicating in an exact and regular way the years within one and the same kingdom, by the years of reign of its king for the time being. In such texts as we can, with any confidence, assign to pre-exilic times, we find nothing but popular chronologies associating an event with some other important event contemporary with it (cp Is. 6 1 14 28[2] 20 1).

8. First attempts at chronology. The few dates according to years of kings given in the older history (as, *e.g.*, 1 K. 14 25; 2 K. 12 7) may be ignored. They are too isolated, and must rest (*e.g.*, in the writings and portions which treat of the latest pre-exilic times) on subsequent calculation, or be due to interpolation (cp also the dates introduced by the Chronicler in deference to the desire felt at a later date for exacter definition of time, of which the Books of Kings still knew nothing: 2 Ch. 13 23 15 10-19, and especially 16 1)—though it is perhaps possible that, even without there being a settled system, some prominent events might, occasionally and without set purpose, be defined by years of reign. In any case, dating by native kings must be regarded as at least older than the artificial synchronism between Judah and Israel.

Dating by the years of kings was thus never systematically used by the Hebrews so long as they had national kings.

9. Babylonian method. The learned this useful method from the Babylonians, and then introduced it into their historical works compiled during the exile (cp Wi. *AT Untersuch.*, especially pp. 87-94). Thus the question how the Hebrews dealt with the year of a king's death—*i.e.*, whether they reckoned the fraction of a year that remained before the beginning of the next year to the deceased king, or made the first year of the new king begin at once—disappears. There can be no doubt that the synchronisms, as well as the dates and years of reign in general, presuppose the Babylonian method (the only satisfactory one), according to which the rest of the year in which any king died was reckoned to the last of his reign, and the first year of the new king was the year at the beginning of which he already wore the crown,

By giving up the synchronisms we are thrown back for the chronology of the monarchy on the sums of the years of reign of the individual kings.

10. Years of reign. The hope of finding in these numbers trustworthy material for chronology, and thus solving the singular equation whereby about 242 Israelitish years represent 260 Judean years, could he realised only on one condition. One might simply subtract the 242 Israelitish years from the total for Judah, and regard the excess of 18 years as falling after the conquest of Samaria. Nor is there anything in the synchronism to prevent this operation, for that may have started from an incorrect calculation in putting the fall of Hoshea as late as the reign of Hezekiah. A clear veto, however, is laid on this procedure on other grounds. If we subtract the superfluous 18 years (6 years of Hezekiah and the last 12 of Ahaz) from the total for Judah, all that is left of Ahaz's reign parallel with the Israelitish years of reign is the first 4 years. Therefore Pekah, who was murdered nine years before the fall of Samaria (2 K. 17 6), must, at the accession of Ahaz, have been already five years dead, which is impossible, since, according to 2 K. 16 5 *ff.*, this king was attacked by him. The expedient of simple subtraction, therefore, fails; the embarrassing equation remains, about 242 Israelitish years = 260 Judean: nay, since no objection can be raised against the contemporaneousness of the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, 144 Israelitish years = 165 Judean.

If the totals are thus unequal, very great inequalities appear, naturally, in the details. Efforts have been made to remove them; but this has not been achieved in any convincing way.

2 K. 15 5, *e.g.*, states that during the attack of leprosy from which his father Azariah suffered in the last years of his life, 'Jotham was over the palace and judged the people of the land.' Even were we to found on this statement the theory that the years of reign of father and son that ran parallel to each other were counted twice over in the numbers 52 and 16 assigned to their respective reigns, and *also* to suppose that during all these 16 years the father was still alive, there would still remain 744 Israelitish years = 149 Judean.

Mistaken attempts of this kind are, moreover, the less to be taken into consideration that, as will appear (§ 35*b*), even the lowest total of 144 years for the interval from Jehu to the fall of Samaria is more than 20 years too high. From all this it results that the individual numbers of years of reign, as well as the totals, are untrustworthy and useless for the purposes of a certain chronology, even if it be admitted that, within certain limits or in some points, they may agree with actual fact.

11. Basis of calculation. The untrustworthiness of the numbers becomes plainer when the principle according to which they are formed is clearly exhibited.

In 1887 E. Krey (see below § 85) argued that, at least in the case of the Israelitish kings, the several sums assigned *to* the respective reigns rest in general on an artificial fiction. He then thought that the series of kings of Judah, and indeed those also of the house of Jehu, 'show no such artificiality' hut (acc. *to* Bleek-We. *Einl.*(4) 265) he soon observed a playing with figures also in the items for Judah. To begin with the kings of Israel down to Jehoram, we find an average reign of 12 years. In the case of Omri and Jehoram this is the exact nnmher, whilst for Jerohoam, Baasha, and Ahab we have 22[1] (*i.e.* in round numbers 2 × 12), and for the rest—Nadab, Elah and Ahaziah (the immediate successors of the kings provided with the double period)—2 years each. This is as if we had 8 kings with 12 years each, making a total of 96—more exactly 98 years. Moreover, the totals for the first and the last four of these are each almost exactly 48. In the next part of the series, as We. emphasises, we have for the 9 kings from Jehu to Hoshea a total of 144 years, which makes an average of 16 for each. One might also urge the remarkable fact that, even as Jehu with his 28 years reigned ahout as long as his two successors, so the 41 years of Jerohoam II. also exactly equal the sum of the reigns of his successors. In the Judean line, on the other hand, a similar role is played by the figures 40 and 80. Thus down to the destruction of Samaria in the 6th year of Hezekiah, we have Rehoboam + Abijah 20, Asa 41, Jehoshaphat

1 We need take no account of the indeoendent narratives of CHRONICLES (*q.v.*, § 5); they do not agree even with the traditional years of reign.

2 Whether the account is correct need not here be considered.

1 Strictly, Baasha has exactly 24 assigned him.

+Jehoram +Ahaziah +Athaliah 40, Jehoash *40*, Amaziah+Azariah 81, Jotham+Ahaz+Hezekiah 38 years; and from this point onwards till the last date, the 37th year of Jehoiachin, we have Hezekiah+Menasseh+Amon 80, and also Josiah+Joahaz+Jehoiakim+Jehoiachin $79\frac{1}{4}$ years: If we might still, with Kamphausen, be inclined to find in all this only a freak of chance, our suspicion would be raised on comparing the total for the kings of Israel (*circ.* 240) with the number in 1 K. 6_1 (480), and still more on observing that 480 is also the total of years from the building of the temple of Solomon to the beginning of a new epoch—the epoch that opens with the conquest of Babylon hy Cyrus and the consequent possibility of founding the second Theocracy and setting about the building of the second temple. (The 36-7 years of Solomon from the building of the temple +260 years, to the fall of Samaria +$133\frac{1}{2}$ years, *to* the fall of Jerusalem +50 years of the Exile, give exactly 480 years)

There ran hardly, then, be any mistake about the artificiality of the total as well as of the various items. If so, the origin of the present numbers for the years of reign of the individual kings, on which the synchronistic notices are founded, must fall in a period later than the victory of Cyrus over Babylon, and chronology cannot trust to the correctness of the numbers.

12. Result. For all that, it may be conjectured the numbers in individual instances are correct; but which are such cases, can be known only in some way independent of the numbers. Sometimes, indeed, the narrative of Kings or a prophetic writing can decide the point; but without help from outside we could not go far. In itself it cannot be more than probable that the last kings of Judah appear with the correct numbers. These numbers give Hezekiah 29 (2 K. 18_2), Manasseh 55 (21_1), Amon 2 (21_{19}), Josiah 31 (22_1), Jehoahaz $\frac{1}{4}$ (23_{31}), Jehoiakim 11 (23_{36}), Jehoiachin $\frac{1}{4}$ (24_8), and Zedekiah 11 years (24_{18}); thus, $139\frac{1}{2}$ years in all, embodying an estimate of 133 years from the fall of Saniaria to the conquest of Jerusalem. Thus, the earliest that the dates according to years of kings can lay claim to consideration is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Here grave mistakes in retrospective calculation (for even they rest on that) seem to be excluded by the nearness of the time. Naturally no account can be taken of the statements of the Book of Daniel, which did not originate till the second century B.C.; it knows the history of the fall of the kingdom of Judah and of the exilic period only from tradition, and cannot be acquitted of grave mistakes (see DANIEL, ii. § 9 *f.*).

13. From Fall of Jerusalem onwards. For the last period, reaching from the fall of Jerusalem to the beginning of the Christian era, we have in the Hebrew OT itself but few historical records. Beyond the introduction of the law in the restored community the historical narrative does not conduct us. For the short interval preceding it we are referred to the statements in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These, however, show that the Jews had learned in the interval how to date exactly by years of reign. The writings mentioned give dates by years of the Persian kings. All difficulties in the way of a chronology of this period, however, are not thus removed. The names Darius and Artaxerxes leave us to choose between the several bearers of these names among the Persian kings. Hence both the first and the second of the three Dariuses have been regarded as the Dariāwesh mentioned in the OT, and even all three Artaxerxes have been brought into connection with the Artaḥšasta of Ezr.-Neh. Then, again, the transpositions and actual additions that the Chronicler allows himself to make increase the difficulty of knowing the real order of events. In the case of Darius, indeed, only the first can, after all (in spite of Havet and Imbert), be seriously considered.

14. Advent of Ezra. The chief interest, accordingly, lies in deciding as to the date in Ezra 7_7 *f.* which sets the return of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaḥšasta. It is to be noted that this passage (7_{1-10}) has been revised by the Chronicler (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, Books of), and in both verses the date is open, from its position or lack of connection, to the suspicion of not being original. Kosters accordingly, leaving this datum wholly out of account, maintained (*Herstel*, '94) that Ezra made his first appearance in Jerusalem with the *Gola* (see ISRAEL, § 57) immediately after Nehemiah's second arrival there, while Artaxerxes I. was still on the throne, and introduced the law then. Van Hoonacker, on the other hand, accepted the datum of Ezra 7_7 *f.*, but believed that it had reference to Artaxerxes II., and accordingly set down the date of Ezra's arrival as in the seventh year of that king (397 B.C.). [Marquart ('Die Organisation der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem sogenannten Exil,' *Fundamente isr. u. jüd.* **Gesch.**, '96)[1] thinks that the careers of Nehemiah and Ezra can fall only a few decades earlier than the reported deportation of Jews to Hyrcania under Artaxerxes III., Ochus. Nehemiah's Artaxerxes was, he thinks, Artaxerxes II., Mnemon. He finds no trace of Ezra's presence in Jerusalem during the twelve-years' governorship of Nehemiah; the reference to Ezra in Neh. 12_{36} is an addition of the Chronicler. Nehemiah, too, is nowhere mentioned in Ezra (Neh. 8_9 10_2 are interpolated). Internal evidence alone can determine the date of Ezra. Neh. **13** is connected naturally with Ezra 9_1-10_{44}. Ezra's arrival then follows in the time after Nehemiah's return to Susa; the text of Ezra 7_7 (which belongs to the redactor) has suffered in transmission; 368 *or* 365 was the original date reported. Nehemiah's second arrival, at any rate, fell after the promulgation of the Law (Neh. 13_1); Marquart proposes to read in Neh. 13_6 'at the end of his days' (יָמָיו), implying a date between 367 (364) and 359. Cheyne, in a work almost devoid of notes, but called 'the provisional summing up of special researches,' differs in some respects in his chronological view of the events alike from the scholars just referred to, and from Ed. Meyer, who is about to be mentioned. (See his *Jewish Religious Life after* **the** *Exile*, '98, translated, after revision by the author, by H. Stocks under the title *Das religiose Leben* **der** *Juden nnch dem Exil*, '99). Like Marquart he doubts the correctness of the text of Neh. 5_{14}; but he is confident that the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Nehemiah is Artaxerxes I., and that Nehemiah's return to Susa precedes the arrival of Ezra with the Gola. The incapacity of Nehemiah's successor (the Tirshatha?) probably stimulated Ezra to seek a firman from the king, though the terms of the supposed firman in Ezra 7 cannot be relied upon. Ezra seems to have failed at the outset of his career, and it was the news of this failure, according to Cheyne, that drew Nehemiah a second time from Susa. Klostermann's treatment of the chronology in Herzog cannot be here summarised.—ED.]

Ed. Meyer's thorough discussion (*Entst.* '96), however, has convinced the present writer that we are not entitled to call in question the arrival of Ezra before Nehemiah, and consequently that the datum of Ezra 7_7 *f.* may be right after all. If so, Ezra returned to Jerusalem with the *Gola* in 458 B.C., having it for his object to introduce the law there. In this, however, he did not succeed. It was not until after Nehemiah had arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C. clothed with ample powers, and had in the same year restored the city walls with his characteristic prudence and energy, that Ezra was at last able to come forward and introduce the law under Nehemiah's protection (445 B.C.). From this date onwards till 433 B.C. (cp Neh. 13_6) Nehemiah continued in Jerusalem. Shortly after 433 B.C.—perhaps in 432 B.C.—he obtained a second furlough. How long this lasted we do not know; but its importance is clear from Neh. 13_{4-31}.

15. Later times. The OT offers no further chronological material for determining the dates of the last centuries before Christ.

[1] But the essay was 'completed 29th August 1895' (p. 28).

CHRONOLOGY

The apocalypse of Daniel cannot he held to bridge over the gap between Ezra and the time of the Maccabees with any certainty, for it is the peculiarity of these apocalypses to point to past events only in a veiled way, and it is, in fact, only what we know otherwise of the complications between Syria and Egypt and of the doings of Antiochus Epiphanes, that makes an unherstanding and an estimate of the descriptions in the Book of Daniel possible. Besides, its intimation (9 24 *ff.*) that **from** the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (586) to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (164), we are to reckon a period of 70 year-weeks—490 years—shows how inaccurate the chronological knowledge of the writer was, and how much need we have to look around for other help.

16. [illegible] data. Astronomy would furnish the surest means for determining the exact year and day of events, if the OT contained [illegible] or [illegible] eclipses. [illegible] however, such accounts are lacking. One might be tempted to go so far as to suppose a solar eclipse to explain the sign on the-sun-dial of Ahaz given to Hezekiah by Isaiah (Is. 38 8); perhaps also the 'standing still of the sun at Gibeon' (Josh. 10 12-14).

17. Mahler's system. Rationalistic as this may seem, Ed. Mahler (see **§ 38** for title of work) has not been content to stop here, but has discovered many solar eclipses intimated in the OT : he even finds them in every prophetic passage that speaks of **a** darkening of the sun. In this way he has been able to determine astronomically a whole series of events. Before we can accept these results, however, we must examine more carefully the foundation on which they are reared.

For example, Mahler assigns the Exodus to the 27th March 1335 B.C. which was a Thursday, because fourteen days before that day there occurred a central solar eclipse. This calculation rests on Talmudic data[1] that assign the darkness mentioned in Ex. 10 21 to the 1st of Nisan, and explain that that day, and therefore also the 15th of Nisan, was a Thursday. In Ex. 10 22 indeed, we read of a darkness of three days ; hut Mahler argue: that this note of duration really belongs not to *v.* 22 hut to *v.* 23, and is meant simply to explain how 'intense and terrifying was the impression which the darkness produced on the inhabitants of Egypt'—'so that no one dared for three days to leave his house.' It is just as arbitrary to assume in Gen. 15 5 *ff.* an eclipse enabling Abraham to count the stars before sunset, and then to use the eclipse for fixing the date of the covenant then concluded (Bĕrīth hen hab-bĕthārīm). The time at which search is to he made for this eclipse Mahler reckons as 430 years before the Exodus, since Rabbinic tradition thus explains the number 430 assigned in Ex. 12 40 to the stay in Egypt, whilst on the other hand it makes the 400 years assigned in Gen. 15 13 to the bondage begin with the birth of Isaac. The desired eclipse Mahler finds on 8th Oct. 1764 B.C. about 430 years before the Exodus (1335 B.C., see above). Even more artificial, if possible, is the Rabbinic exegesis of Gen. 28 11 and 32 32 on which Mahler relies for the determination of the beginning and the end of the twenty-years' stay of Jacob in Haran. The solar eclipse indicated according to him in Gen. 28 11 ('because the sun was set') must have been, he argues, in the evening, and would thus be the eclipse that occurred on the 17th Feh. 1601 B.C., whilst Gen. 32 32 ('and the sun rose upon him') must indicate a morning eclipse, which occurred on 30th May 1581 B.C. If we add that for the victory of Joshua at Gibeon (Josh. 10 12-14) he has found a solar eclipse calculated to have occurred on 31st Jan. 1296 B.C., we have for the earliest period the following items :—

MAHLER'S SUPPOSED EARLY DATES.

Abraham's Bĕrīth bēn hab-bĕthārīm (Gen. **15** 5 *ff.*)	1764 B.C.
Jacob's journey to Haran (Gen. 28 11) . .	1601 ,,
Jacob's return home (Gen. **32** 31 [32]) . . .	1581 ,,
Exodus (Ex. 10 21) . . .	27th March 1335 ,,
Joshua's victory at Giheon (Josh. 10 12-14) . .	1296 ,,

The attempt to do justice to Is. **38** 8 by the assumption of a solar eclipse is at least more interesting. According to this theory, all the requirements of the narrative would be met if a solar eclipse had occurred ten hours before sunset, since in that case the index could have traversed over again the ten degrees which, owing to the eclipse, it had 'gone down,' and the dial would have again made its usual indication. Such an eclipse has, moreover, been found for 17th June 679 B.C., whence, since the sign in question belongs to Hezekiah's fourteenth year, his reign must have covered the years 693-664 B.C.

The further calculations which **fix** a whole series of dates on the ground of misunderstood passages are likewise quite unsatisfactory. Thus, Amos is made (8 9 *f.*) to announce to Jerohoam II. the solar eclipse of 5th May 770 B.C. ; Is. 16 3 and Micah 3 6 are made to refer to that of the 11th Jan. 689 B.C. in the time of Hezekiah ; and Joel, who is represented as living in the time of Manasseh, is made to indicate no fewer than three solar eclipses (21st Jan. 662, 27th June 661, and 15th April 657 B.C. : cp Joel **2** 10 **3** 3 4 **4** 15). It is further urged that we should refer Ezek. 30 **18** and **32** 8 to the solar eclipses of 19th May **557** and 1st Nov. 556 ; Nah. 1 8 to that of 16th March 581 ;[1] Jer. **4** 23 *28* to that on 21st Sept. 582 (in the time of Josiah); and **Is.** 8 22 to that on 5th March 702 B.C. (in the time of Ahaz); and, finally, that even the fight against Sisera can, according to Ju. 5 20, be with certainty fixed for 9th Aug. 1091 B.C.

By combining these 'results' with the numbers of the OT Mahler believes himself justified in producing the following chronological table for the time of the Monarchy :—

TABLE II.—MAHLER'S REMARKABLE CHRONOLOGY : DIVIDED MONARCHY.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

945–928	Rehoboam	17 years
928–925	Ahijam (= Abijah) . . .	3 ,,
925–884	Asa . . , . . .	41 ,,
883–858	Jehoshaphat . , . .	25 ,,
	. . . .	
860 (*sic*)–852	Joram	8 ,,
852	Ahaziah	1 year
852–845	Athaliah	7 years
845–805	Joash	40 ,,
805–777	Amaziah	29 ,,
777–725	Uzziah	52 ,,
725–709	Jotham	16 ,,
709–693	Ahaz.	16 ,,
693–664	Hezekiah	29 ,,
664–610	Manasseh	55 ,,
610–609	Amon	2 ,,
609–579	Josiah	31 ,,
579	Joahaz	3 months
579–568	Jehoiakim	11 years
568	Jehoiachin	3 months
568–557	Zedekiah	11 years

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

945–924	Jerohoam.	22 years
924–922	Nadab	3 ,,
922–899	Baasha	24 ,,
899–898	Elah.	2 ,,
898	Zimri	7 days
898–887	Omri and Tibni } . . .	12 years
887–866	Ahab	22 ,,
866–864	Ahaziah	2 ,,
864–852	Jehoram	12 ,,
852–824	Jehu.	28 ,,
824–807	Jehoahaz	17 ,,
807–792	Joash	16 ,,
792–751	Jerohoam II	41 ,,
	. . . .	
739	Zechariah 6 months, Shallum .	1 month
738–728	Menahem ben Gadi . . .	10 years
727–726	Pekahiah	2 ,,
726–706	Pekah hen Remaliah . .	20 ,,
	. . . .	
697–688	Hoshea ben Elah . . .	9 ,,

It is only a pity that the imposing edifice thus erected in the name of astronomical science rests on a foundation so unstable—an artificial phantom, dependent on **a** Rabbinical exegesis, itself a mere creation of fancy.

The OT itself having thus failed to give sufficient

[1] **B.** Talm. *Shabbāth*, 87*b*, etc. ; see Mahler, *Bibl. Chron.*

4 8

[1] Mahler finds here a reference to the fall of Nineveh. He argues that the battle against the Lydians in which the day became night (cp Herod. 1 103),—a battle which preceded the fall of Nineveh—fell, not on 30th Sept. 610 B.C. but on 28th May *585* B.C. Again, the solar eclipse with the announcement of which Zephaniah (1 15) connects an allusion to the expedition undertaken by Phraortes against Nineveh at least twenty-five years before its final fall is (acc. to Mahler) one that happened on 30th July 607.

Help Egyptian chronology. foreign nations, which so often come contact with Israel, can help us. In so doing we must consider in the first place the Egyptians. It is to Egypt that the narrative of the origin of the people of Israel points; thither escaped the remnant of the community of Gedaliah; and in the interval between these times, as also later, the fortunes of Palestine were often intertwined with those of Egypt.

No fixed era. The Egyptians themselves possessed no continuous era; for the quite unique mention, on a *stele* from Tanis, of the 400th year of the king Nubti (according to Steindorff probably none other than the god Set of Tanis), is too obscure and uncertain, and would not help us at all even were it more intelligible. Nor yet does the ***Sothis-period*** help us much. This was a period of 1461 years, at each recurrence of which the first days of the solar year and of the ordinary year of 365 days once again coincided for four years, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Dog-star, from whose rising the solar year was reckoned, again appeared on the 1st of Thoth. The period was never used for chronological purposes.[1] Nor have the monuments fulfilled the expectation, not unreasonable in itself, that by the help of inscriptions giving dates according to two methods it would be possible, by calculation, to reach a more exact chronology for Egyptian history. The most learned Egyptologists, indeed, can themselves determine Egyptian chronology only through combination with data from outside sources. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in the year 525 B.C. furnishes their cardinal point. From this event, the years of

20. Period of certainty. reign of the kings of the 26th dynasty may be fixed with certainty by the help of the data supplied by the monuments, Herodotus, and Manĕtho. What lies before Psamtik I., the first pharaoh of this dynasty, however, is in the judgment of Egyptologists more or less uncertain, and therefore for other chronological determinations the records of that earlier time are either not to be used at all or to be used with the greatest caution.

Still, even this short period, from 664/3 (the accession of Psamtik I.) to 525 B.C., is a help to us by supplying points of reference. Through synchronisms of Egyptian and Judean history several events of the time are to a certain extent fixed. Thus Necho II. (middle of 610 B.C. to beginning of 594 B.C.) is admitted to be the king who fought the battle at Megiddo that cost Josiah his life. So mention is made in the OT of Hophra (Apries), who reigned 588-569 B.C., and was even down to 564 nominally joint ruler with Amasis (see EGYPT, § 69). Thus we get fixed points for the contemporaries of Necho II.—Josiah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiakim;—and for the contemporaries of Hophra—Jeremiah, and the Jews in Egypt (Jer. 44 30)—although neither for the battle of Megiddo nor for that of Carchemish can the year be determined from Egyptian data. On the other hand, these Egyptian data are sufficient to prove that the astronomical edifice of Mahler is quite impossible.

21. 25th Dynasty. For the time before Psamtik I. the rulers of the 25th dynasty may be fixed approximately. Tanutamon ruled alone only a short time and therefore may fall out of account. The data for his three predecessors do not agree (cp EGYPT § 66 *f.*).

Taharka reigned, according to the monuments, 26 years; according to Manĕtho 18 (var. 20).
Šabatako's reign, according to the monuments, was uncertain; according to Manĕtho it was 14 (var. 12).
Šabako according to Manĕtho, 8 (var. 12).

[If we take the fourteen] and take, as our basis for the rest, the numbers [from] the monuments, we get the following:—*Taharka*, [6]90-664 B.C., *Sabatako*, 704-690 B.C., and *Šabako*, [7]16-704 B.C. Still, according to the view of Steindorff, [t]o whom we are indebted for these data, Taharka may [h]ave reigned even longer than twenty-six years, perhaps [a]long with Šabatako. Since, however, Ed. Meyer [g]ives Šabako 728-716, Šabatako *circ.* 704, and makes [T]aharka as early as 704 real master, although not till [6]89 official ruler, of Egypt (cp *Gesch. Aeg.* 343 &), [a]ll sure support is already gone. Besides, although [a]ccording to Meyer (*op. cit.* 344) the identity of Šabako [w]ith the Assyrian Sab'i and the Hebrew סוא (*So'*, or, [m]ore correctly, Save' or Seweh) in 2 K. 17 4 is indubitable, Steindorff has grave doubts as to the phonetic [e]quivalence of these names, and finds no Egyptian [d]atum for the battle of Altaku. It is, therefore, very [d]ifficult to get from Egyptian chronology any certain [l]ight on two OT statements relating to Egypt—viz., [t]hat Sennacherib sent messengers to Hezekiah when he [h]eard of the expedition of Taharka (2 K. 19 9; Is. 37 9), [a]nd that Hoshea of Israel had dealings with סוא of [E]gypt, and was therefore bound and put into prison by [S]halmaneser (2 K. 17 4).

22. Earlier times. For the chronology of the OT in still earlier times, [t]here is, unfortunately, nothing at all to be gained from Egyptology. According to 1 K. 11 40 14 25 (cp 2 Ch. 12 2), Shishak (Sheshonk) was a contemporary of Solomon, and in [t]he fifth year of Rehoboam went up against Jerusalem. [I]n spite, however, of the Egyptian monument at Karnak [b]earing the list of cities conquered by him, his date [c]annot be determined on Egyptological grounds (on [b]iblical grounds it is usually given as about 930 B.C.). [A]s to 'Zerah the Cushite' (2 Ch. 14 9 *ff.*), we need not [e]xpect to find any mention of him in Egyptian sources [(see] ZERAH).

The clay tablets found at *Tell el Amarna* (see ISRAEL, § 6), indeed, make some important contributions to [o]ur knowledge of the relations of Palestine to Egypt; [b]ut for the chronology they afford nothing certain. We must get help from the chronology of Babylonia [b]efore we can, even approximately, determine the date [o]f the correspondence. Then it seems probable that Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. reigned in Egypt [e]ither about 1450 B.C. or about 1380 B.C., at which time, therefore, Palestine must have stood under the sceptre of Egypt: the contemporaries of Amen-hotep III.—Burnaburiaš I. and Kurigalzu I. of Babylon—are assigned by Winckler to 1493-1476 and 1475-1457 B.C. respectively, and the contemporary of Amen-hotep IV. —Burnaburiaš II.—to 1456-1422, whilst R. W. Rogers, on the other hand (*Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, 1895, p. 56), gives 1397-1373 as the probable date of Burnaburiaš II., and C. Niebuhr (*Chronol. der Gesch. Isr., Aeg., Bab. u. Ass. von 2000-700 B.C. untersucht*, 1896) accepts only one Burnaburiaš and places him and his contemporary Amen-hotep IV. in the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. As in these tablet inscriptions the name of the Hebrews has not so far been certainly discovered, so, in the Egyptian monuments generally, we cannot find any reminiscence of a stay of Israel in Egypt or of their departure.[1] Theories about the pharaoh of the oppression and the pharaoh of the Exodus remain, therefore, in the highest degree uncertain. Neither Joseph nor Moses is to be found in Egyptian sources: supposed points of contact (a seven-years famine, and the narrative of Manĕtho about Osarsiph-Moses in Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1 26-28; on this cp Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Aeg.* 276 *f.*) have proved, on

[1] The confirmation that Mahler (*op. cit.*, p. 56 *ff.*) seeks for 1335 B.C. as the date of the Exodus in the statement that under Menephthah, whom he holds to be the pharaoh of the Exodus was celebrated the beginning of a Sothic period, which may have happened in the year 1318 B.C., is certainly weak, since the pharaoh who according to Ex. 14 was drowned could not have reigned after that for 17 years. See EXODUS.

[1] On the inscription of Menephthah discovered in 1896, see EGYPT, § 58 *f.*, and EXODUS, §§ 1, 3.

nearer examination, untenable.[1] Apart, therefore, from the dates of the rulers of the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth dynasties, there is very little to be gained for OT chronology from Egyptology. On Egyptian Chronology see also EGYPT, § 41.

Assyriology offers much more extensive help. It is much better supplied with chronological material, since

23. Help from Assyriology.

it possesses, for a series of 228 years, inscriptions containing careful *lists of Eponyms*, lists, that is, giving the name of the officer after whom the year was called, and mentioning single important events falling within the year. These brief notes alone are quite enough to give the lists an extraordinary importance. Their value is further increased, however, by the fact that the office of Eponym had to be held in one of his first years, commonly the second full year of his reign, by each king. Hence the order of succession of the Assyrian kings and the length of their 'reign can be determined with ease, especially as names of kings are distinguished from those of other Eponyms by the addition of the royal title and of a line separating them from those that precede them (cp ASSYRIA, § 19 *ff.*). The monumental character, too, of these documents, exempting them, as it does, from the risk of alteration attaching to notes in books, gives assurance of their trustworthiness. Nor is the incompleteness of the list supposed by Oppert a fact. In regard to the order of succession no doubt is possible.

The establishment of this uninterrupted series of 228 years can be accomplished with absolute certainty (as

24. Method.

we shall see below) by the help of an eclipse of the sun assigned by the list to the Eponym year of Pur-Šagali of Gozan.[2] In order to be able to determine the eclipse intended, however, and thus to fix the year astronomically, we have first to bring into consideration the so-called Canon of Ptolemy[3] —next to these Assyrian Eponym lists, perhaps the most important chronological monument of antiquity. This Canon is a list giving the names of the rulers of Babylon—Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian—from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great (the Egyptian Ptolemies and the Romans are appended at the end), with the number of years each of them reigned, and the eclipses observed by the Babylonians and the Alexandrians—the years being reckoned according to the era of Nabonassar—*i.e.*, from that prince's accession. The trustworthiness of this document is proved, once for all, by the astronomical observations it records,[4] from which we learn that the beginning of the era of Nabonassar falls in the year 747 B.C.[5]

The Canon can be combined with the Assyrian Eponym lists, and the establishment of the latter with certainty effected in the following way. On the one hand, the Ptolemaic Canon assigns to the year 39 of the era of Nabonassar. 709 B.c., the accession of Arkeanos (=Sargina on the fragment of the Babylonian list of kings); and, on the other hand, Assyrian clay tablets identify this year, the first of the rule of Šarrukīn (*i.e.*, Sargon or Arkeanos) over Babylon with the Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-li' (Schr. *KAT*(2), 491) the thirteenth of Sargon's rule in Assyria.[1] Hence we may identify this Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-li' (the thirteenth year of Sargon's reign in Assyria) likewise with the year 709 B.C. ; and, as the series is uninterrupted, all its dates become known. We can, then, obtain astronomical confirmation of the correctness of this combination (and so also of the trustworthiness of the Ptolemaic Canon and the Assyrian Eponym lists) in the way hinted at already. For, if the Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-li' is the year 709 B.C., the Eponym year of Pur-Šagali, to which, as we saw above, there is assigned a solar eclipse, must be the year 763 B.c.; and astronomers have computed that on the 15th June of that year a solar eclipse occurred that would be almost total for Nineveh and its neighbourhood. Thus the Assyrian Eponym list may safely be used for chronological purposes.

On the ground of the statements of this list, then, we have, for the years 893-666 B.C., fixed points not to

25. Result.

be called in question by which to date the events of this period in Israel; for the Assyrian inscriptions not only supply direct information concerning certain events in Israel's own history, but also in other cases fix the date of contemporaneous events which the narrative of the OT presupposes. Then the Ptolemaic Canon, which from 747 B.C. onwards accompanies the Assyrian Eponym list, continues when the Eponym list stops (in 666 B.C.), and conducts us with certainty down to Roman times.

We are thus enabled to determine beyond all doubt the background of the history of Israel and Judah from 893 downwards, and obtain down to Alexander the Great the following valuable dates :—

TABLE III.—ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN DATES 893 B.C. TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT

890–885	Tuklat-Adar.
884–860	Abr-niisir-pal.
859–825	Shalmaneser **II.** (Šal-ma-nu-uššir)
824–812	Šamši–Rammān.
811–783	Rammān-nirari **(III.).**
782–773	Shalmaneser III. (Šal-ma-nu-uššir)
772–755	**Ašur-dan-ilu** (Ašurdān **III.)**
754–746	**Ašur-niraru.**
745–727	Tiglat-pileser III. (Taklat-habal-išarra)
726–722	Shalmaneser III.
721–705	Sargon (Arkeaiios, 709-705, king of Babylon).
704–681	Sennacherib (Sin-achi-irib).
680–668	Esarhaddon (Ašarhaddon. Ašur-ah-iddin=Asaridinos in Pt. Can.).
667	=first year of the reign of Ašur-bani-pal, who perhaps reigned till 626.
	The continuation is supplied by the Ptolemaic Canon which specifies the rulers of Babylon :—
667–648	Saosduchinos (=Sam&-Sum-ukin).
674–626	Kinilanadanos.
625–605	Nabopolassaros (=Nabū-habal-uṣur).
604–562	Nabokolassaros (=Nabū-kudurri-uṣur, נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר **and** נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר).
561–560	Illoarudamos (=Avīl-Marduk, אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ).
559–556	Nerigasolasaros (=Nirgal-šar-uṣur).
555–539	Nabonadios (=Nabū-nā'id).
538–530	Kyrus (=**Kuruš**, כּוֹרֶשׁ).
529–522	Kambyses (=Kambuyija).
521–486	Dareios **I.** (=Dārayavuš, דָּרְיָוֶשׁ).
485–465	Xerxes (=Khšayāršā, אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ).
464–424	Artaxerxes **I.** (=Artakhšatrâ, אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא).
423–405	Dareios **II.**
404–359	Artaxerxes II.
358–338	Ochus.
337–336	Arogos (=Arses).
335–332	Dareios III.

Here follows Alexander the Great, who died in 323 B.C.

With regard to this summary it is to be noted that (as is **a** matter of course in any rational dating by years 'of reign—it is certainlv the case in the Ptolemaic Canon) the vear con-

[1] Cp also Wiedemann's review (*TLZ*, **1894**, No. **25**, p. 633), of Laroche's ***Questions chronologiques*** (Angers, 1892), where the Exodus is assigned to 1492. The judgment of this competent reviewer is that 'the book is well-meant, but brings the question of the Exodus no nearer to **a** solution.'

[2] *KB*, **1** 210 *f.*

[3] It bears the name 'Ptolemaic Canon' because it was included in his astronomical work by the geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemæus, the contemporary of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (therefore *circ.* **150 A.D.**).

[4] The proof is strengthened by the fragments of a Babylonian list of kings published by Pinches in *PSBA* **6** 193-204 [May, **'841**, part of which constitute an exact parallel to the beginning of the Greek list, and completelv confirming its statements concerning the names and reigns of the rulers.

[5] More exactly (since the dates are reduced to the common Egyptian year) on the first of Thoth (=26th Feb.), not (as according to Babylonian official usage might have been expected) on the 1st of Nisan (=21st March) (cp Hommel, ***GBA***, **488**, and see below **§ 26).**

[1] From the thirteenth year of his reign down to his death in the seventeenth (and so, as the Ptolemaic Canon states, for five years) Sargon must have reigned over Babylon also.

sidered as the first of any king is the earliest year at the beginning of which he was already really reigning : in the preceding year he had begun to reign on his predecessor's death. Short reigns, accordingly, which did not reach the beginning of the new year, had to remain unnoticed, as that of Laborosoarchad (Lâbaši-Marduk) in the year 556, which, according to Bērōssus, lasted only nine months. It is further to he noted that the beginning of the year did not fall in the two lists on the same day. The Eponym lists make the year begin on the first of Nisan, the 21st of March, while the Ptolemaic Canon follows the reckoning of the ordinary Egyptian year of 365 days, the beginning of which, as compared with our mode of reckoning, falls one day earlier every four years. Thus, if in the year 747, as was indeed already the case in 748, the beginning of the year fell on the 26th of February, the year 744 would begin on the 25th. For a period of a hundred years this difference would amount to twenty-five days. Thus the beginning of the year 647 B.C. would fall on the 1st of February; and so on. Therefore for the period 747-323 B.C. the beginning of the year would always fall somewhat near the beginning of ours.

26. Beginning of year.

If, then, the chronological data of the OT were trustworthy, as soon as one cardinal point where the two series—that of the OT and that just obtained—came into contact could be established with certainty, the whole chronology of the OT would be at once determined, and the insertion of the history of Israel into the firm network of this general background would become possible. In the uncertainty, however, in which the chronological data of the OT are involved, this simple method can lead to no satisfactory result. All points of coincidence must be separately attended to; and, although we may start out from a fixed point in drawing our line, we must immediately see to it that we keep the next point of contact in view. Unfortunately, in going backwards from the earliest ascertainable date to a remoter antiquity such a check is not available.

27. Care necessary.

The earliest date available, as being certain beyond doubt, for an attempt to set the chronology of the OT on a firm basis is the year 854 B.c., in which Ahab king of Israel was one of the confederates defeated by Shalmaneser II. (859-825) at Ḳarkar (Schr. *KGF*, 356-371 and *KAT*(2), 193-200). Since, however, the OT contains no reference to the event, it is of no use for the purpose of bringing the history of Israel into connection with general history till we take into consideration also the next certain date, 842 B.C., in which year presents were offered to the same Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., by Jehu (*KAT*(2), 208-211). Within these thirteen years (854-842) must fall the death of Ahab, the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and the accession of Jehu. Of this period the most that need be assigned to Jehu is the last year, which may have been at the same time also the year of Jehoram's death; for it may be regarded as quite probable that it would be immediately after his accession that Jehu would send presents to the Assyrian king to gain his recognition and favour. On the other hand, the traditional values of the reigns require for Ahaziah two years (1 K. 22 52), and for Jehoram alone twelve years (2 K. 3 1): so there appears to be no time left for Ahab after 854. The death of Ahab, however, cannot be assigned to so early a date as 854.[1] The reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, therefore, must be curtailed by more than one year. The course of events from 854 to the death of Ahab in the struggle with the Syrians has, accordingly, been ranged in different ways.

28. Earliest certain OT dates.

Wellhausen (*IJG*(2), 71) supposes that in consequence of the universal defeat in 854 Ahab ahanboned the relation of vassalage to Aram that had lasted till then, and thus provoked a Syrian attack on Israel. Then, by the victory at Aphek in the second year and the capture of Benhadad, he compelled the Syrians to conclude peace and to promise to deliver up the Gileadite cities they had won from Israel (1 K. 20). As the Syrians did not keep their promise, he undertook in the third year of the peace the unfortunate expedition for the conquest of Ramoth-gilead, in which he met his death (1 K. 22). Thus the death of Ahah would fall about the year 851. Schrader, on the other hand, sees in Ahab's taking part in the battle of Ḳarkar a consequence of the conclusion of peace with Aram that followed the battle of Aphek, and finds it thus possible to assign Ahab's death to so early a date as 853. Even if we inclined to follow the representation of Schrader (Wellhausen's is much more attractive), the Assyrian notice of the battle of Ḳarkar in 854 establishes at least one point, that the beginning of Jehu's reign cannot be earlier than 842, and the traditional numbers must he curtailed. On the question just discussed see also AHAB.

The year 842 B.C. may, therefore, be assigned as that of the accession of Jehu. In the same year also perished Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, whilst Athaliah seized the reins of government in Jerusalem. If from this date, equally important for both kingdoms, we try to go back; we can determine with approximate certainty the year of the division of the monarchy. The years of reign of the Israelitish kings down to the death of Jehoram make up the sum of ninety-eight, and those of the kings of Jndah down to the death of Ahaziah the sum of ninety-five; whilst the synchronisms of the Books of Kings allow only eighty-eight years. Since the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel must be curtailed (§ 28), if we assume ninety years as the interval that had elapsed since the partition of the kingdoms this will be too high rather than too low an estimate. The death of Solomon may, accordingly, be assigned to ± 930 B.C. Wellhausen (*IJG*(2), 9 *f.*), indeed, raises an objection against this, on the ground of a statement in the inscription of Mesha; but the expression in the doubtful passage is too awkward and obscure to lead us, on its account, to push back the death of Solomon to 950 B.C., or even farther.[1]

29. Approximate earlier.

In this connection it is not unimportant that the statements of Menander of Ephesus in regard to the Tyrian list of kings confirm the assignment of 930 B.C. as the approximate date of the death of Solomon.

30. Menander.

According to the careful discussion that Franz Rühl has devoted to this statement (see below, § 85 end), preserved to us in three forms (first, in Josephus, *c. Ap.* 1 18; second, in the Chron. of Euseb., and third, in Theophilus ad *Autol.* iii. 100 22), we may, assuming v. Gutschmid's date of 814 B.C. for the foundation of Carthage, fix on 969-936 as the period of reign of Εἴρωμος or Hiram, and on 878-866 B.C. as that of Εἰθώβαλος or Ethba'al. Now, Ahab was son-in-law of Ethba'al (1 K. 16 13), and since Ethba'al at his accession in the year 878 B.C. was thirty-six years old, be could quite well have had a marriageable daughter a few years later, when Ahab, who according to 1 K. 16 29 reigned twenty-two years (about 872-851 B.C.), ascended the throne. Moreover, Menander mentions a one-year famine under Eithobalos, which even Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13 2) identifies with the three-year famine that, according to 1 K. 17, fell in the beginning of the reign of Ahah. Further, Eiromos (969-936) may he identified with Hiram, the friend of Solomon (cp 1 K. 5 18 24 *f.* 32 9 10 *ff.*), and, whether we adopt the opinion that Hiram, the contemporary of David (2 S. 5 11), was the same person as this friend of Solomon's, or suppose that the name of the better-known contemporary of Solomon has simply been transferred to the Tyrian king who bad relations with David, the year ± 930 B.C. for the death of Solomon, agrees excellently with this Phœnician synchronism.

[1] Victor Floigl (*GA*, 1882, pp. 94-96), indeed, supposes that Ahah fell before Karkar (*i.e.*, in 854), and not before Ramoth Gilead; but to accomplish this he has to treat the narratives of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20 1-34 38-43 22 1-37) as quite untrustworthy.

[1] We. translates lines 7-9 thus:—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaha, and Israel dwelt there during his days and half the days of his son, forty years, and Kamos recovered it in my days. He thus arrives at an estimate of at least sixty years for Omri's and Ahab's combined reigns, since only by adding the half of Ahab's reign to the part of Omri's reign during which Moab was tributary, is the total of forty years attained. It is to be noted, however, that 'Israel,' which We. (so also Smend and Socin, *Die Inschr. des K. Mesa von Moab*, 1886, p. 13) supplies as the subject to 'dwelt' (וישב), is lacking in the inscription, and that even with this insertion the construction is not beyond criticism. Is it, in the undoubted awkwardness of the passage, not possible to translate thus—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and held it in possession as long as he reigned, and during the half of the years of *my* reign *his* son, in all forty years. But yet in my reign Chemosh recovered it.' In that case there is no ground for ascribing so many as sixty years to the reigns of Omri and Ahab. Nay, the pocsibility is not excluded, that 2 K. 3 5 is right in making the revolt of Moah follow the death of Ahah, and then the futile expedition of Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah against Moab could he taken as marking the end of the forty years.

If it has been difficult to attain sure ground in the early period of the divided monarchy, it is even less possible to determine anything with certainty about the period preceding Solomon's death. If the data of the OT concerning the reigns of Solomon and David (40 years each, 1 K. 2 11 11 42) have any value, David must have attained to power about the year 1000 B.C. Concerning Saul, even 1 S. 13 1 gives us no real information, and regarding the premonarchic period the most that can be said is that, according to the discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna the Hebrews were, about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., not yet settled in Canaan.[1]

31. Before the Schism.

For the time, therefore, from the partition of the kingdom down to the year 842 B.C., we must be content with the following estimate :—

32. Schism to Jehu.

TABLE ~~. — ESTIMATE OF REIGNS : DEATH OF SOLOMON TO ACCESSION OF JEHU.

	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	KINGS OF JUDAH.
930 (?)–854	Jerohoam of Israel and his contemporaries	Rehohoam and Ahijah in Judah.
	Nadab ,,	
	Ba'asha ,,	Asa of Judah certainly Contemporary with Ba'asha.
	Elah ,,	
	Zimri ,,	
	Omri ,,	
	Ahab ,,	Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.
854	Ahab at battle of Ḳarḳar	
854–842	Ahab's death	
	Ahaziah, king of Israel	
	Jehoram ,, ,,	Jehoram, king of Judah.
842	Death of Jehoram of Israel	Death of Ahaziah of Judah.

From 842 B.C. onwards, there is no fixed point till we come to the eighth century. Then we have one in the eighth year of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727)—*i.e.*, 738 B.C. In that year, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, this king of Assyria received the tribute of Menahem of Israel. When the OT tells of this (2 K. 15 19 *ff.*) it calls the Assyrian king Pul : although elsewhere (2 K. 15 29 16 10) it uses the other name, Tiglath-pileser. Of the identity of the two names, however, there can be no doubt (*KAT*(2) 223 *ff.*, *COT*, 1 219), and we are not to think of the reference being to a Babylonian king, or an Assyrian rival king, or to assume that Tiglath-pileser himself, at an earlier period, twenty years or more before he became king over Assyria, while still bearing the name of Pul, made an expedition against the land of Israel (so Klo. *Sam. u. Kö.* ['87] p. 496). If we add that Ahaz of Judah procured for himself through a payment of tribute the help of Tiglath-pileser against the invading kings, Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus ; that, accordingly, the Assyrian king took the field against Philistia and Damascus in 734 and 733 ; and that in 732, after the conquest of Damascus, Ahaz also appeared in Damascus to do homage to Tiglath-pileser, there remains to be mentioned only the equally certain date of the beginning of the year 721 B.C. (Hommel, *GBA* 676) for the conquest of Saniaria, to complete the list of assured dates between 842 and 721.

33. Certain dates 842-721.

The attempt to arrange the kings of North Israel during this period is hampered by fewer difficulties in the interval 842-738 than are to be found in that between 738 and 721. If we assume that Menahem died soon after paying tribute, we shall still have in the 113 years reckoned by the traditionary account from the accession of Jehu to the death of Menahem a slight excess, since for the period 842-738 we need only 104 years. Still, we can here give an approximate date for the individual reigns. The latest results of Kautzsch (in substantial agreement with Brandes, Kamphausen, and Riehm) are the following :[1]—Jehu 841-815, Jehoahaz 814-798, Jehoash 797-783, Jeroboam II. 782-743 (or before 745), Zechariah and Shallum perhaps also in 743, Menaheni 742-737 (or ± 745 to after 738). For the last period, on the other hand, from the death of Menahem to the conquest of Samaria, the traditional reckoning gives thirty-one years, whilst from 737 to 721 we have hardly sixteen. The necessary shortening of the reigns is accomplished by Kautzsch in this way : Pekahiah 736, Pekah 735-730, Hoshea 729-721. Wellhausen has abandoned his former theory that Pekahiah and Pekah are identical, and makes the latter begin to reign in ± 735. To Hoshea, the last king of Israel, he assigns an actual reign of at least ten years, although he assumes that according to 2 K. 17 4 *f.* he came under the power of Assyria before the fall of Samaria.

34. North Israel 842-721.

For the Judean line of kings the starting-point is likewise the year 842 B.C., in which Ahaziah of Judah met his death at the hand of Jehu, and Athaliah assumed the direction of the government. On the other hand, we do not find, for the next hundred years, a single event independently determined with perfect exactness by years of the reigning king of Judah. We must come down as far as 734 B.C. before we attain certainty. We know that at that time Ahaz had already come to power, and we can only suppose (according to 2 K. 15 37 *f.*) that he had not long before this succeeded his father,' during whose lifetime Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus were already preparing for war. The presents of King Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser in the year 734 B.C. delivered Judah from the danger that threatened it, and in 732 B.C. in the conquered Damascus the same king did homage to the victorious Assyrian, and offered him his thanks (cp 2 K. 16 7 *ff.* and Schrader, KAT(2) 257 *ff.*). It is still difficult, however, to allot the intervening time to the several kings of Judah ; for the traditional values for the reigns require no less than 143 years from the first year of Athaliah to the death of Jotham, whilst between 842 B.C. and 734 B.C. there are only 108 years at our disposal. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce several of the items by a considerable amount, and it is not to be wondered at that different methods of adjustment have been employed. The synchronism of events between the history of Israel and that of Judah is too inadequate to secure unanimity, and the mention (not quite certain) of Azariah of Judah in Assyrian inscriptions for the years 742-740 (cp Schr. KAT(2), 217 *ff.*) does not make up the lack. On one point, however, there is agreement: that it is in the cases of Amaziah, Azariah (Uzziah), and Jotham that the deductions are to be made.

35. Judah 842-734.

The years 841-836 B.C., for Athaliah are rendered tolerably certain by the data concerniug Jehoash, the infant son of Ahaziah (2 K. 11 1 *ff.* 4 *ff.*). Then we need have no misgivings about giving Jehoash, who was raised to the throne at *so* young an age, about forty years. If we take these years fully, we obtain

[1] We modify them only to the extent of giving as the first year of a reign the year at the beginning of which the king was already in power, and adding in parentheses the figures of We., in *so* far as they are to he found in his *IJG*.

[1] On early traces of certain elements afterwards forming part of Israel, see ISRAEL, § 7 *f.* : EGYPT, § 58 *f.* ; ASHER, § 1 *f.*

for the reign of Jehoash **835-796** B.C. The date of his death may, indeed, be pushed still farther back; but in any case his time as determined by these data cannot be far wrong, for he must have been a contemporary of Jehoahaz the king of Israel (814-798), and, according to 2 K. 12 18 *ff.*, also of Hazael of Aram (acc. to Winckler 844-about 804 [?]). From **795** to **734** there are left only **61** years, and in this interval room must be found for Amaziah with twenty-nine years, Azariah with fifty-two, and Jotham with sixteen—no less than ninety-seven years. Even if we allow the whole sixteen years of Jotham, who, according to 2 K. 15 5, conducted the government during the last illness of his father, to be merged in the fifty-two years of Azariah, we do not escape the necessity of seeking other ways of shortening the interval. Amaziah's reign is estimated too high at twenty-nine years. The only thing that is certain about him is that he was a contemporary of Jehoash of Israel (797-783; cp 2 K. 14 8 *ff.*). It is pure hypothesis to assign him nine years (We.), or nineteen years (Kamph. and Kau.), instead of twenty-nine. The smaller number has the greater probability, since the defeat that he brought on himself by his wanton challenge of Jehoash of Israel best explains the conspiracy against him (2 K. 14 19 *f.*), and he would therefore hardly survive his conqueror, but much more probably meet his death by assassination at Lachish not long after 790 B.C. (cp also St. *GVZ*, **1559**). From the death of Amaziah to **734** reigned Azariah and Jotham. To discover the boundary between the two, we must bear in mind the Assyrian inscriptions already mentioned, which apparently represent Azariah as still reigning in the years 742-740, and must keep in view that Isaiah, who cannot be thought of as an old man when Sennacherib marched against Jerusalem in the year 701, received his prophetic call in the year of the death of Uzziah (Isa. 6 1). Accordingly, we cannot be far wrong in assigning the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham as sole ruler to 740 B.C. More than this cannot be made out with the help of the materials at our disposal up to the present time.

36. 734-586 B.C. If now the year of the conquest of Samaria (721 B.C.) were fixed with certainty according to the year of the king then reigning in Judah, this would appear the next resting-point after **734** B.C. The data of the OT do not agree, however, and none of them is to be relied upon. This is true even of the datum in 2 K. 18 13, lately much favoured by critics, that Sennacherib's expedition against Palestine in the year 701 B.C. was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (so We. *JDT* ['75] p. 635 *ff.*; Kamph. *Die Chronol. der Hebr. Könige* ['83] p. 28; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jes.* ['85] p. **37**, and St. *GVI*, 1606 *f.*). In order to maintain the datum, it is not enough to say, 'The people of Judah are more likely to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which their whole land was laid waste and their capital, Jerusalem, escaped destruction only through enduring the direst distress, than to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which Samaria fell.' The unusual (cp 2 K. 18 19) prefixing of the numeral before שנה (cp Duhm, *Jesaja*, 235) of itself indicates a later origin, and this is confirmed by what we have already found as to these chronological data not belonging to the original narrative. The number fourteen is based, not upon historical facts, but upon an exegetical inference from Is. 38 5, and a consideration of the twenty-nine years traditionally assigned to Hezekiah, and must therefore rank simply with the scribe's note Am. 1 1: 'two years before the earthquake.'[1]

Even when we come to the seventh century, the expectation that at least the death of Josiah in the battle of Megiddo would admit of being dated with complete accuracy by material from inscriptions is not fulfilled. From Egyptian chronology, which does not mention the date of the battle, we gather only that it must have been after 610 B.C., since the conqueror, Necho II., did not begin to reign till that year. There is, therefore, nothing left but to take as our fixed point the conquest of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadrezzar—*i.e.*, **586** B.C. (2 K. 25 3 8). For the intervening time we have to take into consideration, besides the death of Josiah, the data supplied by Assyriology, which place Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah in **701** B.C. and imply Manassehs being king of Judah in the years 681-667 (cp Schr. KAT(2), p. **466**).

For the whole time from the death of Jotham to the conquest of Jerusalem, tradition requires 155 years of reign, whilst from **734** B.C., when Ahaz was already seated on the throne of Jerusalem—which year, if not that of his accession, must have been at least the first of his reign—to 586 B.C., we have only **148**, or, since we may reckon also the year **734** B.C., 149 years. The smallness of the difference of seven years, however, shows that we have now to do with a better tradition. Where the mistake lies we cannot tell beforehand. All we can say is that it is not to be sought between the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem, since for this interval twenty-two years are required by tradition, and this agrees with our datum that Josiah must have died shortly after **610** B.C.

Let us see whether another cardinal point can be found. In **701** Hezekiah was reigning in Jerusalem. When it was that he came to the throne, whether before or after the fall of Samaria (**721** B.C.), is the question. In Is. 14 28 we have an oracle against Philistia, dated from the year of the death of king Ahaz,—a chronological note which, like Is. 6 1, may have importance, if the oracle really belongs to Isaiah. Winckler and Cheyne [but cp *Isaiah*, *SBOT*, *Addenda*] regard it as possible that the oracle may refer to agitation in Syria and Palestine, in which the Philistines shared, on the accession of Sargon (**721** B.C.), when Hanun, king of Gaza, induced them to rebel, in reliance on the help of Sib'e, one of the Egyptian petty kings (cp above on Šabaka, Sab'i, *So'*, Seweh, § 21). On this theory the death of Ahaz would have to be set down about the year **720** B.C. As, however, the authenticity of the oracle is not certain,—in fact hardly probable (cp Duhm, who even conjectures that originally there may have stood, instead of Ahaz, the name of the second last Persian king, Arses [=Arogos])—it is not safe to take it as fixing the death-year of Ahaz. Of greater value is the section relating to the embassy of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon to Hezekiah (2 K. 20 = Is. 39). Merodach-Baladan was king of Babylon from **721** to **710**. When, later, he attempted to recover his position, he held Babylon for so short a time that an embassy to the west would be impossible. Thus, Merodach-Baladan must have sought relations with Hezekiah between **721** and 709. The beginning of the reign of Merodach-Baladan, when in the year **721** or **720** he obtained possession of Babylon and held it against Sargon, commends itself as the point of time most suitable. After the battle of Dūr-ilu, which both parties regarded as a victory for themselves, it must have seemed natural to hope that the overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom would be possible, if the west joined in the attack. Moreover, Sargon once describes himself (Nimrud inscr., 18) as 'the subduer of Judah,'[1] which seems to mean that, on the suppression of the revolt in Philistia, Hezekiah resumed the payment of the tribute that had been imposed. In view of this, Winckler seems to be justified in placing the appearance of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan before Hezekiah in the year **720** or 719. Approximately, then, the year **721** may be regarded as assured for the year of the death of Ahaz.

The first year of Hezekiah's reign is thus **720** B.C. rather than **728** (Kau.), or 714 (We, and others). The discrepancy of four years, which is all that now remains

[1] This is forcibly urged by Kau. (cp. Kamph. *op. cit.* 94) and has received the assent of Duhm (*l.c.*) and Cheyne (*Intr. Is.* 218).

[1] For fuller details see ISAIAH, i. § 6, SARGON.

TABLE V.—TABULAR SURVEY: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO HEROD THE GREAT.

Certain Dates.	Probable Dates.	ISRAEL.	JUDAH.
	circ. 930	1st year of **Jeroboam.**	1st year of **Rehoboam.**
	930–854	Reigns of Jeroboam, **Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri,** part of reign of **Ahab.**	Reigns of Rehoboam, **Abijah, Asa,** part of reign of **Jehoshaphat.**
854		Ahab at battle of Ḳarḳar.	
	854–842	Rest of reign of Ahah: reigns of **Ahaziah** and **Jehoram.**	Rest of reign of Jehoshaphat : reigns of **Jehoram** and **Ahaziah.**
842		Death of Jehoram (at the hands of Jehu). Tribute of Jehu to Shalmaneser II.	Death of Ahaziah (at the hands of Jehu).
	841	1st year of **Jehu** (841–815).	1st year of **Athaliah** (841–836).
	835		1st year of **Jehoash** (835–796).
	814	1st year of **Jehoahaz** (814–798).	
	797	1st year of **Jehoash** (797–783).	
	795		1st year of **Amaziah** (795–790).
	789		1st year of **Azariah** (789740).
	782	1st year of **Jeroboam II.** (782–743).	
	743	**Zechariah, Shallum.**	
	742	1st year **Menahem** (742–737).	
	739		1st year **Jotham** (739734).
738		Tribute of Menahem to **Tiglath-pileser III.**	
	736	**Pekahiah.**	
	735	1st year of **Pekah** (735–730).	
734			Tribute of Ahaz to **Tiglath-pileser.**
	733		1st year of **Ahaz** (733–721)
732			Aha[illegible] do[illegible]s homage [illegible] Tigl[illegible]piles[illegible]r at **Damascus**
	729	1st year of **Hoshea** (729–721).	
721		**Fall of Samaria.**	
	720	1st year of **Hezekiah** (720–693). Embassy of Merodach-baladan from Babylon.	
701		Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem.	
	692	1st year of **Manasseh** (692–639).	
	638	1st year of **Amon** (638).	
	637	1st year of **Josiah** (637–608).	
	608	Battle of **Megiddo. Jehoahaz,** king.	
	607	1st year of **Jehoiakim** (607–597).	
604		1st year of **Nebuchadrezzar** (604–562).	
	597	**Jehoiachin,** king.	
	596	1st year of **Zedekiah** (596–586).	
586		**FALL OF JERUSALEM.**	
Dates.	The more important dates of the succeeding centuries.		
561	st year of **Evil-Meroclach** (561–560). Liberator **of** Jehoiachin from prison.		
538	st year of Cyrus (538–530).		
521	st year of **Darius I.** (521–486).		
515	Completion **of** building of second temple.		
464	st year of **Artaxerxes I. (464–424).**		
445	st **visit of Nehemiah** to Jerusalem. Building of city-wall.		
433	Return of Nehemiah.		
circ. 43	nd **visit of Nehemiah to** Jerusalem. On **the** advent of **Ezra** and the Introduction **of** the law see above, **§ 14.**		
332	**End of Persian** Power **: Alexander the Great.**		
320	Beginning of **Ptolemaic** dominion in Palestine, which continued with short interruptions till **198.**		
312	Beginning of the **Era of the Seleucidæ.**		
197	Palestine under **Syrian** dominion.		
157–16	**Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.**		
167	Insurrection of **Mattathias** the priest, of Modein (†166).		
165	Reintroduction of **regular service** in the temple		
160	**Judas Maccabæus** (166–160) falls in battle against Bacchides.		
143	Execution of **Jonathan** (leader of Maccabean revolt since **160).**		
142–13	**limon** High-priest and **Prince.**		
134–10	**Hyrcanus I.**		
103	**Aristobulus I.** king.		
102–76	**Jannæus.**		
75–67	**Alexandra.**		
66–63	**Xyrcanus** II. and **Aristobulus II.**[1]		
63	**Taking of Jerusalem by Pompey.** Palestine a part of the Roman Province **of Syria.**		
62–40	**Xyrcanus II.** under Roman sovereignty.		
40	Invasion of Parthians. **Antigonus** made king (40–37).		
7–4 B.C.	**Herod the Great.**		

[1] On the dates of **the** Maccabees cp We. *IJG*(2), 229, n. 2 ; 2nd ed. 263, n. 3 ; 3rd ed. 275, n. 2.

between the sum of the years of reign from the death of Ahaz to the conquest of Jerusalem, and the interval 720-586 B.C.—*i.e.*, between 139 years of reign and 135 actual years—cannot be removed otherwise than by shortening the reign of one or more of the kings. The account of the closing portion of the line of kings has already been found to merit our confidence. The shortening must therefore be undertaken somewhere near the beginning of the line of kings from Hezekiah to Josiah. The most obvious course is to reduce the long reign of Manasseh from fifty-five years to fifty-one (We., indeed, assigns him only forty-five). This, however, may seem arbitrary, and it will be simpler as well as less violent to divide the shortening among all the four reigns. If, that is to say, in the case of the years of reign of the kings from Hezekiah to Josiah, tradition included (according to popular practice) the year of accession and the year of death, we may reduce the numbers for Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah by one each, and assign them twenty-eight, fifty-four, one, and thirty respectively. Thus we get the following series:—Hezekiah 720-693 (28 years), Manasseh 692-639 (54 years), Amon 638 (1 year), Josiah 637-608 (30 years), Jehoahaz 608 (¼ year), Jehoiakim 607-597 (11 years), Jehoiachin 597 (¼ year), and Zedekiah 596-586 (11 years). The control over the date of the death of Josiah from Egyptian history which is to a certain extent possible turns out to be not unfavourable to our results, since Pharaoh Necho II. began to reign in 610 B.C., and, as early as the end of 606, or the beginning of 605, encountered the crown prince Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish (cp, on the date of this battle which, in Jer. 46 2, is inaccurately assigned to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Winckler, *AT Untersuch.* 81). Hence the year 608 B.C. for the battle of Megiddo possesses the greatest probability. That, among the numerous dates for the last decades of the kingdom of Judah which the OT furnishes, little inaccuracies, such as that in the passage (Jer. 46 2) just cited, appear, is intelligible on the ground (apart from others, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Ezek. 33 21) of their being the result of later calculation. At all events, these variations are not to be accounted for, with Hommel (*GBA* 755), by the supposition that the Jews reckoned the years of Nebuchadrezzar, as well as those of their own kings, from the day on which they ascended the throne to the corresponding day in the following year. The Jews, in adopting the exact Babylonian chronological system, and applying it to their own past history, did not mutilate it and render it futile.

Beyond the points already referred to (§ 13 *f.*), the chronology of the times after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. presents no difficulties worth mentioning. The Canon of Ptolemy supplies an assured framework into which the data that have been preserved can be fitted without trouble.

37. After 586 B.C.

38. Summary of Results.

The tabular survey on the preceding page gathers together the dates we have established. At the end is appended a continuation indicating the most important dates down to the last century B.C. K. M.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

39. NT chronology: importance.

The chronology of the New Testament is of great (subsidiary) importance for the study of the origins of Christianity. From the order of the events in the primitive period it will be possible to draw conclusions with regard to the influence of one event upon another; the rapidity of the historical development will enable us to measure the power of the original impulse: and only when the events have received their place in contemporary history can they be fully understood.

Unfortunately, the task is attended with serious difficulty, the causes of which need to be briefly described.

40. Difficulty.

(1) The first Christians themselves had no interest in chronology, whether with reference to events concerning them as Christians, or with reference to events of secular history. This was due not only to their separation from the world and their limited horizon, but also, and still more, to their sense of superiority to the world (Phil. 3 20), which seemed to them already in process of dissolution (1 Cor. 7 31), and to their feeling that they had already begun to live in eternity. (2) The historical traditions of the Christians were formed wholly with the purpose of promoting Christian piety, and were therefore restricted to a small number of events, the choice of which was often, as it were, accidental, and the arrangement according to subject rather than to time. Our chronological interest has, accordingly, to be satisfied with inferences and combinations which often remain, after all, very problematical; and the gaps in the traditions prevent us from constructing anywhere a long chronological sequence. (3) Of at least a part of the traditions the historical trustworthiness is subject to such grave doubt that we can venture to use them only with great reserve, if at all. (4) In the NT, apart from some vague notices in the Fourth Gospel, the only writer who professedly gives chronological data is the author of the Third Gospel and Acts. He gives no account, however, of the means by which he obtained these data. We are, therefore, unable to check his statements, and can treat them only as hypotheses. As far as we know, the old Catholic fathers—Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, and Hippolytus—were the first to make chronological calculations. Whether they based them on any independent tradition or limited themselves to inferences from our Gospels is uncertain; the latter is the more probable view. Their data can receive only occasional mention here.[1] (5) It has not yet been found possible to give exact dates to certain of those events of profane history which come into question. (6) Further difficulty is caused by the complicated nature of the ancient calendar, and by the different usages in reckoning time and in beginning the year. Side by side with the various eras we have various methods of reckoning by the years of reigning monarchs.[2]

In the following article the years are designated by the numbers of our current Dionysian era, on the origin of which see Ideler (*Handb.* 2 365 *ff.*). By this reckoning the year 1 B.C. coincides with the year 753 A.U.C., and the year 1 A.D. with the year 754 A.U.C. The years are treated as beginning on 1st Jan., as was the case according to the Varronian reckoning in the period under consideration.

1 The facts in detail are to a large extent given by Bratke and Hilgenfeld in articles on the chronological attempts of Hippolytus in *ZWT*, 1892.

2 An excellent guide through this labyrinth is Ideler's *Handb.* abridged and in part improved in his *Lehrb.* (see below, § 85). The most important tables (of the sun and moon, and of eras) are brought together from astronomical works by Gumpach, ***Hülfsmittel d. rechnend. Chronol.*** 1853. See further Bouchet, ***Hémérologie***, 1868; E. Muller in Pauly's *Realencyc. d. class. Alt. s.v.* Æra: Matzat *Röm. Chronol.* two vols. 1883-84. Special service to NT Chronology has also been rendered by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1830, 2 ed. 1851; *Fasti Romani*, 1845-50; and by J. Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, Leipsic, 1881. Further bibliographical notices, and many original contributions to the subject, are to be found in Schürer, *GJV*, i. (1890), where, in an appendix, is given a table (taken from Clinton) of parallel years by Olympiads, and by the Seleucid, Varronian, and Dionysian eras. The third appendix discusses the months of the Jewish Calendar, and on p. 630 *f.* a bibliography of the very large literature of that subject is to be found.—Important for the chronology of the NT are also Wieseler, ***Chronol. Syn. der vier Evangelien***, 1843; ***Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters***, 1848; and art. 'Zeitrechnung' in *PRE*, 1866; ***Beitr. zur richtigen Würdigung der Evang.*** 1869; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, 1865; Lightfoot on 'The Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Epistles' in ***Biblical Essays*** (posthumous), 215 *ff.* See also B. W. Bacon, 'A New Chronology of the Acts,' *Expositor*, Feb. 1898.

41. Parallel Dates. TABLE VI.—NT: PARALLEL DATES FROM SECULAR HISTORY.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, 30 B.C.–19th Aug. 14 A.D., and
TIBERIUS, 19th Aug. 14 A.D.–16th March 37 A.D.
37 B.C.–4 B.C., *Herod the Great.*
20–19 B.C., *Temple* begun (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 1; see Schurer, 1301).
4 B.C.–6 A.D. Archelaus ethnarch of Judrea, Samaria and Idumea (deposed and banished to Vienne in Gaul).[1]
4 B.C.–39 A.D., *Antipas,* tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa (banished to Lugdunum). On his relations to Aretas see § 78.
4 B.C.–34 A.D.,[1] *Philip,* tetrarch of the north-eastern districts. (After his death his tetrarchy was governed as part of the province of Syria.)
The territory of Archelaus was governed
6–41 A.D. by *Roman* procurators, with their residence in Cæsarea. Of these the fifth,
26–beginning of 36 A.D., was *Pontius* Pilate.
36, Pilate sent to Rome to answer for his conduct.
36, Passover, Vitellius in Jerusalem.
37, Vitellius made war, at the Emperor's command, on Aretas in retaliation for the latter's war against Antipas. At the news of the emperor's death hostiliries suspended.
CALIGULA, 16th March 37–24th Jan. 41.
37, *Herod Agrippa I.* receives from Caligula the title of king with the tetrarchies of Lysanias (see Schurer, 1 600-604) and of Philip; in
40, also that of *Antipas;* and in
41, also the provinces of Judrea and Samaria, previously governed by procurators.
CLAUDIUS, 24th Jan. 41–13th Oct. 54.
44, Death of *Herod Agrippa I.* at Caesarea. The territory of Agrippa after his death governed by procurators.
Expulsion of *Jews from Rome.*
NERO, 13th Oct. 54–9th June 68.
52–56/60,[2] *Antonius Felix* }
56/6—62 [61?], *Porcius Festus* } procurators of Palestine.
62[61?]–64, *Albinus* }
64, 19th July, *Burning of Rome.*
66, Outbreak of Jewish *war.*
GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS, 9th June 68–20th Dec. 69.
VESPASIAN—Proclaimed Emperor 1st July 69 in Egypt while engaged in putting down the Jewish insurrection. Recognised as Emperor in the East at once, throughout the Empire not until after the death of Vitellius. Died 23rd June 79.
70, *Destruction of Jerusalem.*
TITUS, 79-81.
DOMITIAN, 81-96.
93-96, Persecutions of Christians, especially in Rome and Asia Minor.
NERVA, 96-98.
TRAJAN, 98-117.
111-113, Correspondence with *Pliny,* governor of Bithynia, on the subject of the Christians in that province.
HADRIAN, 117-138.
Insurrection of the Jews under *Bar-kokheba.*

42. Plan of article. Our investigation will treat the problems of NT chronology in the following order: the chronology of the life of Jesus (§§ 43-63), that of the life of Paul (§§ 64-80), that of the churches in Palestine (§ 81 *f.*), other dates (§ 83 *f.*). The first and second of these divisions are wholly separate from each other.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.—The questions here relate to the year of Jesus' birth [3] (§ 57 *ff.*), the year of his public appearance (§ 47 *ff.*), his age at his entrance upon his ministry (§ 43), the duration of his ministry (§ 44 *ff.*), and the year of his death (§ 50 *ff.*).

1. *The Age of Jesus at his Baptism.*—It is not surprising that tradition is meagre. In itself, as a mere tale of years, the matter had no interest for the early Christians. That

43. Baptism of Jesus. Jesus was a man of mature years was enough: why should they care to inquire how long he had lived quietly at Nazareth? We have to consider only *two* passages. (1) Jn. 8 57. If the foolish question, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' were authentic, it would only give a superior limit, plainly put as high as possible on the ground of the general impression from Jesus's appearance. From this no inference as to any definite number could be drawn, for among the Jews a man began to be elderly at fifty years, and the remark would merely have meant, 'You are still one of the younger men.' If the question is not authentic, it either testifies to the impression made by the account of Jesus in the tradition, that he was in the best years of life (cp Nu. 4 3 39 8 24 *f.*), or else the half-century, as an age which he had not yet attained, is intended to form an ironical contrast to the many centuries from Abraham to the then present time. In the ancient church, Irenæus (ii. 22 5) is the only writer, to make use of this passage for chronology; he remarks that the presbyters in Asia Minor had on the ground of it ascribed to Jesus an age of forty to fifty years.

(2) Lk. 3 23. The text is here not quite certain, and the sense of the most probable reading is obscure. What does ἀρχόμενος mean? In the Sin. Syr. it is omitted from the translation.) In any case, the presence of ὡσεί ('about') forbids us to use the number as if it were exact. It merely tells us that Jesus stood in the beginning of adult manhood, and leaves undecided the question whether he had just entered on his thirtieth year or was already over thirty.

Moreover, whether the number comes from actual historical recollection at all is made uncertain by the fact that, according to Nu. 4 3 39, from thirty to fifty was the canonical age for certain ritual acts. It is significant that these two gospels, from Asia Minor, in so many points similar, give for the age of Jesus in these two passages the two limits of this canonical term of years.

2. *The Length of the Public Ministry of Jesus.*—The evidence here points on the whole to one year. The

44. Public Ministry. 'three years' in the parable of the fig-tree (Lk. 13 7) are either arbitrarily chosen to designate a short period or are to be connected with the fact that the fig-tree commonly bears fruit in three years (for the opposite view, see Wieseler, *Synopse,* 202 *ff.*). The 'three days' of Lk. 13 32 express by a proverbial number both brief time and fixed limit (for the opposite view, Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen,* 311). From Mark and Matthew we get no light, because of the arrangement of the material by subjects The plucking of the ears in Mk. 2 23 may indicate the time when the grain was ripe; but that must have been between the middle of April and the middle of June, before which time the harvest in Galilee is not ended. Thus, if the incident was in the early months of Jesus' ministry, it does not imply a duration of more than one year. One year seems to have been the idea of the third evangelist, who, like all the writers of the second century except Irenæus, and like many Fathers of the third century, may very well have understood literally the quotation from Is. 61 1 *f.* which he puts (Lk. 4 19) into the mouth of Jesus.

In any case, a place can be found without difficulty within the limits of one year for the entire contents of the Synoptical gospels, while to fill out several years the material is rather meagre. The feeling, shared (for instance) by Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu,* 1 133), that it is a 'violent and unnatural process' to crowd the whole development into the space of one year, is balanced by the feeling of the men of the second and third centuries. Even repeated visits to Jerusalem, if the Synoptical gospels really imply them, are, in view of the nearness of Galilee to Jerusalem and of the many feasts (cp the Gospel of John), easily conceivable within one year. The early Christian Fathers were not disturbed in their assumption of a single year by the Fourth Gospel with its journeys to the feasts.

In the Fourth Gospel, apart from 6 4, if we accept the

[1] *Legates* in Syria who had occasion to interfere in the government of Palestine were:
(1) perhaps at first 3 B.C.–2 B.C., and certainly later 6 A.D.–(at latest) 11 A.D. } *Quirinius.*
7 A.D. *Census* instituted in Judæa and Samaria.
(2) 35–39 A.D., *L. Vitellius.*

[2] That Felix entered on his office in 52 (or possibly 53) and that Albinus arrived in Palestine at latest in the summer of 62 are directly attested facts. That Festus succeeded Felix in 60 or 56 is only inferred. See below § 65 *f.*

[3] On the day of his birth, for determining which there are no historical data, but for which the church, after much vacillation, finally settled on 25th Dec., see Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unters.* vol. i.

most common interpretation of ἑορτή (Jn. 5 1) as meaning Pentecost, the feasts group themselves into the course of a single year: 2 13 Passover; 5 1 Pentecost; 7 2 Tabernacles; 10 22 Dedication; 11 55 Passover. Irenaeus alone (ii. 22 3) finds three passovers mentioned in the public life of Jesus; and, since he takes the second not from 6 4 but from 5 1, he, as well as Origen (on Jn. 4 35 tom. 13 39), must have had at 6 4 a different text from any known to us. The Alogi, also, according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* 51 22), found mentioned in Jn. only a passover at the beginning and one at the end of the ministry.

45. Fourth Gospel.

Positive ground for assuming the later interpolation of 6 4 (which could well have been suggested by the substance of the following conversation) may be found in the designation of the feast there, which is different from that in 2 13 and 11 55, a designation combining (so to speak) 5 1 and 7 2. So also the introductory formula ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς ('was at hand') is suitable only in 2 13 7 2 11 55, where a journey to the feast, which does not here come in question, is to be mentioned.

Moreover, the meagreness of the narrative in Jn. is much more comprehensible if the writer thought of the whole ministry as included between two passovers. He can hardly have regarded the narrative in chaps. 3-5, and again that in chaps. 7-11, as sufficient to fill out in each case a whole year. Otherwise, if the saying with reference to the harvest (Jn. 4 35) is to be regarded as anything more than a proverbial phrase (used for the purpose of the figure which Jesus is employing) there would be a period of nine months for which nothing would be told but the conversation with Nicodemus and the baptizing work of the disciples, and a stay of six months in Galilee for which we should have nothing but chap. 6.

46. One year.

If, on the other hand, only one year elapsed from the purification of the temple to the destruction of the 'temple of his body,' we should have: 2 13-5 1, only fifty days; 5 1-7 2, perhaps 127 days; 7 2-10 22, perhaps fifty-eight days; 10 22-12 1, perhaps 119 days. In reality,, however, even this year will have to be shortened somewhat at the beginning; for the purification of the temple, which the Synoptists likewise connect with a passover (but with the last one), cannot have happened twice, and, while it is incomprehensible at the beginning, it cannot be spared at the end of the ministry. Whether, then, the baptism of Jesus was before a passover, or whether the journey to John in the wilderness may have followed a journey to the passover in Jerusalem, it is wholly impossible to decide. In the latter case the complete absence from the narrative of the baptism of all recollection of such a connection would be singular; in the former it would be strange that Jesus stayed away from the passover in Jerusalem. On the other hand, since the forty days of the temptation are surely a round number drawn from OT analogies, they may safely be somewhat reduced; and the walk with the disciples through the ripe cornfields in Galilee on the sabbath is then chronologically quite possible, even if the baptism was not until immediately after the passover.

3. ***The Year of the Public Appearance of Jesus.***—(1) In Lk. 3 1 *f.* we have, as the last of Lk.'s several chronological notes (1 5 26 2 1 *f.*), a notice of the date of the public appearance of the Baptist. This notice is clearly the product of careful investigation, and it is extremely unlikely that the evangelist would have taken so much pains about fixing this date if he had not supposed himself to be at the same time fixing the year (for the Christian, the only year of real importance in the history of the world) of at least the beginning of the Messiah's ministry, which last, together with the baptism of Jesus, Lk. regarded, as appears from the whole tenor of his narrative, as the immediate consequence of the appearance of the Baptist. Whether

47. First appearance: Lk. 3 1 *f.*

he was right in this short allowance of time for the preaching of the Baptist we need not decide; if the ministry of the Baptist really did last longer, it is easily comprehensible that the previous time should have escaped his knowledge. What year, then, does Lk. mean? Following previous writers on the life of Jesus, B. Weiss and Beyschlag have taken as the starting-point for Lk.'s reckoning the year 12 A.D., in which Tiberius was made co-regent with Augustus. There is no proof, however, that such a method of reckoning was ever used. Neither the coins, to which Wieseler[1] appealed, nor the great dignity of Tiberius, adduced by Schegg,[2] which is in any case to be ascribed to flatterers, can establish this hypothesis; and we shall have to take the death of Augustus as the starting-point. Now, Mommsen[3] has proved that until the time of Nerva the reckoning usually employed was by consuls, but that when for any reason a reckoning by the years of the emperor's reign was desirable, the years were counted from the exact date of the beginning of the reign.[4] Accordingly, Lk. must have reckoned the years of Tiberius as beginning with 19th August, 14 A.D.[5] The fifteenth year ran from 19th August 28 A.D., to 18th August, 29 A.D. Although we cannot control the sources from which Lk. derived his information,[6] it is plain from the table of dates given above that the notices in Lk. 3 1 do not contradict one another, and we have no reason to doubt Lk.'s information. We say this in spite of the fact that in one point he shows himself not perfectly well-versed in Jewish affairs: the Roman custom of having two consuls has perhaps led him to misinterpret the fact that in the time of the high-priest Caiaphas (from about 18 A.D. to Easter 36 A.D.), the latter's father-in-law, Annas, who had been high priest in 6-15 A.D., was the real leader of the Sanhedrim. Lk. has taken this to mean that the two were high priests at the same time (cp the same error in Acts 4 6).

(2) In Jn. 2 20, forty-six years are said to have elapsed from the beginning of the building of the temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry and the cleansing of the temple. If the forty-six years are treated as already past, this brings us to A.D. 28. Everything, however, is here uncertain—the position of the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of the ministry, and the authenticity of the conversation, as well as the evangelist's method of reckoning (on the supposition that the number comes from him).[7]

48. The temple.

(3) The public appearance of Jesus was con-

1 *Beitr.* 190-92.

2 *Todesjahr des Königs Herodes und Todesjahr Jesu Christi*, 1882, pp. 61-63.

3 'Das römisch-germanische Herrscherjahr' in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 1890, pp. 54-65.

4 The imperial era introduced by Nerva, which took as a basis the tribunician year beginning with 10th December, the tribunician year in which the emperor ascended the throne counting as the first of his reign, did not actually come into common use until the time of Trajan.

5 The method of reckoning the years of the emperor's reign (namely beginning with 1st Tishri 766 A.U.C.) represented by Gumpach (*l.c.* 93) as having been the universal custom, according to which he makes the fifteenth year of Tiberius begin with 1st Tishri 27 A.D., no one besides himself has ventured to accept.

6 Keim assumed, without any foundation, that Lk. had Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3 3) before him, and that he supposed the two revolutions there mentioned as occurring in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, which began in the twelfth year of Tiberius, to have been in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Tiberius, and so hit on the fifteenth year for the Baptist. This is, however, in contradiction with the fact of the large number of single notices in Lk. 3 1, which implies careful investigation; and is in itself impossible, since Josephus first mentions the Baptist in xviii. 5 2, and has already related the death of Philip, which happened so late as the twentieth year of Tiberius.

7 Has the evangelist perhaps used Nerva's method of reckoning? That yields the year 28 A.D. On the different interpretations of the number, see Sevin, *Chronol. Jesu*(2), 1874, pp. 11-13.

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temporaneous with the imprisonment of the Baptist

49. The Baptist. (Mk. 1 14 = Mt. 4 12 ; Mk. 6 17 *f.* = Mt. 14 3 *f.*; cp Lk. 3 18-20). Jesus was baptized shortly before that (Mk. 1 12 *f.* and parallels), and the execution of the Baptist happened in the course of Jesus' public ministry (Lk. 7 18 *f.* = Mt. 11 2 *f.* ; Mk. 6 19-29 = Mt. 14 5-12 ; with Mk. 6 14-16 = Lk. 9 7-9 = Mt. 14 1 *f.*).

The execution is related also by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6 1 *f.*), who does not give the exact date, hut is led to mention the matter in connection with the defeat of Antipas by Aretas (in the summer or autumn of 36 A.D.), which the nation believed to he a judgment of God for the murder of John. Aretas's reasons for making the war are said to have been two : (1) the divorce of his danghth hy Antipas in order that the latter might marry Herodias ; (2) boundary disputes. From this Keim, Holtzmann, Hausrath, Schenkel, and Sevin have inferred that this divorce, the rebuke of which by John led, according to the Synoptists, to John's death, must have been not long before 36 A.D. A judgment of God, however, may well be delayed for six years, provided the crime which the people believe to he punished by it is not forgotten; whilst a favourable moment for executing human vengeance does not always arrive immediately. Moreover, it appears that boundary disputes were finally needed to bring about the actual conflict.[1]

From this war, therefore, we can draw no inferences ahout the date of the Baptist's martyrdom. As to the marriage itself, there is, in the first place, no reason to doubt the synoptical tradition that the Baptist's courage occasioned his imprisonment. The account of Josephus neither excludes the assumption that the tetrarch waited for a good pretext before arresting John nor makes it impossible that his arrest and execution should have been separated by a short imprisonment (cp Mk. 6 20 ; Mt. 11 2). That Herodias's daughter was too old to dance at the feast is shown by A. von Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522) to be wholly undemonstrable, and a banquet at Machserus is not inconceivable. That, according to Josephus, Machserus should have been at one time in the possession of Aretas and shortly afterwards in that of Antipas, we cannot indeed explain (cp Schurer, 1365); hut since Josephus finds no difficulty in it, it has no force as an argument. Since, however, we cannot fix the date of the marriage, the whole matter does not help us much,[2] and we can only say that there is no sufficient evidence that the journey to Rome, on which Antipas made the acquaintance of his brother's wife, and his return to the tetrarchy, soon after which the marriage occurred, were not between 27 and 30 A.D.

The history of the Baptist presents, therefore, no insuperable obstacle to the view that the fifteenth year of Tiberius = 29 A.D.

4. *The Year of Jesus' Death.*—Since the crucifixion

50. Jesus' death. certainly happened under Pontius Pilate, its earliest possible date is **26** A.D., the latest 35 **A.D.**

The complete publicity of Jesus' death and its character as a civil event, its well-understood importance as the starting-point of Christianity, its unique impressiveness, and its connection with the Jewish passover, must have made it a chief object of the awakening chronological interest of the early Christians, and at the same time have given ground for believing that the date could be fixed with reasonable certainty.

51. Lk.'s method. (*a*) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3 1 *f.*) was engaged as little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist : that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3 1 *f.* is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 4 19, the last date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of **30** A.D.[3]

[1] See the account, with criticism, of Keim's theory and of Wieseler's objections to it, in Schürer, 1 368 *f.*

[2] Clemen, *Chron. der paul. Briefe*, thinks otherwise, and reckons out 33 A.D. ; but his argument is wholly inconclusive.

[3] A different view is held by Bratke, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, who holds that Lk. regarded the fifteenth year of Tiberius as identical with the 'acceptable year,' and put the death of Jesus into that year, 29 A.D.. Arguments similar to Bratke's are to be found in Sanclemente, ***De vulgaris æræ emendatione***, 1793, and in Caspari, *Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu*, 1869.

That Lk. had worked hack one year from the sixteenth year of Tiberius was the view of Julius Africanus.[1] On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria took Lk.'s fifteenth year of Tiberius as the year of Jesus' death ; as did probably Tertullian, whose statement that Christ was crucified in the consulate of the two Gemini (29 A.D.) doubtless rests on Lk. 3 1 *f.*, and was perhaps made on purpose to avoid confusion from the later method of reckoning (cp above, § 47) which would have led him to the year 28 A.D. The statement in the received text of Tertullian that Jesus revealed himself 'anno xii. Tiberii Cæsaris cannot he harmonised with Tertullian's other notices, and looks like an ancient correction intended to combine the statement in the text that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with the later traditional view of a three-year ministry.

(*b*) The theory explaining the conduct of Pilate at the trial of Jesus by the censure received from Rome

52. Pilate. between **31** and **33** A.D. lacks all foundation ; and so does the theory (Sevin, p. 135) that the hostility between Pilate and Herod (Lk. 23 12) was possible only after the complaint against Pilate (as to the date of the complaint, cp Schiirer 1 411), in which Antipas had a share. Hostility between the Roman procurator and Herods heir must have been the rule, not the exception.

(*c*) If, in spite of what has been said above, the fourth Evangelist counted three passovers in the public

53. Temple. life of Jesus (cp above, § 45), and the period of forty-six years from the beginning of the building of the temple is to be taken seriously (cp § 48), his chronology also would yield the year 30 for the death of Jesus.

(*d*) A final decision cannot be reached from the Jewish Calendar. On the one hand, the Synoptists put

54. Day of Crucifixion. the crucifixion on Friday, the 15th Nisan, John on Friday, the 14th (Mk. 15 42, Lk. 23 54, Mt. 27 62, Jn. 19 31).[2] On the other hand, although the astronomical new moons have been computed for the possible years with a difference of but a few minutes between the computation of Wurms and that of Oudemans, and the days of the week can be

55. Jewish Calendar. found,[3] difficulty is caused by various irregularities in the Jewish calendar-system. First, the beginning of the month was determined, not by the astronomical new moon, but by the time when the new moon was first visible. which depends partly on the weather and on the season of the year, and is always at least from twenty-four to thirty hours later than the astronomical new moon. In order to prevent too great divergence of the calendar, it was prescribed, however, that no month should in any case last more than thirty days, and that no years should contain less than four or more than eight such 'full' months. Secondly, the intercalary years create complication.

A thirteenth month was added to the year whenever on the 16th Nisan the barley was not yet ripe: hut this was forbidden in the sabbatical years, and two intercalary years in succession were not allowed. The only sabbatical year in our period (computed hy the aid of 1 Macc. 6 49 53, and Jos. Ant. xiv. 16 2 ; cp 15 1 2) was, according to Schurer, 33-34 A.D. ; according to Sevin and others," 34-35 A.D. Any one of the six preceding years

[1] So also Schurer, 1 369. Cp. Gelzer, S. ***Julius Africanus und die*** *byzantinische Chronologie*, 1880, 1 48.

[2] On the attempts to reconcile this discrepancy see the commentaries and the books there mentioned.

[3] Cp Wurms in Bengel's *Arch. f. d. Theol.*, 1886, vol. ii. ; Ideler, *Handb.* 1 477-583 ; Wieseler, **Chronol.** *Synopse* der *Vier* Evv. (1843), and ***Beitr. zur richtigen Würdigung der Evu.*** *und der evangelischen* **Gesch.**, 1869 ; Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüd. Kalender*, 1848 ; Oudemans, *Rev.* de *Théol.* 1863; Caspari, *Chronol.-geogr. Einl. i. d. Leb. Jesu Christi*, 1869; Schwarz, *Der jüd.* ***Kaf. historisch u. astronomisch untersucht***, 1872; Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwickelung der altjüd. Zeitrechn. im Talmud*, 1882.

[4] Cp, besides the above-mentioned work of Gumpach, Caspari, 21-25; Sevin, 58-61 ; Anger, *De temporum* ***in Artts Apostolorum ratione***, 1833, p. 38; Herzfeld, **Geschl. d.** *Isr.* 2 458 *ff.*; Zuckermann, *Ueber Sabbathjahrcyclus* ***und Jobel-periode***, Breslau, 1857 ; Gratz, *Gesch.* d. *Jud.* iii. 1878, p. 636-639 ; Rbnsch, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1870, p. 361 *f.*, 1875, p. 589 *ff.* ;

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might have been an intercalary year. At the end of 28-29 A.D., however, there was no need of an intercalated month, because the 15th Nisan fell on 16th April 29 A.D., and on 5th April 30 A.D. (so according to Wurms; according to Gauss and Schwarz one day later). At the end of 30-31 there may have been an intercalary month, for the 15th Nisan would otherwise have fallen on 26th or 27th March, 37 A.D., but with an intercalary month on 24th April. In 32 A.D., the 15th Nisan fell on 12th April; in 33 A.D., on 2nd April. If, however, 33-34 was a sabbatical year, an extra month would have had to be intercalated at the end of 32-33, and then the 15th Nisan would have fallen on 1st May, 33 A.D., and 21st April, 34 A.D.; whereas if 34-35 was the sabbatical year, the extra month would not have been inserted until the end of 33-34. Thus, in 33 A.D. the 15th Nisan would have remained and April. The Jewish empirically determined dates all fell, however, one or two days later than these astronomical dates.

56. Days of week.

If we take the days of the week into account, in the years 29, 32, and 35 A.D., neither the 14th nor the 15th Nisan could possibly have fallen on Friday. On the other hand, if 33-34 was not a sabbatical year (and *so* 32-33 not an intercalary year), the 14th Nisan may have been celebrated on Friday, 4th April 33, which would correspond to the view of the Fourth Gospel. This year, however, is excluded if Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and it is impossible in either case if, as is more likely, 33-34 was the sabbatical year, and so 32-33 had thirteen months.[1] There is, therefore, no great probability on the side of 33 A.D. On the other hand, the 15th Nisan may have fallen on Friday, 23rd April 34 A.D. This is hardly possible for the 14th Nisan, as the astronomical new moon occurred at 6.42 p.m., 7th April, so that the 1st Nisan can have been put at the latest on 9th April (so Sevin, 144). No other line of evidence, however, points to the year 34, and this reckoning by the calendar suits just as well the year **30** of Lk. 3 1 *f.*, for in that year the astronomical new moon occurred at 8.08 p.m., 22nd March, so that the 1st Nisan may have been put on Friday, 24th March, and the 15th have fallen on Friday, 7th April.[2]

5. ***The Year of Jesus'* Birth.**—Dionysius Exiguus, according to the proofs given by Sanclemente (*l.c.* **4** 8)

57. Jesus' Birth; Dion. Exiguus.

and confirmed by Ideler (*Handbuch*, 2 383 *f.*), started in his reckoning from the incarnation, and followed the common method for the years of reigning monarchs. His view was that Jesus was born on the 25th December, 754 A.U.C., and so he counted the whole year 754 as 1 A.D. The view defended by Noris and Pagi, that he assigned the nativity to 25th December 753, and ignored the five following days, is wrong.

In this reckoning, which gradually came to be universally accepted, Dionysius departed from the dating for which Irenæus (*Adv. hær.* iii. 25) and Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 8) are the oldest witnesses; which dating, based only on the information given in the Gospels, put the nativity in 751 A.U.C. = 3 B.C. Dionysius, perhaps because he had no means of fixing the date of the census under Quirinius in Lk. 2, or the death of Herod in Mt. *2*, seems to have reached his result by putting the public appearance of Jesus one year later than that of John (15th year of Tiberius, Lk. 3 1 *f.*), and reckoning back thirty years. Since we have seen that the thirty years of Lk. 3 1 *f.* is a round number, perhaps drawn from the OT, we are thrown back on the narratives of the nativity.

(*a*) Lk. gives two points. (i.) He says (1 36) that Jesus was six months younger than the Baptist, whose

58. The Baptist.

conception happened under Herod (1 5). It does not, however, follow that the birth of Jesus fifteen months later was alsc under Herod, and, even if the evangelist thought so, tis view cannot have rested on documentary evidence. Perhaps Lk. may have drawn his inference from the act that the Baptist died six months before Jesus.

(ii.) Lk. says (2 1-5) that Jesus was born at the time when a census, ordered by Augustus for the whole

59. The Census.

empire, was being taken in Judrea and Galilee, and that this was while Cyrenius undoubtedly Publ, Sulpicius Quirinius) was governor n Syria.' Such a census, however, was legally impossible in the reign of Herod, and a governorship of Quirinius in Syria before Herod's death is chronologically impossible, since at the time of Herod's death (4 B.C.) Quinctilius Varus (who put down the insurrection following that event) was still governor in Syria, whilst his predecessors were Sentius Saturninus (9-6 B.C.) and Titius (attested for 10 B.C.). Josephus, who relates the last years of Herod in much detail, has no knowledge of such a census, but says that the census of 7 A.D. was the first, and something altogether novel for the Jews. It may be that Quirinius was governor of Syria for a short time (3-2 B.C.) as successor to Varus, as he certainly was afterwards from 6 A.D. until (at the latest) 11 A.D.; but in his first (problematical) governorship a census for Judæa, which had fallen to the share of Archelaus, is likewise impossible. On the other hand, the census in Judæa under Quirinius in 6-7 A.D., after the deposition of Archelaus, is well attested (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13 5 xviii. 1 1 and 2 1 xx. 5 2, *BJ*, xi. 1 1, Acts [= Lk.] 5 37), and may have been in fulfilment of a general imperial command intended to be executed as occasion should arise in the several provinces. This could, however. have applied only to imperial provinces (including, therefore, Judæa), not to senatorial provinces: that is, it would not be universal. Further, (1) even this census could not have included the Galileans, who were subjects of Antipas; and (2) it must have been taken as the basis for a poll and property tax, at the actual, not at the ancestral, home of the subject, for the latter would have been in most cases hard to determine, and such a procedure was in general impracticable. (3) Moreover, Mary could not possibly be affected by it, because she was not of the lineage of David (cp GENEALOGIES, ii.), and in such cases the authorities dealt with the male representatives of the women.

The account in Lk. rests, therefore, on a series of mistakes, and the most plausible view is that the evange-

60. Lk.'s method.

list, or the tradition which he followed, for some reason combined the birth of Jesus with the census under Quirinius, and assigned to the latter a wrong date.[2]

Perhaps Lk. simply confused Archelaus with his father, for the former was very probably, like Antipas, occasionally called Herod. This confusion of the two Herods would have been all the easier if after Herod the Great's death Quirinius really was for a while governor of Syria. The same confusion may have caused Irenæus and Tertullian to adopt the year 3 B.C. for the birth of Jesus. The imperial census of Lk. is perhaps a confusion of the census under Quirinius, put incorrectly into the year 3 B.C., with the remembrance of the census of Roman citizens throughout the empire which was actually ordered by Augustus in 6 B.C., for the two events lay only two years apart. Lk., who (cp § 47 above, on the two high priests in Lk. 3 2) was none too well informed on Jewish matters, may have inferred from 'the family of David' that Joseph's home was really in Bethlehem, and have supposed this fact to be the true means of combining the already current tradition of the birth in Bethlehem with the incontestable tradition that Jesus was a Nazarene. If

Wieseler in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1895, p. 527 *ff.*; Caspari in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1877, pp. 181-190; Riess, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1880 p. 45 *f.* 229-236; and other works mentioned in Schürer, 1 29 *f.*

[1] See for the year **33 A.D.** the exact reckoning in Schegg p. 49 *f.*

[2] So also Gumpach, *Hülfsm. d. rechnend. Chronol.* **1853** p. 94.

[1] See the conclusive investigation by Schürer, 1 433 *ff.*

[2] A chronological error is not without analogies in Lk. The case of Thendas (Acts 5 36 *f.*) is well known, and the collection for the poor in Acts 11 28 *f.* is perhaps confused with that of Acts 21, whilst the combination of the various famines in the time of Claudius into one world-wide famine (Acts 11 *28*) is very closely analogous to the case of the census.

these suppositions are admissible, the kernel of truth in the narrative would be that Jesus was born not far from the end of the Herodian period, and that the Roman rule was set up in his earliest childhood. In both these political occurrences an inner connection with the events which brought in the Kingdom of God was doubtless observed in very early times, and the interest in making the closeness of this connection as clear as possible may have led to the enrichment of the narrative.

(*b*) From Mt. we have as chronological evidence the star and the slaughter of the innocents. Rationalising attempts, however, to subject this star to astronomical laws do violence to the idea of the narrator. The star moves in its own free paths, appears and disappears, travels and stands still. Even if the evangelist is wrong, and a conjunction or a comet lies at the basis of the story, it is impossible to determine froni what phenomena astrologers of 'the East' supposed themselves able to draw such inferences. The star shines only in the legend, and derives its origin from Nu. 24_{17} and the apocalyptical imagery (cp Rev. 12_{1}). It has been matched by similar legendary stars at the birth and at the death of many of the great men of the heathen world.

61. The Star.

As to the murder of the innocents, if it were a historical fact, Jesus must be supposed, since the male children were killed 'from two years old and under,' to have been not less than a year old, even if the murder was just before Herods death: and in that case, since Herod died shortly before the Passover of 4 B.C., Jesus must have been born at the latest in 5 B.C. Josephus, however, although he narrates with the most scrupulous exactness all the horrors of Herods last years, has no knowledge of the murder of the children. On the other hand, he gives almost exactly the same story as relating to Moses (*Ant.* xi. 9_{2}).

62. The Innocents.

All the other suspicious circumstances in the narrative in Mt. 2 cannot be set forth here. In view of the natural tendency of legends to connect important events with one another and to mirror their mutual relations, we cannot infer from Mt. more than that Jesus was probably born shortly before or after the death of Herod—the same result that we reached from Lk.

The only results which have a very high degree of probability are the date 30 A.D. for the death of Jesus, and the period of about one year for the length of his public ministry. Besides this, it is also probable that Jesus was born in the agitated times when death was snatching the sceptre from the hand of Herod the Great, and when with his successors the Roman rule in Judæa was coming again in sight.

63. Conclusions.

TABLE VII.—LIFE OF JESUS, PROBABLE DATES.

circa 4 B.C. ?—Birth of Jesus.
circa 28/29 A.D.—Beginning of public work.
30 A.D.—Death of Jesus.

II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF PAUL.—The starting-point for Pauline chronology must be the journey to Rome, for here we can make connection with the dates supplied by Roman history. The events immediately preceding—namely, the arrival of Festus in Palestine, the beginning of the proceedings against Paul (Acts 25 1-6), the hearing and the appeal (25_{6-12}), and (27_{1}) the shipment of the prisoner—probably followed one another rapidly; but the actual date of the arrival of Festus is matter of dispute (*see* the literature in Schurer, *GJV*, I 484 *f.* n. 38, to which must now be added O. Holtzmann, *NT Zeitgesch.*, 1895, p. 125 *ff.* 248; Blass, *Acta Ap.* 1895, p. 21 *f.*; Harnack, *Die Chron. der altchristl. Lit.* **1** ['97]). For the most part the preference is given to the year 60 or 59 A.D., since it was at the latest in the summer of 62 (more probably in that of 61) that Albinus succeeded Festus, and for the events related of Festus's term of office one year will suffice. The objection to an earlier date 'is that it might not leave room for the events of the life of Paul, and that, according to Acts 24_{10}, at the imprisonment of Paul, Felix had already been in office 'many years' (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν). (That the courtly Josephus casually mentions Poppæa as Nero's wife, which she did not become till several years later, cannot be adduced as a serious argument in the same direction.)

64. Paul's journey to Rome.

65. Festus.

By the side of this commonly received date, however, a much earlier one has been advocated recently.[1]

Thus Kellner proposes Nov. 54 A.D.; Weber and O. Holtzmann, the summer of 55; Blass and Harnack, 56 (Harnack, 55 ?). Whilst O. Holtzmann takes his start from Tacitus, Harnack starts from the chronology of Eusebius, the claims of which to our confidence his labours have materially enhanced. He shows that there is no ground for the common suspicion of the dates given by Eusebius for the procuratorships preceding and following that of Festus.

Eusebius s date for the year preceding the accession of Felix differs from that of Tacitus by only one year. Nor is the difference any greater in the date of his removal. According to Tacitus Pallas fell into disfavour a few days before the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus, which fell in the middle of Feb. 55 A.D. According to Josephus, Pallas obtained of Nero an acquittal for his brother Felix from an accusation made by the Jews after his recall. Now, as Nero ascended the throne on the 13th Oct. 54 A.D., the time left under him by these two dates is clearly too short for the events narrated hy Josephus. Two solutions are possible. Tacitus may he wrong by a year in the age of Britannicus; it may have been his fifteenth birthday, *so* that it was not till 56 that Pallas fell into disfavour; or else even after his fall Pallas may still have had access to the Emperor. Now, Eusebius in his Chronicle supports the year 56 as that of the accession of Festus, since he assigns it to the second year of Nero (Oct. 55 to Oct. 56; on the textual certainty of this date see Harnack, 236, n. 2). If Felix entered on his office as according to Eusebius he did, between Jan. 51 and Jan. 52 (according to Tacitus between Jan. 52 and Jan. 53), he could in the summer of 56 be described in case of need, if we compare the average length of procuratorships, as having been in office ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν.

Any objection, in fact, to this number 56 for the accession of Festus, supported by Tacitus and Eusebius, could come only from the requirements of the life of Paul. We shall, therefore, leave the question open for the present.

From the date thus obtained for the relegation of the prisoner to the tribunal at Rome, let us in the first place make our way backwards.

If, as we shall *see* to be probable, Paul carried out the plan mentioned in Acts 20_{16}, his arrest must have been at Pentecost under the procurator Felix, who (2427) prolonged the proceedings for two years until his retirement from office. This mention of Felix and the two-years imprisonment in Caesarea are, indeed, regarded as unhistorical by Straatman (*Paulus*, 1874), van Manen (*Paulus*, 1, *De handelingen der Apostelen*, 1890), and especially by Weizsacker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 1886, pp. 433-461); but the improbability of certain details, on which they rely, is not conclusive, and, on the other hand, the rise of this circumstantial narrative cannot be explained on the ground that it is a doublet to Acts 25 *f.* That Felix should hold over the prisoner for the chance of a change of sentiment in Jerusalem, and, this change not having come about, should finally leave him in prison in the hope of leaving one popular deed to be remembered by, agrees with his character and the habit of procurators. That Acts tells nothing about these two years is much less surprising than its silence about the year and a half in Corinth and the three years in Ephesus. That a provisional imprisonment of two years could be imposed even on a Roman citizen is

66. Felix.

[1] By Kellner (the article 'Felix' in Hergenröther's *Kirchenlex.*(2) [Roman Catholic], 1887; *Z. f. kath Theol.* 1888), Weber (*Kritische Gesch. der Exegese des 9. Kap. des Römerbriefs*, 1889, p. 177 *ff.*), O. Holtzmann (*l.c.*), Blass (*l.c.*), Harnack (*l.c.*) following such older scholars as Bengel, Siiskind, and Rettig.

shown by the two-years imprisonment in Rome. It is likewise obvious that Paul would not have had his case transferred to Rome except in dire necessity. The dry notice in Acts 24 27 is, therefore, without doubt trustworthy, and the arrest of Paul is to be put two years earlier than the arrival of Festus—that is, at Pentecost 54 or 58.

For the events before the arrest in Jerusalem we give the dates in two numbers : one on the assumption that this happened at Pentecost 54 ; the other, that it was in 58. The journey to Jerusalem from Philippi (Acts 20 4–21 16), which is related, with the exception of the episode at Miletus (20 16-38), from the 'we-source,' was begun after 'the days of unleavened bread,' and there is no reason for supposing that Paul did not carry out his plan (20 16) of arriving at Jerusalem by Pentecost. The itinerary from the beginning of the Passover is given us as follows :—At Philippi (Passover) seven days ; to Troas five days ; at Troas seven days ; to Patara eight days,—in all twenty-seven days. This leaves twenty-two days before Pentecost, which was ample for the journey to Jerusalem except in case of a very exceptionally nnfavourable passage from Patara to the coast of Syria. Of these twenty-two days twelve were occupied as follows :—At Tyre seven days, to Ptolemais one, to Cæsarea one, to Jerusalem two to three; so that ten days remain for the voyage from Patara to Tyre (which in ordinary weather required four to five days) and for the stay at Czsarea, the duration of neither of which is stated. From the stops, which in view of the brisk coasting-trade were surely not necessary, we may infer that satisfactory progress was made by the travellers. The departure from Philippi, which was the conclusion of Paul's missionary career, is, therefore, to be put just after the Passover of the year of the arrest.

67. Philippi to Jerusalem.

For the dates earlier than this point, the chronologist would be wholly at sea without Acts; and no good reason appears for not trusting the information which it gives. On the great journey which ended at Jerusalem, Paul had started from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 8 *f.*; Acts 19), and journeyed by way of Troas, where he carried on his work for a short time (Acts 20 1 does not mention Troas at all), to Macedonia (2 Cor. 2 12 *f.* 7 5). That he stayed there long is not likely ; for, if he had done so, the length of his stay would probably have been given as in the case (Acts 20 3) of Greece (Corinth). Moreover, the plans made in Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 5; 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.*) had in view only a short stay in Macedonia, for (1 Cor. 16 8 cp *v.* 6) Paul expected to leave Ephesus after Pentecost (which fell somewhere between 15th May and 15th June) and to be in Corinth so early that, even if he should not decide to pass the winter there, his visit should, nevertheless, not be too short. This would allow at most three months on the way. Now, he may have waited rather longer in Macedonia, in order to learn the impression made by Titus (the bearer of 2 Cor.) ; but, even so, we cannot reckon more than from four to five months for the whole journey. In Corinth itself he stayed (Acts 20 3) three months, and then returned to Macedonia, where he surely did not stay long, since he had been there just three months earlier. Moreover, he had, no doubt, formed in Corinth his plan of being in Jerusalem by Pentecost, and the additional time which the unexpectedly long journey (occasioned by Jewish plots, Acts 20 3, which made the direct route impossible) must have cost him would of itself have forbidden an unnecessarily long stay. He probably, therefore, reached Philippi but little before the Passover ; and we have for the whole journey from Ephesus through Troas, Macedonia, Greece, and back to Macedonia perhaps eight to ten months—namely, about the space of time from Pentecost 53/57 to Passover 54/58. In the summer[1] of 53/57 in Macedonia

68. Ephesus to Philippi.

[1] Or autumn ; *see* CORINTHIANS, § 3.

Paul wrote 2 Cor.; at the end of this year or the beginning of the next in Corinth, Romans, and the letter of introduction for Phoebe to the Christians at Ephesus (Rom. 16 1-20). About this time may belong, too, the undoubtedly authentic note Tit. 3 12-14; in which case the Macedonian Nicomedia is meant, and the plan for the winter was not carried out.

The stay in Ephesus had lasted, according to Acts 19 8 10 22, over two years and a quarter (Acts 20 31 speaks of three years), so that Paul must have come to Ephesus at Pentecost or in the summer of 50/54. From there, after he had already sent one letter to Corinth (1 Cor. 5 9), he wrote in the beginning of 53/57 our 1 Cor., and later had occasion to write to Corinth for yet a third time (2 Cor. 7 3 : the letter is perhaps preserved in 2 Cor. 10-13).[1]

69. Ephesus.

From this long stay in Ephesus, which doubtless formed the second great epoch in Paul's missionary activity in the Greek world, we go back to the first—namely, the first visit to Corinth (Acts 18 1-18 ; cp 1 and 2 Cor.). This appears to have lasted about two years, since *to* the one year and a half of 18 11 must be added, in case 18 11 refers only to the time spent in the house of Titius Justus, the previous time, in which Paul was trying to work from the synagogue as a base, as well as the later ἱκαναὶ ἡμέραι of 18 18. How much time lay, however, between the departure from Corinth and the arrival at Ephesus in 50/54 we cannot tell, although the very sketchiness of our only authority (Acts 18 18-19 1) makes it easier to believe that the author is drawing here (except for the words, *v.* 19, εἰσελθών-*v.* 21, θέλοντος) from a written source than that he relies on oral tradition or his own imagination. Oral tradition would either have omitted the journey altogether, or have narrated what happened at Jerusalem in some detail. All suspicion of 'tendency' is excluded by the brevity and obscurity of the passage. For the journey thus barely mentioned in Acts one year would be ample time. In that case Paul would have left Corinth in the summer of 49/53, having arrived there in the summer of 47/51. In the beginning of this period of two years 1 Thess. was written. (The genuineness of 2 Thess. must be left undetermined.)

70. Corinth.

Before the long stay in Corinth falls the Macedonian mission, with the necessary journeys, which, however, occupied hut one day each (Acts 16 11-18 1). For the whole journey from Troas to Corinth a few months would suffice. It is, therefore, possible that Paul set out after the opening of navigation in March of the same year in the summer of which he arrived for his long stay in Corinth.

Up to this point the probability of the chronology is very considerable. The results may be summarised as follows :—

71. Results.

TABLE VIII. —LIFE OF PAUL : ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE TO IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

Spring 47/51.—Departure from Troas, followed by mission in Macedonia.
Summer 47/51–Summer 49/53.—Corinth and Acbaia. 1 Thess.
Summer 49/53–Summer 50/54.—Visit to Jerusalem and Antioch ; journey through Asia Minor to Ephesus.
Summer 50/54–Pentecost 53/57.—Ephesus.
Pentecost 53/57–Passover 54/58.—Journey by way of Troas and Macedonia to Achaia and return to Philippi.
Passover–Pentecost 54/58.—Journey, with the contribution, from Philippi to Jerusalem.
54/58–56/60.—Imprisonment in Cæsarea.
Autumn 56/60–Spring 57/61. —Journey to Rome.
57/61–59/63.—Imprisonment in Rome.

Passing now to the period before 47/51 A.D., we find that Acts supplies us with far less trustworthy accounts and is wholly without dates ; nor have we any Pauline epistles written in these years. Highlyprobable, nevertheless (jnst because of the peculiar way in which it is given), although not

72. Earlier period.

[1] See, however, CORINTHIANS, § 18.

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without editorial additions, is the representation preserved in Acts 15 40-16 8, that Troas was the goal of a zigzag journey from Antioch in Syria through the interior of Asia Minor. The seeming restlessness (Acts 16 6-8)—at any rate in the latter part of the inland journey—may imply that the time occupied was comparatively short. In that case, the start from Antioch might fall in the year 46/50; but even that is very problematical. We are, therefore, thrown back for the chronology wholly on Gal. 1 *f.*

73. Gal. 1 f. Here, however, it is not perfectly plain whether the fourteen years in 2 1 include or follow the three years in 1 18. For the former view may be adduced the change of prepositions μετά ('after') and διά ('in the course of,' RVmg.); but this can be explained better thus. An ἔπειτα ('then') having been introduced in 1 21 between the two ἔπειτα of 1 18 and 2 1, διά was used, instead of μετά, in order not to exclude the space of time between the two ἔπειτα of *vv.* 18 and 21—namely, the fifteen days in Jerusalem. (Perhaps, also, in 21 the three years had completely elapsed before the first visit, whereas the second visit may have been made in the course of the fourteenth year.) On this view seventeen years would have elapsed from the conversion of Paul to the conference in Jerusalem, out of which time he had spent three years in Arabia and fourteen in Syria and Cilicia (1 17 21). The latter period was certainly, the former (at least for Damascus) probably, occupied in the work of an apostle (Gal. 1 23 2 7 *f.*). After the conference in Jerusalem followed a stay in Antioch (2 11-21). Since 3 1 *f.* is introduced without any sign of transition, the simplest supposition is that this προγράφειν (3 1; RV 'open setting forth') and its results (that is, the mission in Galatia) come chronologically after, but not too long after, the events narrated previously. This would agree, also, with the most natural interpretation of Gal. 2 5.

If we look now at the parallel narrative in Acts, there is, in the first place, no doubt that in 15 1-35 we have the same events described as in Gal. 2.

74. Acts. In Acts, as in Galatians, Paul and Barnabas come with others in their company to Jerusalem, and return to Antioch after arriving at an understanding with the church in Jerusalem. To Antioch come also, in both cases (although in Acts no mention is made of a visit of Peter), members of the Jerusalem church, who might in Acts also, just as in Galatians, have been said to come from James. In Acts 11 27-30 12 24 *f.*, however, we find, besides, mention of another earlier journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem and back again, after the journey from Damascus to Jerusalem (Acts 9 26-30 = Gal. 1 18). Since Gal. 1 20-2 1 makes this impossible as a separate visit to Jerusalem, the two visits from Antioch (Acts 11 *f.* and Acts 15) must have been really one; and this would explain the further points of resemblance that on both occasions (in one case after, in the other before, the journey of the apostles) prophets come from Jerusalem to Antioch 11 27 15 32), and that both times, although in different ways, a contribution of money plays a part (Acts 11 28 *f.* Gal. 2 10). Cp also 'to the elders' (Acts 11 30 15 2). Now, although this visit is in general more accurately described by Acts 15, there are many reasons for thinking that it is chronologically placed more correctly by Acts 11 27 *ff.*

The insertion by mistake at the end of chap. 14 is easy to understand; for whilst large parts of chap. 13 *f.* and the whole of chap. 15 are certainly the work of the final author of Acts (notice that the style is the same as in Acts 1-12), at the same time the 'we source' can he detected (as is now more and more widely held) as far hack as 13 1, and we can ascribe to it the return to Antioch (14 26*a*) as well as the later departure for the journey of 16 6 *ff.* (without the intervening narrative), although we can no longer restore the original connection. Accordingly, since the author had *not* been able before Acts 13 *f.* to give a concrete account of any Gentile mission, an undated account (perhaps not perfectly accurate) of a conference in Jerusalem (to which the missionaries came from Antioch) which treated the subject of Gentile missions could be inserted after 13 *f.* better than earlier. The author may have bad some reason to suppose that the contribution of money (the fact but not the date of which be had learned: it was not mentioned in his source as the occasion of the last visit of Paul to Jerusalem; Acts 21) must have been brought on the occasion of the earlier stay in Antioch. If so, we can see bow, in consequence of the two periods of residence in Antioch, he was led to suppose that there had been two visits to Jerusalem, and so to create a contradiction to Gal. 1 *f.* All this becomes still more probable if the districts visited in Acts 13 *f.* could be called Galatia hy Paul: a possibility which can now be regarded as proved, as is the impossibility that Paul should have called them Cilicia (Gal. 1 21) (see GALATIA). On the other band, it can be seen in Acts 15 1 *f.* 30 *ff.* that at the conference the great question was ahout the Syrian Christians, not about those whose conversion is related in Acts 13 *f.*

If these hypotheses are correct, between the conference in Jerusalem (Gal. 2 1 *ff.*) and the journey from Troas to Macedonia (Acts 16 8-11) lie the missionary journey (Acts 13 *f.*) begun and ended at Antioch, and the zig-zag tour through Asia Minor (Acts 15 36-16 8), the beginning of the original account of which has been, doubtless, somewhat confused by the insertion of Acts 15. One year, however, is not enough for these journeys. The hindrance hinted at in Acts 16 6 *f.* may perhaps have been connected with the winter season, if the date [March 47/51) which we have ventured to give above for the passage from Troas to Macedonia is correct. In that case the missionaries would perhaps have passed the preceding winter in Antioch (Acts 14 26); the missionary journey of Acts 13 *f.* would then fall in the open season before this winter; and thus the departure from Antioch related in Acts 13 1 *ff.* would have been two years before the passage from Troas to Europe (that is, in the spring of 45/49), and the conference in Jerusalem immediately before—perhaps (if we may infer from analogies) at the time of the Passover. The conversion of Paul would fall (Gal. 1 18 2 1) fourteen or seventeen years earlier—that is, in the year 31/35 or 28/32. When Gal. was written is for the general chronology a matter of indifference.[1]

75. Results. To the table given above should therefore be prefixed:—

TABLE ~~.—LIFE OF PAUL: CONVERSION TO ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE.

31/35 or 28/32.—Conversion of Paul.	
	Three-years stay in Arabia and Damascus.
34/38 or 31/35.—First visit to Jerusalem.	
	Eleven- or fourteen-years work in Syria and Cilicia.
45/49.—Conference in Jerusalem, mission in Galatia.	
	One-year journey through Asia Minor to Troas.

Three further passages can perhaps serve as proof of the results reached above.[2] The first (Acts 11 28), containing the mention of the famine under

76. Famine. Claudius, loses, indeed, its significance, if the visit there mentioned had as its object the agreement about the mission-fields, not the bringing of a contribution; but it perhaps explains the mistaken combination (Acts 11 30 12 1) of this journey (of 45/49 A.D.) with the death of James the son of Zebedee, which happened (Acts 12 19-23) between 42 and 44. Josephus tells (*Ant.* xx. 5 2 and 20 ii. 5 § 101) of a famine in Judæa, which can well be put in one of these years, and so could have been foreseen in the preceding year (cp Schürer, 1 474, n. 8). By a singular coincidence there was in 49 also, one of the alternative years for the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, a much more widely extended famine (see, for authorities, Schürer, *ib.*). It is possible, then, that the author knew that the conference was in a famine year, but connected it, by mistake with the famine of 44 instead of that of 49, and that this assisted the confusion which resulted in the creation of an extra visit to

[1] For the different possibilities see the Introductions to the NT; for the latest hypotheses, Clemen, *Chronol. d. paulin. Briefe*, 1893.

[2] We can make nothing of the statement in Acts 21 38. Even were its authenticity beyond dispute, we have no means whatever of determining the year of the sedition referred to, and Wieseler's choice of 56 or 57 A.D. (*Chron.* 79) is devoid of any solid foundation. Nor is it possible to infer any date from the account in Acts 25 *f.* of Agrippa and Berenice's presence in Cæsarea at the time when Paul's case was decided.

Jerusalem. The confusion of the two famine years is the more pardonable because both fell under Claudius; the transformation of the two local famines into one which affected the whole empire is easily explicable. All this, however, is simply a possibility. If the year of the conference was 45 A.D., the two journeys distinguished by Lk. would fall so close together that we can easily understand their being regarded as distinct, on the supposition that Lk. knew nothing of the raising of a collection and its delivery on the occasion of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, but did know of a famine about the time of the conference and of succour given to the primitive church through Paul.

77. Expulsion of Jews.

The second notice is that of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius, which was (Acts 18 1 *f.*), before Paul's arrival at Corinth. The year, however, of this edict, which Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) also mentions, is not certain. Wieseler (*Chronol.* 120-128) conjectures, without conclusive arguments, that it was issued in the year of the expulsion of the mathematici (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52; Dio Cassius 60 6)—that is, in 52 A.D.—whilst Orosius (7 6, 15 ed. Zangemeister, 1882) gives as the date, on the authority of Josephus (in the existing text of whose writings we find no mention of the matter), the ninth year of Claudius = 49 A.D.—a date not favourable to the earlier alternative reached above for the year of Paul's arrival in Corinth, the summer of 47/51. Orosius's statement, however, cannot be verified.

78. Aretas: Paul's conversion.

Finally, from Acts 9 24 *ff.* and 2 Cor. 11 32 *f.*, it appears that Paul's first visit to Jerusalem was occasioned by a persecution at a time when a viceroy[1] of Aretas, king of the Nabatæans, resided at Damascus. The latest Damascene coins with the head of Tiberius (which form one of the proofs brought together by Schürer, 1 615 *f.* n. 14, to prove, against Marquardt and Mommsen, that Damascus was not all the time under Arabian rule) belong to the year 33-34, and it is in itself not probable, though it is possible, that Damascus was given to Aretas by Tiberius, who died in March 37 A.D., while under Caligula such favours are well known. If Caligula's reign bad already begun, the flight of Paul would have fallen at least two years later than all but one of the dates assigned for it above. However, the argument is uncertain. Nothing known to us makes the possession of Damascus by Aretas in the last years of Tiberius actually impossible. If that should be excluded by discoveries of coins or other new evidence, we should then (the often assailed genuineness of 2 Cor. 11 32 *f.* being presupposed) have to combine the numbers in Gal. 1 18 2 1 (so that there would be only fourteen years between Paul's conversion and the conference in Jerusalem), or to shorten the time estimated for the mission in Asia Minor and Europe, *or* else to omit from the life of Paul the two-year imprisonment in Cæsarea under the procurator Felix.

'At the same time, the coins of Tiberius for the year 33-34 exclude the year 28 as that of Paul's conversion. If we assign the imprisoninent to 54, the data of Gal. 1 *f.* must be explained as referring to the total of fourteen years, so that Paul's conversion would fall in 31. In favour of this is its nearness to the death of Jesus. For 1 Cor. 15 3 *ff.* does not well permit an interval of any length between Jesus' death and Paul's arrival at Damascus. Conversely, the same consideration demands that, if we regard 58 as the date of the imprisonment, we should calculate from the statements in Gal. 1 *f.* a period of seventeen years, so that 32 would be the year of Paul's conversion. Neither series, accordingly, conflicts with what we know of those times; but it may readily be asked: Are we warranted in casting discredit on the statements of Eusebius?

79. Closing period.

How now stands the case with reference to the close of Paul's life? The travellers set out for Rome in the autumn of 56 or 60, and arrived in the spring of the subsequent year (Acts 27 *f.*). For the next two years Paul was kept in easy imprisonment, and to this period belong Colossians and Philemon, though some assign them to the Cæsarean imprisonment. After the lapse of the two years began the trial, about which we have some information from a note to Timothy now incorporated in 2 Tim., and from Philippians. Of its duration and issue we know nothing. The prediction that Paul would die without meeting his friends again (Acts 20 25-38), the sudden breaking off of Acts, and the utter absence of all trace of any later activity on the part of the apostle, will always incline one to believe that Paul's presentiment was fulfilled, and that his trial ended in a sentence of death. If so, the great apostle died in the course of the year 59 or 63. In either case his martyrdom was before the persecution of Nero, and had no connection with it. Nor does any of the older narratives conflict with this. When Eusebius in his Chronicle assigns the death of Peter and Paul to the fourteenth or thirteenth year of Nero (the number varies in different texts)—i.e., 68 or 67 A.D.—he is in conflict with himself, for he elsewhere sets this event in the beginning of the persecution of Nero, which beyond all question was in the summer of 64; and moreover, as Harnack insists (*l.c.* 241 *f.*), his date lies under the suspicion of being occasioned by the legendary twenty-five years stay of Peter at Rome, in combination with the story that the apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the death of Jesus: 30 + 12 + 25 make 67. But neither is the tradition of the contemporaneous death of the two apostolic leaders by any means so well grounded as Harnack assumes (*l.c.*). In Eusebius, the contemporaneousness lies under the same suspicion as the date. Clem. Rom. chap. 5 gives no hint of it, and the summary introduction of other sufferers in chap. 6 gives us no right, in face of the enumeration of the sufferings endured by Peter and Paul during the whole of their apostolic activity, to apply all that is said in chap. 6, and therefore the death of these apostles, to the persecution of Nero. The testimony of Dionysius (Eus. *HE* ii. 26 8), ἄμφω εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν ('After both teaching together as far as to Italy, they suffered martyrdom at the same time') is to be taken *cum grano salis*. If the two great apostles died a violent death for their faith in Rome under Nero, it is easy to see how tradition might lose sight of the interval of one year or five years, and bring the two martyrdoms together. The rapidity with which in the popular memory Paul receded behind Peter, a phenomenon already noticeable in Clem. Rom. and Ignat. (*ad Rom.* 4), admits of a peculiarly simple explanation if Paul was withdrawn from the scene so much sooner.

80. Was Paul liberated?

Whatever testimony can be found in the literature down to Eusebius for the liberation of Paul from his first imprisonment at Rome has been collected anew by Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchrist.* 1). In truth, all that can be taken account of before Eusebius is the apostle's intention intimated in Rom. 15 24 and mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (except that the apostle's plans were so often upset by events), the Pauline fragments of the Pastoral Epistles (if they ought not also to be brought within the period of missionary activity known to us, since otherwise they would present the post-captivity labours as a strange repetition of what preceded the captivity), and the expression τέρμα τῆς δύσεως 'boundary of the west' in Clem. Rom. It is only the last that we can take seriously. Since, however, Ignatius speaks of Rome as δύσις ('west,' *ad Rom.* 2 2), and Clement himself has immediately before opposed δύσις to ἀνατολή ('east'), meaning therefore at least Rome among other places, it is not at all

difficult, especially keeping in view the Pauline metaphor of the ἀγών (conflict), to suppose that it is this δύσις, (*i.e.*, Rome) that is indicated as τέρμα. If, in spite of this, the hypothesis of the liberation of Paul should be accepted, we should have to add to our chronological table : 59/63. —Liberation of Paul; July–Aug. 64.—Martyrdom. The apostle's eventful life would thus end with a period completely obscured in the popular memory, a period the events of which have not left a trace behind.

TABLE X.—LIFE OF PAUL : LAST PERIOD.

56/60 (autumn).—Paul set out for Rome.
57/61 (spring).—Arrival in Rome.
57/61 *f.*—Easy imprisonment ; Col. Philem.
59/63.—Death of Paul.
[otherwise]
[59/63.—Liberation of Paul.]
[64 July–Aug.—Martyrdom.]

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHURCHES IN PALESTINE.—If the dates so far accepted are correct, the whole Palestinian development described by the author of Acts (almost our only authority for this period) between the death of Jesus and the conversion of Paul, finally culminating in the death of Stephen and the dispersion of the church in Jerusalem, must be crowded into the limits of two years, or possibly even of a single year.

81. Earliest events.

The traditions are, however, very scanty. According to 1 Cor. 15 1-7 there happened in this space of time the appearance of Jesus to Peter and the twelve (as to the time and place of which it is not possible to reach a certain conclusion, but with which the return to Jerusalem is most clearly connected), his appearance to the 500 brethren (perhaps to be identified with the occurrence narrated in Acts 2, which in that case was in Jerusalem, and, if Acts 2 is correct, fifty days after the death of Jesus), the conversion of him who afterwards became head of the church of Jerusalem, James the Lord's brother (since this beyond doubt happened at the time of the appearance to him mentioned in 1 Cor. 15 7), and the conversion (by the same means) of many who afterwards became missionaries. The necessity of a representation of the Hellenists (Acts 6 1-6) suggests that from the return of the twelve until that time a considerable period had elapsed, which is, however, very insufficiently filled out by the narratives in chaps. 3-5.

2. As to the later events, in the narratives in Acts 8 4-40 9 1-30 9 31-11 18 11 19-24 illustrating the geographical extension of Christianity, the author plainly does not mean to assert that the events described followed one another in mutually exclusive periods of time. If the accounts are historical, the missionary operations of Philip and Peter were undertaken while Paul was working in Damascus and Antioch (including Syria) in 31/35 or 32/36 *ff.* A.D. The anonymous beginnings of Christianity in Damascus and Antioch belong, of course, to the time before Paul took hold in those places. If the recollections lying at the basis of Acts 11 22-26 are approximately correct, Barnabas must have left Jerusalem finally for Antioch not very long after Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in 34/38 or 35/39 A.D., and Philip may by that time have already removed to Caesarea (Acts 8 40).

82. Later events.

3. After these events we hear nothing until the death of James the son of Zebedee between 41, the year in which Herod Agrippa I. began to rule over Judæa, and 44, the year of his death (Acts 12 1 *f.*). If the account in Acts is correct, about this same time Peter left Jerusalem permanently (Acts 12 17), and James the Lord's brother must have already become the leader of the church (Acts 12 17). With this agrees excellently the abundantly attested old Christian tradition that the twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Jesus' death (see reff. in Harnack, *Chronologie*, 243). It may be in error simply in transferring to the twelve what applied only to their head, Peter. At all events, Acts tells us nothing of the ten left after the death of James. The twelfth year would be 42 A.D. In that case Herod must have sought, immediately after his accession, by his proceedings against the Christians to secure the confidence of the Jews.

4. If the results reached above with reference to what we read in Acts 15 11 27 *ff.* and 13 *f.* are right, our next information relates to the year 45 or 49, when Peter, Paul, and Barnabas gather again at the conference round James, at whose side (Gal. 2 9) appears John, the son of Zebedee. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch ; Peter leaves Jerusalem again very soon, and lives for a while among the Christians at Antioch (Gal. 2 11 *ff.*).

5. In 54/58, when Paul comes to Jerusalem with the contribution, James is master of the situation (Acts 21 18). This is the last information from the NT about the church in Palestine.

6. According to the received text of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9 1), James suffered martyrdom in 62—that is, under the high priest Ananos (son of the high priest of the same name known to us from the Gospels)—but before the arrival in Judæa of Albinus, the successor of the procurator Festus. (After Festus's early death Annas had been appointed high priest by Agrippa II.) The passage is not free, however, from the suspicion of Christian interpolation. Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii. 23 11-18) seems to have put the death of James somewhat nearer to the destruction of Jerusalem.[1]

Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) the Christians removed to Pella in Peræa. The year is not certain, but was probably 67, when, after the downfall of Cestius, Jewish fanaticism overreached itself.

IV. OTHER DATES IN THE HISTORY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.—Here can be mentioned only those few points on which a stray ray of light happens to fall. In the nature of the case, detailed discussions can be given only in the special articles.

83. Other dates.

1. *Peter.*—That Peter, the last trace of whom we found in A.D. 45/49, or somewhat later, at Antioch, was later a travelling missionary after the manner of Paul, is to be inferred from the allusions to him in 1 Cor. 1 12 3 22 9 5. 1 Pet. 5 12 *f.*, even if the epistle was not written by Peter, implies his intimate association with Paul's former companions Silvanus and Mark, and 1 Pet. 1 1 *f.* his missionary activity in the provinces of Asia Minor. For this latter there was room at any rate after the imprisonment of Paul in 54/58, and for most of the provinces even before that time : namely, from the moment when Paul transferred his chief activity to Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia. In regard to Peter's stay in Rome, for which 1 Pet. 5 13 is an argument (it is certainly to be put later than the end of Paul's trial), and in regard to the question whether it was in the persecution after the fire in Rome (July 64) that he suffered martyrdom (cp Clem. Rom. 5), *see* PETER. The assumption of a contemporaneous martyrdom of Paul and Peter finds no support in the earliest documents : see above, § 79.

2. *John.*—As to John's residence in Ephesus and his end, *see* JOHN.

3. Whilst the persecution under Nero was doubtless in the main limited to Rome, the last years of Domitian, especially in Asia Minor, in consequence of the insistence on the worship of the Emperor, may have been a period of many conflicts with Christianity.[2]

To this time (say 93-96) many scholars assign Hebrews and 1 Peter (while others carry them down to the reign of Trajan), as well as the Apocalypse of John (see the special articles). Not much later, perhaps about the end of the first

84. NT writings.

[1] For further discussion, with references to sources and bibliography, see Schürer, 1 486 *f.*
[2] Cp especially Neumann, *Der römische Staat u. die allgemeine Kirche*, 1890, 1 7 *ff.*; Ramsay. *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 252 *ff.*

century, were written Ephesians, the Third Gospel, and Acts. Our Gospel of Mark must, apart possibly from some later additions, have been written before this; there is no need **to** suppose a much later date than 70. The Fourth Gospel, after which, probably, came the Johaunine epistles, can well, by reason of its near relation to Lk. and for other reasons, have been written at the same time as, or not long after, the Third Gospel. The first third of the second century best suits the latest books of the NT—Matthew, the Pastoral Epistles, and James, all of them doubtless products of the Roman church. Jude may have been written somewhat earlier, *2* Peter somewhat later. See the Introductions to the NT and Harnack, *Chronologie*, 246-50, 245*f.*, 451-64, 475-91, 651-81.

TABLE XI.—SOME OTHER DATES (APPROXIMATIONS).

31/35 or 32/36 *ff.*—Work of Philip and Peter in Palestine.
34/38 or 35/39 *ff.*—Barnabas removes to Antioch.
Between 41 and 44.—Death of James, son of Zebedee; Peter leaves Jerusalem ; James leader.
45/49.—Conference (Gal. 2 9).—Peter soon resides at Antioch (Gal. 2 11 *ff.*).
54/58.—Paul brings contribution to Jerusalem (Acts 21 18).
Later.—Peter becomes a travelling missionary.
62 or later?—Death of James.
67 ? Christians remove from Jerusalem to Pella.
70.—Destruction **of** Jerusalem.
Not much after 70.—Our Gospel of Mark written.
93-56(?)—Heb. and 1 Pet. (acc. to many): Apoc.
About end of century.—Eph., Lk., Acts, Jn., Epp. of Jn.
First third of znd century.—Jude, Mt., Past. Epp., Ja., 2 Pet.

H. v. S.

85. Bibliography.

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B. New *Testament.*—See the literature cited in the course o the article, especially § 40 (note) and §§ 51-56 (notes). **Cp** als C. H. Turner in Hastings' DB.

K.M. (§§ 1-38, 85); H.v.S. (§§ 39-84).

CHRYSOLITE (χρυςολιθος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalyps (Rev. 21 10). It is not improbable that in ancient time the term was applied to a particular shade of BERYI (*q.v.*). See PRECIOUS STONES. In modern usag Chrysolite is the name generally given to the yellow o yellowish-green varieties of olivine, the transparen varieties being known **as** peridote (cp TOPAZ).

χρυσόλιθος **in** 𝔊 is used **to** translate *taršīš* in **Ex. 28** 20 **39** 31 Ezek. **28** 13 (cp Ezek. 1 16 Aq. [BAQ transliterate], Dan. 10 6 Theod. [see Sw.]). In Ezek. 28 13 AVmg. has 'chrysolite,' but lsewhere EV 'beryl,' which more probably represents *šōham*; ee BERYL, § 3, TARSHISH, STONE OF.

CHRYSOPRASE, CHRYSOPRASUS (χρυςοπρα-:ος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New erusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21 10†). In ancient imes the term was perhaps applied to a shade of BERYL ; :p PRECIOUS STONES.

The word does not occur in 𝔊;[1] but AVmg. has 'chrysoprase' or כַּדְכֹּד, *kadhkōdh*, in Ezek. 27 16 where AV **has** 'agate' and RV 'ruby' (see CHALCEDONY); **and** haa 'chrysoprase' also for נֹפֶךְ, *nōphekh*, in Ezek. 28 13, where EV has 'emerald' and RVmg. 'carbuncle' (see CARBUNCLE, EMERALD). In mod. mineralogy he chrysoprase is an agate coloured apple-green by the presence of oxide of nickel.

CHUB, RV CUB (כּוּב; Aq., Sym., Theod. χουβαλ), f correct, is the name of a people (Ezek. 30 5†) ; but 𝔊BAQ has λιβυες, and Cornill is doubtless right in regarding כּוּב, *Cub*, as a corruption of לוּב, *Lub*, which occurs repeatedly in the plural form LUBIM (*q.v.*). *See* also MINGLED PEOPLE.

CHUN, RV CUN (כּוּן, 1 Ch. 18 8), an Aramæan city dentified by *Ges.*-Buhl (following *ZDPV* 8 34) with the modern Ḳunā (Rom. *Cunnæ*) between Laodicea and Hierapolis. The reading *Chun* is, however, certainly corrupt (cp Ki. in *SBOT*). See BEROTHAI, and, for a suggested emendation, MEROM.

CHURCH (εκκλησια). **I.** *Name and Idea.*—The word *Ecclesia* has an important history behind it when it first appears in Christian literature. It was the regular designation of the **as**sembly of the whole body of citizens in a free Greek state, 'called out' or summoned to the transaction of public business. It had then been employed by the Greek translators of the OT as a natural rendering of the Hebrew קהל (see ASSEMBLY), the whole 'congregation' **of** Israel, regarded in its entirety as the people of God. **A** less technical Greek usage, current in the apostolic age, is illustrated by the disorderly assemblage in the theatre at Ephesus (Acts **19** 32 41), where we find also by way of contrast a reference to 'the lawful assembly' (*v.* 39, *ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*). The Jewish usage is found in Stephen's speech when he speaks of Moses as having been 'in the church in the wilderness' (7 38). Thus the traditions of the word enabled it to appeal alike to Jews and Gentiles as a fitting designation of the new people of God, the Christian society regarded as a corporate whole.

1. History of word.

In this full sense we find it in Tesus' declaration to Peter, 'I will build my church' (*οἰκοδομήσω μοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* : Mt. 16 18). Here it is regarded as the divine house that is to be builded, 'the keys' of which are to be placed in the apostle's hands : *see* BINDING AND LOOSING. It is thus equated with 'the kingdom of heaven' which Christ has come to establish, each of the designations being derived from the past history of the sacred commonwealth. The force of the phrase, as well as the emphasis given by the position of the pronoun in the original, comes out if for a moment we venture to substitute the word 'Israel' for the word 'church' (Hort); and the thought thus finds **a** parallel in the quotation of Amos 9 11 *f.* in Acts 15 16 *f.*, '**I** will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down.'

2. NT usage in Gospels.

The only other passage where the word occurs in the Gospels is Mt. 18 17, where 'the church' is contrasted with the 'one or two more' whom the erring brother has refused to hear. We are here again reminded of the whole congregation of Israel from which offenders were cut off: the delinquent becomes henceforth as one who belongs to the 'nations' outside, and as a traitor

[1] Though ὁ *λίθος* ὁ *πράσινος* represents שֹׁהַם (BERYL) in Gen. **2** 12.

to the chosen people (ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης). It is possible indeed that the primary reference in this place may be to the Jewish *ecclesia;* but if so, the principle remains unchanged for the Christian *ecclesia*; and in either case, while some local embodiment of the Church is thought of as the means by which action is taken, the meaning is that the whole weight of the divine society is to be brought to bear upon the offender.

While the Christian society is still confined within the walls of Jerusalem, 'the church' is the designation of

3. In Acts. the whole body of the believers, as contrasted with the other residents in the city (Acts 5 11 cp 8 1 3); but it is possible that the appellation is here due to the historian himself, recounting the events many years later. When, as the result of Stephen's testimony and death, believers are to be found in all parts of Palestine, they are still summed up in the same single word: 'the church (RV; not 'the churches,' AV) throughout the whole of Judæa and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being builded' (Acts 9 31; cp Mt. 16 18 as above). The same full sense of the

4. In Paul. word is found in Paul's epistles at a time when Christian communities were established in various cities of Asia Minor and of Greece: apostles, prophets, and teachers are set 'in the church' by God (1 Cor. 12 28); 'the church of God' is contrasted with Jews and Greeks (10 32).

The Church is thus the new chosen people: it is 'the Israel of God' (cp Gal. 6 16). Jews and Gentiles who enter it are merged into unity; the two are made one (Eph. 2 14 16). It is 'the body of Christ,' and as such inseparable from him. Christ and the Church are not two, but one—as it was written of earthly marriage, 'they twain shall be one flesh' (Eph. 5 31 *f.*). The main practical anxiety of Paul's life appears to have been the preservation of the scattered communities of Christians, which had sprung up under his preaching, in a living unity with the earlier communities of Palestine, so as to form with them a single whole, the undivided and indivisible representative of Christ in the world.

It is noteworthy that Peter never uses the word *ecclesia.* Yet, in spite of the absence both of this

5. In Peter. word and of the Pauline metaphor of 'the body,' no writer displays such a wealth of imagery in describing the holy society. Once he speaks of it as 'a holy nation' (1 Pet. 2 9), twice as a 'people' (2 9 10), twice as a 'house' (2 5 4 17), twice as a 'flock' (5 2 3), twice as a 'priesthood' (2 5 9), and twice again, in a word wholly his own, as a 'brotherhood' ('Love the brotherhood,' 2 17: 'your brotherhood which is in the world,' 5 9).

Side by side with the full sense of the word *ecclesia* we find another and a wholly natural use of it, which

6. Of local churches. seems at first sight to conflict with the conception of unity which is dominant in the passages we have hitherto examined. The new 'Israel of God,' like its predecessor, was scattered over a wide area. Wherever Christians were gathered as such, there was the Church of God. Hence we find such an expression as 'at Antioch, in the church, there were prophets and teachers' (κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, the participle throwing emphasis upon the noun, 'in what was the church,' Acts 13 1); and again, 'the church of God which is in Corinth'; and even, 'the church that is in their house' (Rom. 16 5). In all these cases the sense of unity may be felt: it is the one Church, thought of as existing in various localities. From this, however, it is an easy passage to speak of 'the church of the Thessalonians' (1 Thess. 1 1 2 Thess. 1 1); and even to use the word in the plural, 'the churches of Galatia' or 'of Asia' (1 Cor. 16 1 19), 'the churches of God' (2 Thess. 1 4). The transition is naturally found on Greek ground, where the use of *ecclesia* in the plural would be helped by its common employment for the *ecclesiæ* of Greek cities; whereas in Palestine, where the Jewish connotation of the word was more sensibly felt, it was more natural to speak of the local representative of the *ecclesia* under the designation of *synagogé* (cp Jas. 2 2).

The churches, then, are the local embodiments of the Church: the distribution of the one into many is

7. Outside Canon. purely geographical. The unity remains unaffected: there is no other Church than 'the church of God.' When we pass outside the canon we find the same conception of the Church both as a living unity and as the divinely preordained successor to the ancient Israel. Thus in the ***Shepherd*** the Church appears to Hermas as an aged woman, even as Sion had appeared to Esdras as a barren woman (4 Esd. 9 38 10 44). She is aged, 'because she was created first of all things, and for her sake the world was made' (Herm. *Vis.* 2 4). Again, in the ancient homily formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome (chap. 14), we read of the pre-existent, spiritual Church, 'created before sun and moon,' and manifested at length in the flesh. In the Valentinian system, moreover, *Ecclesia* appears as one of the æons. Cp. too, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 8, *Strom.* iv. 8. The earliest use of the term 'the Catholic Church' (Ignat. *Smyrn.* 8: *circa* 117, Lightf.) emphasises the unity and universality of the whole in contrast with the individual congregations; not, as in the later technical sense, its orthodoxy in contrast with heretical systems: 'Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church' (ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία).

II. *Organisation.*—The primitive conception of the Church thus regards it (*a*) as essentially one, admitting

8. Primitive conception. of no plurality except such as is due to local distribution, and (*b*) as succeeding to the peculiar position of privilege hitherto occupied by the sacred Jewish Commonwealth, so that even Paul in writing to Gentiles thinks of it as 'the Israel of God.' In correspondence with the two parts of this conception it is natural to expect in the development of its organisation (*a*) a general unity in spite of local and temporary variety, and (*b*) a tendency, both at the outset and from time to time afterwards, to look back to the more prominent features of Jewish religious institutions. Weekly gatherings for liturgical worship, the recognition of holy seasons and holy books, are examples of elements of religious life which passed over naturally and at once from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and these were elements which the experience of the scattered Judaism of the Dispersion had proved and warranted as amongst the strongest bonds of practical unity.

Had the apostles separated immediately after Pentecost for the evangelisation of the world, it might easily

9. Earliest period. have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

tions specially designed to meet them; and, when the earlier limitations began gradually to disappear in consequence of Stephen's wider conceptions and the crisis which they brought upon his fellow-believers, and the society was now scattered like seed over the countries, this corporate life had already given signs of an organised growth, and the home church at Jerusalem had become in some sense a pattern which could not fail to influence all subsequent foundations. These first years in Jerusalem, then, demand careful study, if the development of Christian institutions is to be securely traced.

The brotherhood which was formed by the baptism of the earliest converts was, at the outset, practically a

10. A Jewish guild. guild of Judaism, faithful to the ancient creed and worship, and with no thought of a severance from the religious life of the nation. Its distinctive mark was not the neglect of Jewish ordinances, but the adherence to new duties and privileges of its own. 'They were continuing steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Acts 2 42). The temple worship was not forsaken (3 1); hut it was supplemented (2 46) by the 'breaking of bread at home.' The first note of this brotherhood was its unity: 'they had *one* heart and soul' (4 32); they claimed nothing that they possessed as their private right, but held all as a trust for the good of the whole; they would even on occasion sell their property and bring the proceeds to the apostles for distribution to the needy (4 32-35). As the numbers increased, these simple and extemporaneous methods were found to be inadequate. Thus the common tables, at which the poorer dependents received their daily provision, proved an occasion of friction between the two elements of Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jews, of which the brotherhood, from the

11. The 'seven.' outset, was composed. Organisation was necessitated, if the unity of the body was to remain unimpaired; and seven men were accordingly appointed to 'serve tables' (6 1-6). [On the criticism of these narratives cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS.]

Thus was made the first essay in providing for the discharge of the functions of the whole body through representative members. No distinctive title is given by the historian to these seven men. Their office was to serve (διακονεῖν); in respect of it, therefore, they could be[1] termed servants (διάκονοι); but it is probable that the word 'deacon' remained for some time a mere description of function, rather than a title such as it afterwards became. The naturalness of this institution —the response to a new need which was certain in some form or other to recur, wherever the society was planted —is a most important feature of it. There is no reason to suppose that it was suggested by any Jewish institution. The number of the persons chosen was a natural number in a community consisting of Jews; but the institution itself was a purely spontaneous development, designed to meet a necessity which was wholly new.

Thus far we find but two kinds of distinction which in any way mark off individual members of the society

12. The apostles. from the general mass. The apostles are the natural leaders: to them all look, both for religious teaching and for practical guidance; through them discipline on one memorable occasion is enforced; it is they who suggest a remedy for the first difficulty which was occasioned by increasing numbers; and their hands are laid on the seven men whom, at their bidding, the whole brotherhood has selected to serve on its behalf. The seven, on the other hand, are ordained to humble duties; their function is not to rule, but to serve; through them the society fulfils its common responsibility of providing for the needs of its poorer members.

The dispersion after Stephen's death distracts our attention from the Church in Jerusalem for a while.

13. The 'elders.' Some years later, when the apostles had begun to evangelise other parts of Palestine, we get another glimpse of it at a time of threatened famine. Contributions are sent from the disciples at Antioch to aid the poorer brethren in Judæa; it is not to the apostles, however, that the gifts are brought, but to 'the elders' (Acts 11 30), a class of which we now hear for the first time in the Christian Church. Thus it would seem that the necessity of leaving the apostles free for wider work had issued in a further development of organisation in Jerusalem; but it is only incidentally that we learn that a new step has been taken. We have no indication in Acts of the relation of 'the seven' to these 'elders.'

Peter's imprisonment, which immediately follows, is the occasion of a further notice bearing on the practical

14. James. government of the church in Jerusalem. 'Tell these things to James and to the brethren,' says the apostle after his release (12 17). The position of prominence thus indicated for 'the brother of the Lord' prepares us for the leading part which he subsequently takes in the conference of the apostles and elders, when a question of vital importance has been referred from Antioch to Jerusalem (15 13). Many years later, when Paul arrives on an important errand, his first act is thus described by an eye-witness: 'On the morrow Paul entered in with us unto James, and all the elders came together' (21 18). It is clear, then, that James had come to occupy a unique position in the church at Jerusalem—a position gained, it may be, by no formal accession to power, resulting rather from his relationship to Jesus and his well-known sanctity of life; yet a position clearly recognised by the apostles, and foreshadowing the climax of a series of developments in the universally established rule of the monarchical episcopate,

We have thus, in the early history of the church in Jerusalem, notices, for the most part merely incidental,

15. Summary. of the gradual development of organisation in response to the growing necessities of a corporate life. The humblest offices of the daily service (ἡ καθημερινὴ διακονία) by which the bodily needs of the poorer members were supplied, are discharged by the church through seven representatives. The guidance of the whole body is found to have devolved upon men whose title of 'elders' reminds us of the elders of the Jewish people; and in this case there is no reason for doubting that the new institution was directly suggested by the old. These elders are the medium by which the church in Jerusalem holds formal intercourse with the church elsewhere. Lastly, at the head of all, but acting in close concert with the elders, we see James holding an undefined but unmistakable position of authority.

We must be careful to avoid a confusion between this development of administrative organs of the body

16. Teachers, etc. and that other form of service, rendered to it by those who discharged the various functions of evangelisation, exhortation, and instruction (ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου, Acts 6 4). The two kinds of service might often meet in the same persons: thus, at the outset, the apostles themselves were, necessarily, at once the instructors and the administrators of the society—at their feet, for example, gifts for the community were laid, as at a later time they were brought to the elders—and, on the other hand, we read of 'Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven' (21 8). Quite apart from these, however, we have a mention of 'prophets,' of whom Agabus is one, as coming from Jerusalem (11 27).

The incidental nature of the references to those who discharged these functions of administration and instruction prevents us from knowing to what extent the church in Antioch resembled in its organisation the church in Jerusalem. We only learn that it contained

[1] On the fact that they are nowhere styled διάκονοι, see also COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5.

'prophets and teachers' (13 1) : we hear nothing of its elders or other officers. When, however, Paul and Barnabas, going forth from the church in Antioch, founded communities in various cities of Asia Minor, they appointed, we are expressly told, elders to administer them (14 23). In this they probably reproduced an institution already known at Antioch, with which both of them had together been brought into contact in Jerusalem (11 30).

17. Paul's churches.

As Paul travelled farther west, and Christian societies sprang up in a more purely Greek soil, the Church's independence of Judaism became continually clearer; and we might reasonably expect to find elements of Greek social life exerting an influence upon the development of Christian organisation. At the same time we must bear in mind that Paul himself was a Jew, that to the Jews in every place he made his first appeal, that his epistles indicate that there was a considerable Jewish element among those to whom he wrote, and that we have clear evidence that, at first, at any rate, his organisation of administration was based upon a Jewish precedent. In his earliest letters to a European church Paul urges the recognition and esteem of 'those who labour among you and preside over you in the Lord, and admonish you,' thus implying a local administration, though not further defining it (1 Thess. 5 12); but at the same time he demands absolute obedience to the injunctions which he sends them in the joint names of himself and Silvanus and Timotheus (2 Thess. 3 14).

If we try to draw from the study of Paul's epistles a picture of a Christian society in a Greek city, we may start by observing that the members of it are distinguished one from another mainly by their spiritual 'gifts' (χαρίσματα). Of these the highest is prophecy, which is freely and sometimes distractingly exercised, by any who possess it, in the ordinary meetings of the society. Other gifts too, such as those of healing, give a certain natural pre-eminence to their possessors. Over all we recognise the undefined but overshadowing authority of the apostolic founder. Such is the most elementary stage, and we cannot sharply distinguish it from that which immediately follows. Leading men fall into classes, with obvious divisions (not in any sense stereotyped orders) separating them from the general mass: apostles, prophets, teachers—clear grades of spiritual prestige, though by no means marked off as a hierarchy. The teachers are mainly local in the exercise of their functions; the prophets are local to some extent, but moving from church to church, and recognised everywhere in virtue of their gift; the apostles are not local, but essentially itinerant, belonging to the whole Church.

This ministry expresses the more distinctly spiritual side of the Church's activities. But the community needs, besides, to be governed; and discipline must be exercised in the case of unworthy members. It must have representatives who can formally act on its behalf, either in dealing with individuals or in carrying on communications with sister communities.

Again, there are other functions of the Church's life which call for executive officers. The care of the sick and the poor was a primary duty; so, too, was the exercise of the Church's hospitality to travelling brethren. These duties involved an administration of the common funds collected for such pnrposes, and generally of corporate property. Servants of the Church were thus called for to perform these humble but necessary functions, and responsible superintendents to see that they were duly performed. This class of executive ministers we find in the 'bishops and deacons' (ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι) whom Paul greets in the opening words of his epistle to the Philippians; and the qualifications demanded of them in the Pastoral Epistles afford valuable indications of the nature of their service.

All these elements of moral or formal authority would be more or less distinctly present in every community, expressing the activity and life of the community itself in various forms. In different localities development would proceed at different rates of progress; but in all, the same general needs would have to be met, and intercommunication would help towards a comparatively uniform result. The earlier and the more rapidly developing societies would serve as a natural model to the rest.

In speaking thus we do not lose sight of the controlling inspiration of the divine Spirit promised by Jesus to be the Church's guide. We rather recognise the presence of a continuous inspiration, developing from within the growth of a living organism, not promulgating a code of rules to be imposed from without upon each community at its foundation.

18. The 'Didaché.'

The scanty and scattered notices of church organisation in the NT need, for their interpretation, all the light that can be thrown upon them by the practice of Christian communities, so far as it can be ascertained from the remains of their earliest literature. Here again, however, the evidence is still sparse and incidental, though of late years it has been increased, especially by the recovery (1883) of the *Teaching of the Apostles.* The date of this book is quite uncertain. It is of a composite nature and preserves very early documents in a modified form. There is no agreement among scholars as to the locality to which it belongs. It may represent a community lying oiitside the general stream of development and preserving, even to the middle of the second century, a primitive condition which had elsewhere, for the most part, passed away. This view does not materially lessen its value as an illustration of an early stage of Christian life; but we must be careful not to generalise hastily from its statements when they lack confirmation from other quarters.

In the *Teaching* (chaps. 7 *ff.*), then, we have instructions relating to BAPTISM (*q.v.*, § 3), fasting, and the EUCHARIST (*q.v.*). The following chapters introduce us to apostles and prophets; they provide tests for their genuineness, and instructions as to the honour to be paid to them. The apostles travel from place to place, making but the briefest stay; the prophets appear to be the most prominent persons in the community in which they reside (see PROPHET). In comparison with them, bishops and deacons seem to hold but a secondary place. The community is charged to appoint fit persons to these offices, and not to despise them; 'for they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.' There is no mention whatever of presbyters. In all this we seem to be on the verge of a transition. The ministry of extraordinary gifts is still dominant; but the abuses to which it is liable are keenly felt: the humbler local ministry, though despised by comparison, has the future before it.[1]

19. End of 2nd cent.

Other illustrations from the early literature will be found under BISHOP (§ 14 *f.*). It must suffice here to say in conclusion that, before the close of the second century, the long process of development had issued in a threefold ministry—a bishop, presbyters, and deacons—being at length generally recognised in all Christian churches. In point of time, as well as of method, we have an exact parallel to this development both in the settlement of the canon and in the formulation of the Apostolic Creed. The more abundant literature of the end of the second century shows us a generally accepted standard of ministry, of canon, and of creed. In each case the need of definiteness and of general uniformity had gradually made itself felt, and the Christian consciousness, guided and expressed by eminent leaders, had slowly solved the problems presented to it. In each case we have evidence of that growth which is the

[1] Cp Harnack on 3 Jn., *St. Kr.* 15.

prerogative and proof of life in the social as in the individual organism. J. A. R.

CHURNING (מִיץ), Prov. 30 33; see MILK.

CHUSHAN BISHATHAIM (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם), Judg. 3 8; RV CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

CHUSI (χους [Bℵ], -σει [A], ܟܘܫ), a locality mentioned in Judith 7 18 to define the position of Ekrebel (see AKRARATTINE). It may possibly be the mod. *Ḳuzah*, 5 m. W. of 'Akrabeh.

CHUZA (χουζα [Ti. WH]; Amer. RV prefers CHUZAS), the house-steward of Herod (Lk. 8 3), husband of JOANNA. The name is probably identical with the Nabataean כוזא. The steward may well have been of foreign origin as were the Herods themselves. See Burkitt, *Expos.* Feb. **1899**, 118-122.

CIELING. See CEILING.

CILICIA (κιλικια [Ti. WH]). From southern Cappadocia the range of Taurus descends in a SW.

1. Physical. direction to the sea, reaching it in a complex of mountains constituting that projection of coast which divides the bay of Issus (Skandertin) from that of Pamphylia. The Cilicians extended partly over the Taurus itself, and partly between it and the sea (Strabo, 668), thus bordering upon Pamphylia in the W., and Lycaonia and Cappadocia in the N.; in the E. the lofty range of Amanus separated them from Syria. The country within these boundaries falls into two strongly marked sections.

'Of Cilicia beyond Taurus a part [W.] is called Tracheia (rugged), and the rest [E.] Pedias (plain). The former has a narrow seaboard, and little or no level country: that part of it which lies under Taurus is equally mountainous, and is thinly inhabited as far as the northern flanks of the range—as far, that is, as Isaura and Pisidia. This district hears the name Tracheiotis. Cilicia Pedias extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus, and as far N. as the Cappadocians on the N. flank of Taurus. This section consists for the most parr of plains and fertile land' (*l.c.*).

Four considerable streams—Pyramns, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus—descend from Taurus to the bay of Issus. For a long time the rude W. district remained practically outside the pale of civilisation: we are here concerned only with the eastern part, Cilicia Pedias or Campestris. Difficult passes, of which there are only a few, lead through the mountains into the neighbonring districts. The famous Pylæ Ciliciæ, some 30 miles N. of Tarsus, gave access to Cappadocia and W. Asia Minor; in the other direction the Syrian Gates and the pass of *Beilam* communicated with Syria; through these two passes ran the E. trade route from Ephesus. The military importance of the Cilician plain thus included within the angle of the Taurus and Amanus ranges is finely expressed by Herodian (34).

Owing to the barriers of Mount Taurus, the geographical affinity of Cilicia is with Syria rather than with Asia

2. In OT. Minor. It would be only natural. therefore, that there should be references to it in OT (cp also AŠUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end). Nor are these wanting. Archaeological criticism indicates three OT names[1] as more or less certainly meaning Cilicia.[2] The first is CAPHTOR (*q.v.*, § 4), which, however, probably had a more extended application, and referred to coast-regions of Asia Minor besides Cilicia. Caphtor was the first home of the Philistines; it probably represents the Egyptian Keftô. The second is Ḳuë or Kuah (קוה)—*i.e.*, E. Cilicia[3]—from which Solomon imported horses, as we learn from the emended text of 1 K. 10 28 (see HORSE, § 3, n.). The third is Helak, the Hilakku of the Assyrians, which has been restored by Halévy (*Mélanges*, '74, p. 69), Geiger (*Jüd. Zt.* 11 242), and Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1 211) in Ezek. 27 11 (MT has the impossible חֵילֵךְ 'thine army'; read 'the sons of Arvad and of Helak'). The same name probably occnrs in Egyptian inscriptions under the form Ka-ra-ki-Sa, originally Ḳilakk(u).[1] It follows from Halévy's restoration that there was, according to Ezekiel, a Cilician as well as a Phoenician and a Syrian element in the garrison of Tyre in 586 B.C.

The close physical relation of Cilicia and Syria explains their political connection during the early

3. Later. Roman Empire. Cilicia was usually under the legatus of Syria (Dio Cass. 53 12 where Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Cyprus are ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι; cp Tac. *Ann.* 2 78). Cilicia is found under *a* separate governor, however, in 57 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 13 33), perhaps as a temporary measure after the disturbances of 52 A.D. (*Ann.* 12 55). Vespasian is credited with its reconstruction as a distinct province, in 74 A.D.; but his action was apparently confined to the reduction of part of Cilicia Tracheia to the form of a province, which was united with that of eastern Cilicia (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). In 117-138 A.D. Cilicia, including Tracheia, was certainly an imperial province, under a prætorian *legatus Augusti;* but in what year this state of things began is not known. No inference can be drawn from the use of the word 'province' (ἐπαρχεία) in the question of Felix (Acts 23 34). The connection between Cilicia and Syria is illustrated in the NT by such passages as Acts162341 Gal. 1 21, where 'Syria and Cilicia' are almost a single term; and conversely the omission of Cilicia from the superscription of 1 Pet. 1 1, where the enumeration of provinces sums up all Asia Minor N. of the Taurus, is based upon the close connection between the churches in Cilicia and the church of Antioch in Syria

The presence of Jews in Cilicia must date principally from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdoni (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 34). It must have been the hillmen of Cilicia Tracheia that served in the guard of Alexander Jannæus (Jos. Ant. xiii. 135, *BJ* i. 43). In apostolic times the Jewish settlers were many and influential (Acts 6 9).

Paul visited his native province soon after his conversion (Acts 9 30 Gal. 1 21), and possibly founded then the churches of which we hear in Acts 15 23 41. It is probable that in his 'second missionary journey' he followed the usual commercial route across the Taurus to Derbe (Acts 15 41; cp Str. 537):

One article of Cilician export is interesting to the student of the NT. The goats'-hair cloth called *Cilicium* was exported to be used in tent-making (cp Varro, *R.X.* 2 11). Paul was taught this trade, and supported himself by means of it in the house of Aquila at Corinth (Acts 18 3 and elsewhere; cp Acts 20 34). (See Sterrett, 'Routes in Cilicia,' in *Arch. Inst. Amer.* 36.) W. J. W.

CINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן; κιννάμωμον [-ος] [BℵAFL: Ti. WH]; Ex. 30 23 Pr. 7 17 Cant. 4 14 Rev. 18 13†) hears the same name in Hebrew as in Greek and English, and this is almost certainly a word borrowed from the farther East.[2] Lagarde (*Uebers.* 199) maintains that Hebrew borrowed the name from Greek; but against this there is the statement of Herodotns (3 111) that the Greeks learned the word from the Phœnicians.

Ḳinnāmōn is the fragrant inner bark of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees that is now called cinnamon. As is correctly stated by Fliick. and Hanh. (520), however, 'none of the cinnamon of the ancients was obtained from Ceylon,'[3] and 'the early notices of cinnamon as a product of Ceylon are not prior to the thirteenth century' (*ib.* 468). Accordingly, it is probable that, as these writers suggest, the cinnamon of the ancients was

1 Josephus identified with Cilicia the Tarshish of Gen. 10 4, Jon. 1 3 (Ant. i. 6 1).

2 The land of Muṣri also, which adjoined Ḳuë (Wi. *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* 175), must have included a part of Cilicia (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*).

3 According to Maspero (*Recueil*, 10 210), Cilicia is the Keti (cp Κῆτις) which is often mentioned with Naharin in the Egyptian inscriptions. Is this name connected with Ḳuë?

1 W. M. Müller, As. *u. Eur.* 352.

2 The derivation from קָנֶה is most unlikely.

3 Cp Tennent, *Ceylon* 1575.

***Cassia lignea*, which was obtained, as it is still, from *S.* China.[1] The source of this is *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Bl., as has been shown by Sir W. Thiselton-Dyer in *Journ. Linn. Soc.* 20 19 *ff.* The name *cinnamomifera regio*, given to the district W. of Cape Guardafui, must be taken in a loose sense as referring to the commerce of the Erythrean Sea. Like lign-aloes, cinnamon was thus brought along the regular trade-route from E. Asia. See ALOES, § 3.**

From whatever source cinnamon was obtained, it appears thrice in the OT among aromatic spices, and in Rev. 18 13 among the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon. Thus the Jews must have been tolerably familiar with it. See CASSIA, INCENSE, § 6.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CINNEROTH (כִּנֲּרוֹת), 1 K. 15 20, RV CHINNEROTH.

CIRAMA (κιραμα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 20 AV = Ezra 2 26 RAMAH.

CIRCLE OF JORDAN (כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן), Gen. 13 10. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUIT (הַכִּכָּר), Neh. 3 22, RVmg. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUMCISION (מוּלָה, περιτομη), the cutting away of the foreskin (עָרְלָה, ακροβυστια). For surgical

1. Administration of rite. and other details of the operation as practised in later Judaism, reference may he made to the Mishna (*Shabb.* 19 2 *Yōre dē'āh*, § 264) and to the literature cited at the end of this article. It was performed not only on the (male) children of the Israelites, but also upon all slaves (as being members of the household and sharers in its worship), whether born within the house or brought in from abroad (Gen. 17 22 *ff.*)—a usage which plainly points to a great antiquity. In P it is enjoined that all aliens (גרים) who desire to join in the Passover shall be circumcised (Ex. 12 48); in the Græco-Roman period it was also the condition for the admission of proselytes.

The age for receiving the rite is fixed by the Law for the eighth day after birth (Lev. 12 3, cp Gen. 21 4 [P], etc.); even on the sabbath the sacred ordinance had to be observed (Jn. 7 22 *Shabb.* 19 2 *ff.*), although in case of sickness of the child a short delay was permitted (cp *ZDMG* 20 529 ['66]). For the performance of the office all adult male Israelites were fully qualified; but customarily the duty fell to the head of the house (Gen. 17 23 *ff.*). That in the earlier times it could be performed (of course only in exceptional cases) by women appears from Ex. 4 25; but this was not allowed by later custom. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2 4) it was not unusual to employ the physician; at the present day it is the business of a specially-appointed official, the *mōhēl*.

At the close of the first century B.C. the naming of the child accompanied his circumcision (cp Lk. 1 59 2 21) but there is no indication of any such usage in the OT; indeed, in the older times, the two things were wholly dissociated, the child receiving its name as soon as it was born (cp, for example, Gen. 21 3 29 31 *ff.* 30 6 *ff.* 35 18 38 28 *ff.*, etc.).

The origin of the rite among the Hebrews is obscure. One of the views represented in the OT is that it was

2. Hebrew legends. introduced by Joshna (Josh. 5 2 *ff.*), who, at the 'Hill of the Foreskins,'[2] by divine command circumcised the people with knives of flint, and thereby rolled away 'the reproach of Egypt,' 'wherefore the name of that place was called Gilgal (*i.e.* "rolling") unto this day.' Verses 4-7 are an interpolation designed to bring the narrative into conformity with the view of P that circumcision had merely been in abeyance during the years of wandering; cp Hollenberg in *St. Kr.*, '74, 493 *ff.*, St. in *ZATW* 6 132 *ff.* ('86), and see JOSHUA, § 7. The 'reproach of Egypt,' unless we were to do violence to the narrative, can only be interpreted as meaning that in that country the children of Israel had been uncircumcised, and therefore objects of contempt and scorn. It is impossible, however, to regard the narrative in Joshna as strictly historical; it belongs rather to the category of etymologizing legend, being designed to explain the name and origin of the sanctuary of Gilgal. Possibly Stade is right in his conjecture (see above) that the legend arose from the circumstance that in ancient times the young men of Benjamin or of certain Benjamite families were circumcised on the Hill of the Foreskins at Gilgal. See GILGAL.

Another view of the origin of the rite is given in the account of the circumcision of the son of Moses (Ex. 4 25 *ff.* [J]), for here also the intention manifestly is to describe its first introduction among the Israelites; there is no suggestion of any idea that it had been a long-standing Hebrew custom. The general meaning of the story is that Moses had incurred the anger of Yahwè, and made himself liable to the penalty of death, because he was not 'a bridegroom of blood'—*i.e.*, because he had not, before his marriage, submitted himself to this rite. Zipporah accordingly takes a flint, circumcises the son instead of her husband, and thereby symbolically makes the latter a 'bridegroom of blood,' whereby the wrath of Yahwè is appeased (see We. *Prol.*(4) 345).

Both narratives notwithstanding, it is necessary to carry back the origin of this rite among the Hebrews to

3. Early origin. a much earlier date. True, it is no sufficient proof of this that P (Gen. 17) carries it back to Abraham, and that everywhere in the Law the custom is assumed to be of extreme antiquity. More to the point are the facts that Gen. 34 also represents it as pre-Mosaic, while the use of knives of flint (which was long kept up; see Ex. 4 25 Josh. 5 2 *ff.*) also indicates a high antiquity. What most of all compels us to this conclusion, however, is the well-ascertained fact that circumcision was in no way a practice peculiar to the Israelites. It was common to a number of Semitic peoples in antiquity: Edom, Ammon, Moab all were circumcised (Jer. 9 25 [26]); of the nations of Palestine the Philistines alone were not (cp, for example, Herod. 2 36 *f.* 104); the Arabs also practised this rite, which, in the Koran, is taken for granted as a firmly-established custom. Nor is it less widely diffused among non-Semitic races.[1] Of special interest for us here is its existence among the Egyptians; for from a very early period we meet with the view that, within the lands of the ancient civilisations, circumcision had its native home in Egypt, from which it had spread not only to the other peoples of Africa, but also to the Semites of Asia (so Herod. 2 36 2 04 Diod. Sic. 3 31 Strabo 17 8 24). It certainly was known in Egypt from the earliest times (Ebers, *Egypt u. d. Bb. Mos.* 1 283), and we have the express testimony of Herodotus (2 36) and Philo (2 210, ed. Mangey) that all Egyptians were circumcised (cp Josh. 5 2 *ff.*, where the same thing is presupposed; Erman, *Egypt*, 32 *f.*, 539; Ebers, *op. cit.* 278 *ff.*), although, it is true, their testimony has not been allowed to pass wholly unquestioned. One piece of evidence for the Egyptian origin of the rite would be the fact that to the Semites of the Euphrates, who had no direct contact with Egypt, circumcision was unknown. In any case, however, it would be illegitimate to suppose that it was borrowed from Egypt directly by the Hebrews—say, for example, at the time of the sojourn in Egypt; for the nomads of the Sinaitic peninsula appear to have practised it from a very remote period.

As to the original meaning of the rite equally divergent views have been held. The explanations offered fall in

4. Views of meaning. the main into two groups—(1) The sanitary: Herodotus asserts that the Egyptians had adopted it simply for the sake of cleanliness, whilst other ancient writers regard it

1 Hence in Persian and Arabic it is called Darṣini (Chinese wood).

2 So EV EVmg. *Gibeath ha-araloth*; βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν [BAF]. According to 𝔊BAL in Josh. 24 30a the knives of flint referred to were buried with Joshua in Timnath-serah.

1 The facts of its present diffusion have been collected most fully by Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*(2), 1 342 *f.* ['82].

as a prophylactic against certain forms of disease (Phil. *de Circumcis.* 2210, ed. Mangey; Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 13). A similar theory is still put forward here and there by various nations (cp Ploss, *op. cit.*), and it was in great favour with the rationalists of last century (see, *e.g.*, Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, 4 186; also Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, 1246). Recent anthropologists, such as Ploss, give greater prominence to the fact that with many peoples (if not with most) circumcision stands, or originally stood, closely connected with marriage, and regard it as an operation preparatory to the exercise of the marital functions, suggested by the belief that fruitfulness is thereby promoted (so already Philo, *loc. cit.*; cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 4). (2) The religious: It is impossible to decide the question by mere reference to the present conditions, or to the explanation which ancient or modern peoples themselves give. On the one hand, it is not to be expected that the original meaning of the act should be permanently remembered; on the other hand, evidence can be adduced in support of either theory. There are broad general considerations, however, which lead inevitably to the conclusion that, in the last resort, the explanation is to be sought in the sphere of religion. All the world over, in every uncivilised people, whether of ancient or of modern times, practices such as this are called into existence, not by medical knowledge, but by religious ideas. It is to the belief about the gods and to the worship of the gods that all primitive ethics must be traced. In this there is nothing to prevent practices, grown unintelligible through the religious motives having gradually faded into the background, being supplied with other reasons, in this case, sanitary. On the other hand, inasmuch as, to judge by its wide diffusion, circumcision must have arisen spontaneously and independently in more places than one, there is nothing to exclude the possibility of diverse origins.

The primarily religious nature of circumcision being granted, we must nevertheless be careful not to carry back to the earlier times the interpretation put upon it by later Judaism. According to P the rite is a symbolical act of purification (in the ritual sense); the foreskin represents the unclean. This conception of circumcision is presupposed in the symbolical applications of the expression to be met with in the discourses of the prophets (see below, § 7). For the earlier period, however, we have no evidence of the presence of any such idea, nor is there any analogous conception to make its existence probable. The notion so frequently brought forward in explanation of the idea,—that the sexual life, as such, was regarded as sinful,—is in truth nowhere to be met with in the OT. The ancient conceptions of clean and unclean are all of them of a wholly different nature; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

5. tribal badge.

In general, circumcision is to be regarded as a ritual tribal mark. This view is favoured by several considerations. Not only among the Jews, but also among the Egyptians and most other peoples by whom circumcision is practised, the uncircumcised are regarded as unclean—*i.e.*, as aliens from the tribe and its worship—and as such are looked upon by the circumcised with contempt. Among peoples who do not practise circumcision we find analogous tribal marks; filing or removal of teeth, special tattooings, in some cases still more drastic mutilations of the sexual organs (semi-castration and the like). Finally, with most peoples, circumcision used to be performed at the age of puberty. By its means the grown-up youth was formally admitted among the men, received all the rights due to this position, and, in particular, the permission to marry (hence the frequent connection already alluded to between circumcision and marriage). The full-grown man becomes for the first time the fully-invested member of the tribe, and, in particular, capable of taking part in its religious functions. It is fitting then that he should wear the badge of his tribe.

Such a badge has always a religious significance, since membership of a clan carries with it the right to participate in the tribal worship (see GOVERNMENT, § 8), and, for early times, to be outside the tribe and outside its worship meant the same thing. Thus the act of circumcision had, in the earliest times, a sacral meaning. Like all other initiation ceremonies of the kind in the Semitic religions, circumcision had attributed to it also the effect of accomplishing a sacramental communion, bringing about a union with the godhead. To this extent the explanation of circumcision as of the nature of a sacrifice (Ewald) is just; originally circumcision and sacrifice served the same end.

6. In early Israel.

For the old Israelite, in particular, the view just stated is confirmed by the identification of the two conceptions 'uncircumcised' and 'unclean'; see especially, in this connection, Ezek. 31 18 32 19-32, where in the under-world the uncircumcised have assigned to them a place by themselves, away from the members of the circumcised people. The receiving of the tribal mark is a condition of connubium (Gen. 34). Among the Israelites also it was the marriageable young men who were circumcised (Josh. 5 2 *ff.*, see above, § 2). In like manner, as already noticed, in Ex. 4 25 circumcision, as a token of marriageability, is brought into connection with marriage itself; cp the expression 'bridegroom of blood.' The same narrative also explains the circumcision of young boys as a surrogate for that of men (cp We. *Prol.*(4) 345 *f.*). This custom—of circumcising boys when quite young—may have arisen very early, as soon as the political aspects of the rite fell into the background. 'When the rite loses political significance, and becomes purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 328). This last general statement is particularly apposite in the case of circumcision.

7. Later.

No mention of circumcision is made either in the decalogue or in any other of the old laws. This silence cannot be explained on the ground merely that as a firmly established custom the rite did not require to be specially enjoined; rather does it prove that, for the religion of Yahwè in the pre-exilic period, circumcision had ceased to possess the great importance which we are compelled to assume for it in the old Semitic religion; nor was the same weight assigned to it which it subsequently acquired in Judaism. In particular the prophets took up towards it the same attitude as they held towards sacrifice, that is to say, they looked upon it as of no consequence so far as the worship of Yahwè was concerned. Such a prophet as Jeremiah, for example, sets himself in the most marked manner against the high appreciation of circumcision still prevalent among the masses in his day, when he places the circumcision of the Israelites exactly on the same level with that of the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, and threatens all alike with the divine judgment as being 'circumcised in uncircumcision' or as 'uncircumcised'—that is, as not having the circumcision of the heart (Jer. 9 25 [24] *f.*, cp 4 4 6 10 Lev. 26 41). By this very fact—that they contrast with the circumcision of the flesh that of the heart, the ears, the lips—the prophets gave the first impulse to the later symbolical interpretation of the rite as an act of purification.

8. In Judaism.

This last, as already stated, is dominant in Judaism. In the post-exilic period the rite acquired a quite different position from that which it had previously held. As substitutes for the sacrificial worship, no longer possible, the sabbath and circumcision became the cardinal com-

mands of Judaism, and the chief symbols of the religion of Yahwè and of membership of the religious commonwealth. For this reason neither Greek nor Roman culture was able to suppress this relic of barbarism. Antiochus Epiphanes indeed prohibited circumcision, but with no great effect (1 Macc. 1 48 60 246). On the other hand, however, the spread of Grecian culture so wrought among those Jews who had yielded to its influence, that they became ashamed of their circumcision, as in the exercises and games of the arena it exposed them to pagan ridicule; they accordingly took steps by means of a special operation to obliterate the signs of it (ποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίαν, 1 Macc. 1 15, ἐπισπᾶσθαι, 1 Cor. 7 18). In order to remove the possibility of this in future the Talmudists and Bar Cochba ordered that after the ordinary cut had been made the flesh should also be torn with the thumb nail.

9. Literature. Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, §§ 184-186; Saalschiitz, *Mos. Recht*, 1246; the commentaries on Gen. 17; the handbooks of biblical archaeology,; Hamburger's *Ency. s.v.* 'Beschneiduiig'; Schultz, *AT Theol.*, 174 *ff.*; Smend, *AT Rel.-Gesch.*, 37 *f.*; Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Rel.* 43, 163 *f.*, etc.; Glassberg, *Die Beschneidung*, Berlin, 1896. On the later customs connected with the rite, see Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* and Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* For the practice of Judaism, Schiirer, *GJV* 2 564 *ff.* 3(3) 122 *ff.*, etc. On the present diffusion of the rite, Ploss, *Das Kind* (2), 360 *ff.*; on circumcision among the Arabs, We. *Ar. Heid.*(1), 154. I. B.

CIS (ΚΕΙϹ [Ti. WH]), Acts 13 21, RV KISH (*q.v.*).

CISAI (Κ[Ε]ΙϹΑΙΟΥ [BℵALaβ]), Esth. 11 2, RV KISEUS. See KISH.

CISTERN (בּוֹר, באר), Jer. 2 13 etc. See CONDUITS, 5 1 (1).

CITHERN (ΚΙΘΑΡΑ [AKV]), 1 Macc. 4 54. See MUSIC, § 7 *ff.*

CITIMS (ΚΙΤΙΕΩΝ [ℵ*]), 1 Macc. 8 5, AV. See KITTIM.

CITRON. See APPLE, § 2 (3).

CITY (עִיר; קִרְיָה, almost confined to poetry and place-names; קֶרֶת, frequent in Phœnician, but only five times in OT; cp also KAKTAH, KARTAN; ΠΟΛΙϹ).

1. Names.

A synonym of עִיר *'īr*=Ass. *uru ālu* 'settlement, city'; cp CAIN, § 1; for Heb. *ḳiryah* and *ḳereth*, cp Aram. *ḳerītha*, Ar. *ḳaryatun*.

The influence of the old Babylonian culture is manifest. We note, too, that *'īr*, in virtue of its origin, is an elastic term including the settlements of those who were once nomads (see HAZOR, VILLAGE), and thus we can account for the 'cities (read עָרֵי with 𝔊BL, Klo.) of Amalek' in 1 S. 15 5, and the description in 2 K. 17 9, 'in all their cities, from the tower of the watchmen (see TOWER) to the fortified city.' Dillmann, too, thus explains the phrase 'the wilderness and its *cities*' in Is. 42 11,[1] and some have supposed that the 'city' built by Cain was but a settlement such as we have just referred to—a most uncritical supposition ![2] We may safely assume that the Israelites acquired the word *'īr* in Canaan. There they encountered highly civilised peoples and strongly fortified cities. The Deuteronomist remarks (Josh. 11 13; cp Jer. 30 18) that places which stood upon *tillīm*[3]—*i.e.*, on artificially heightened mounds or hills—the Israelitish immigrants did not burn down, with the single exception of Hazor. Of course, mountain cities were still more difficult to take (see FORTRESS).

[1] The text, however, is corrupt. For ועריו 'and its cities' we should read וערבה 'and the desert' (see *SBOT ad loc.*).

[2] It was not a dweller in the land of Nod ('wandering') who built (or whose son built) a city and obtained the first place in the Hebrew legend of culture.' Cain was originally a divine being, or semi-divine hero. See CAINITES, § 3.

[3] Read תִּלִּם (*Vg.*); cp De Dien, *Critica Sacra* (1693), 49. The תֵּל (see *BDB s.v.*) or *tēl* (*tell*) on which LACHISH (*q.v.*) was huilt is a good specimen of these hills. *Tell* abounds in the Arabic geographical nomenclature of Syria and the Euphrates Valley.

(*a*) *Citadels.*—In Gen. 11 4 the builders of Babylon say, 'Let us make a city and a tower'; the *migdāl* or tower here represents the citadel. Elsewhere it is the *'īr* (עיר) that is the citadel—*e.g.*, the 'city of David,' 'city of Milcom'[1] (see RABBATH AMMON); but observe that in Jer. 48 41 קריות appears to be used of the lower cities as opposed to the מצדות or citadels.

2. Various details.

(*b*) *Gates.*—At the gates[2] of the town (see FORTRESS) there were 'broad places,'[3] expressly distinguished from the 'street' in Prov. 7 12, devoted in turn to judicial business, traffic, popular assemblies, and gossip. See 2 K. 7 1 2 Ch. 32 6 Neh. 8 1 16 Job 29 7; also Ps. 55 11, where we might render, 'Extortion and deceit depart not from its *market-place*.'

(*c*) *Streets.*—Except in Graeco-Roman cities like Cæsarea and Sebastê—cities the importance of which is shown by the continuance of their names in an almost unmodified form—the *streets*[4] were presumably as narrow as those in a modern Oriental city. That the houses before the Greek period were for the most part poor and perishable is remarked elsewhere (see HOUSE, § 1). Still, the increase of wealth must have had some effect on the architecture (cp Jer. 22 14)—at any rate, in the merchants' quarters, the existence of which may be inferred from Zeph. 1 11 Neh. 3 31 *f.* Jer. 37 21 (the 'bakers' street'). Whether the Aramæan merchants in Samaria had whole streets (MT of 1 K. 20 34) or simply caravanserais (חֲצֵרוֹת, Klo., for חוצות) may be left undecided. On the question whether the streets were paved it may be said that the soil was so often rocky that paving would frequently be uncalled for. We have no evidence of paving in Jerusalem before the Roman period (Jos. Ant. xx. 9 7). Herod the Great is said to have laid an open road in Antioch with polished stone (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 5 3). On the 'street called Straight,' see DAMASCUS.

(*d*) *Watchmen.*—Watchmen, apart from the keepers of the gates, are mentioned only in two almost identical passages of Canticles (3 3 5 7), a work possibly of the Greek period; it is, of course, the capital that is referred to.

(*e*) *Water-supply.*—The excellent water-supply of ancient Jerusalem is treated elsewhere (see CONDUITS); smaller places had to be content with the fountains which were the original cause of the settlements.

The student will now be able to judge how far the Hebrew and the Greek conception of a city differed. Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) thus presents the Greek conception (Paus. x. 4 1, Frazer, 1 503): 'It is twenty furlongs from Chæronea to Panopeus, a city of Phocis, if city it can be called that has no government-offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water conducted to a fountain, and where the people live in hovels, just like highland shanties, perched on the edge of a ravine. Yet its territory is marked off by boundaries from that of its neighbours, and it even sends members to the Phocian parliament.' Jerusalem, at any rate, had its conduits and a substitute for a market-place, nor were large and high houses (ארמנות) altogether unknown (see HOUSE, § 1). The gymnasium spoken of

[1] 'City of the house of Baal' (2 K. 10 25) is not a correct phrase. For 'city' (*'īr*) read 'sanctuary' (*dĕbīr*). See JEHU.

[2] In EV 1 K. 8 37 2 Ch. 6 28 Ruth 3 11 שַׁעַר is actually rendered 'city' (and in this sense is characteristic of D), but practically is equivalent to 'jurisdiction.' Cp 'The Sublime Porte' and the Japanese 'Mikado,' literally 'exalted gate.' So in 𝔊 πόλις and πύλη are often confused. See GATE.

[3] So RV for רְחֹבוֹת in Prov. *l.c.*; in Cant. 3 2 EV has 'broad ways': cp רְחוֹב שַׁעַר הָעִיר, 2 Ch. 32 6; see Neh. 8 1. 𝔊 always πλατεῖα, except Is. 15 3 (ῥύμη) because of πλατεῖα preceding.

[4] חוּץ. 𝔊 has πλατεῖα five times, ὁδός five or six times, δίοδος once or twice, ἔξοδος more than twelve times but most frequently renders, with reference to the etymology: simply ἔξωθεν, ἐξώτερος, or ἔξω. שׁוּק, Prov. 7 8 Eccl. 12 4 5 Cant. 3 2†; 𝔊 ἀγορά. In NT the words are πλατεῖα and ῥύμη (in Lk. 14 21, 'lane'); cp Tobit 13 18 Ecclus. 9 7.

in 1 Macc. 114 2 Macc. 4912 was only a temporary innovation.

(*f*) *Store-cities.* —This phrase[1] means cities in which grain (2 Ch. 3228) or other royal provisions, valuable for war or for peace, were stored (1 K. 9 19 etc.). It is implied that such cities were fortified. In Ex. 1 11 𝔊 gives πόλεις ὀχυράς; cp PITHOM, RAAMSES.

On citizenship, cp GOVERNMENT, § 4; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14: and DISPERSION, § 15.

For the **cities of the Plain** (עָרֵי הַכִּכָּר) see ADMAH, etc.; on the **cities of refuge** (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט), see ASYLUM, § 3.

CITY OF MOAB (עִיר מוֹאָב), Nu. 2236. See AR OF MOAB.

CITY OF SALT. See SALT, CITY OF.

CLASPS (קְרָסִים), Ex. 266 RV; AV 'taches.' See TABERNACLE.

CLAUDA, RV CAUDA (κλαγδα [Ti. with ℵ* 13, etc.], καγδα [WH with ℵcB], *Cauda*, Acts 2716), is described as a small island (νησίον) under the lee of which Paul's ship ran for shelter (ὑποδραμόντες) when blown off the Cretan shore. She was driving before an ENE. wind (*v.* 14), which caught her between Cape Lithinos (called also Cape Matala) and Lutro harbour (see PHŒNIX, 2). Hence Clauda must be the small island now called *Gavdhonīsi* (Γαυδονῆσι) or *Gozzo,* lying about 20 m. due S. of Lutro. Ptolemy (iii. 1711) has Κλαῦδος νῆσος ἐν ᾗ πόλις, and remains of a small town are found on the island. There is some variety in the ancient appellation (Κλαυδία, *Stad.m.m.*, § 328; Gaudos, Pomp. Mela, 2114; Pliny, *HN* iv. 1261). It became the seat of a bishop (cp Hier. Syn. p. 14, Νῆσος Κλαῦδος, and *Notit. Epis.* 8240, etc.).

W. J. W.

CLAUDIA (κλαγδια [Ti. WH]) unites with Paul at Rome in sending greeting to Timothy at Ephesus (2 Tim. 421). Nothing further is known concerning her.

For the ingenious hut unconvincing argument by which it has been sought to identify her with the Claudia who marries Pndens in Martial's epigram (4 13), and to prove her the daughter of the British king Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, see Alford, *NT*, vol. iii., Prol. to 2 Tim.

CLAUDIUS, the fourth emperor of Rome (41-54), was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and the successor of Caius Caligula. His advancement to this position came chiefly through the energies of Herod Agrippa I., whom he rewarded with consular honours and the enlargement of his territories by the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and certain districts in Lebanon. For the history of the Jews during his reign, see ISRAEL. Claudius is twice mentioned in the NT. In Acts 1128 the famine foretold by AGABUS is said to have been in the time of Claudius Cæsar (ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου [Ti. WH]; AV after TR, ἐ. Kh. Καίσαρος; but see CÆSAR), and in 181 *f.* reference is made to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome which he was induced to order (as Suet. *Claud.* 25 tells us) on account of their tumults: 'Judæos *impulsore Chresto*[2] assiduè tnmultuantes Roma expulit.' The precise dates of both famine and expulsion have been disputed; see CHRONOLOGY, § 76 *f.*

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (κλαγδιος λγςιας [Ti. WH], Acts 2326), 'chief captain' (military tribune, or chiliarch) in command of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem in the governorship of Felix (Acts 2131 *ff.*).

CLAY is derived mostly from the decomposition of felspathic rocks (especially granite and gneiss) and of the crystalline; but the materials are so varying that here is clay of several kinds suitable for several nses. The term 'clay' is often applied loosely to 'loam'; of such, for example, is the clay of Egypt and of Palestine, although a bituminous shale, easily convertible into clay, is said to occur at the source of the Jordan and near the Dead Sea; see BITUMEN.

In Palestine, and indeed throughout the E., clay is used chiefly (1) in building, either retained in its natural state (for ceilings and floors) or manufactured into bricks (see BABYLONIA, § 15, BRICK, CHAMBER, HOUSE); (2) in the manufacture of utensils (see POTTERY); (3) in providing a material for documents public and private and a means of safely preserving them. Very many deeds and other records have been found in the form of inscribed clay tablets in Assyria and Babylonia. 'The deed or record was first written on a small tablet, or brick, of clay, with the names of the principals, witnesses, etc., appended. This tablet was then enclosed in an envelope of clay, on which was written, apparently from memory, the contents of the document, the names of the witnesses,' etc. (Peters). In Palestine, where, so far as we know, clay tablets were not customary in the historic Israelitish period, clay, instead of wax, was used for sealing. See, besides, Job 3814 1417*b*, where AV's 'sewest up' should rather be 'smearest (clay) over'—parallel to 'sealed up' in *v.* 17*a*. In Egypt jars, mummy-pits, etc., were frequently sealed with clay.

The Heb. and Gr. words which are rendered 'clay' are (1) חֹמֶר *ḥōmer*, Gen. 113, etc.; (2) טִיט *ṭīṭ*, used of the mire of streets, also of brick (Nah. 314) and potter's clay (Is. 4125); (3) the biblical Aram. representative חֲסַף *ḥăsaph* (Dan. 233); and (4) πηλός, Rom. 921: see fnrther POTTERY. מֶלֶט *meleṭ*, Jer. 439 AV (RV 'mortar') is uncertain (ἐν προθύροις [BAQ],[1] ἐν τῷ κρυφίῳ [Qmg.]). A possible meaning is 'earth' (Giesebr.); hut it may be a corruption for בַּלָּט 'secretly'; see Ges. *Lex.*(13).

CLEAN and UNCLEAN, HOLY and PROFANE.

Of the Heb. terms which convey the idea of cleanliness or holiness the most prominent is (1) קדש (קָדוֹשׁ, קָדֵשׁ, etc.), the original meaning of which is not clear. Smend in AT *Rel.-gesch.*(1) 334 (cp, however, 2nd ed. 150, 223, 325), expresses the common uncertainty of the moment. The older view of Ges. (*Thes.*), defended now only in a much modified form, is that the root means 'clear,' 'brilliant.' Baudissin,[2] writing in 1878, finds the fundamental idea in 'separation,' a view which is still widely held.

1. Meaning of the Terms.

[Baudissin says, 'A comparison with חדשׁ makes it natural to conjecture that קדשׁ meant from the first "to he separated"—"to he pure"—*i.e.*, that קָדוֹשׁ was from the beginning synonymous with טָהוֹר; cp בַּר, "pure," from ברר, "to cut" or "cut out."' It is certain too, that Yahwb's holiness and his glory are correlative ideas (as: in the *Avesta*, Ahura Mazda's). In Is. 63 this is very clearly indicated, and in *v.* 5 the thought of Yahwb's holiness suggests to Isaiah that of his own (moral) uncleanness (cp Ps. 151 *f.* 2433). May there not have been a time when קדשׁ suggested the idea of purity without any moral reference? Zimmern, followed by Whitehouse (*Thinker*, July 1892, p. 52), connects קָדוֹשׁ with Ass. *ḳuddušu* (*Busspsalmen*, 37, n. 2; *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 1 105; *Vater, Sohn, Fürsprecher*, 11, n. 3), which means 'bright,' 'pure,' or, more precisely (=*ellusu*), 'bright,' 'pure' (very frequently), 'illustrious,' 'holy' (so Sayce, in a private letter). According to Abel (in Baudissin, 38), words which originally denoted 'purity' are used in Coptic to denote the divine or the consecrated. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of the old Egyptian religions and with that of the old Semitic religions. If, however, this tempting comparison be accepted, we must frankly admit that the original meaning had become forgotten, or was but obscurely felt, by the OT writers. Only once is 'the Holy One' distinctly parallel to 'light' (Is. 1017); but the ideas are, at any rate, implicitly synonymous in Is. 319*b* 3314*f.* In usage, as Davidson (*Ezek.* xxxix.), remarks, the term 'holy' expresses, not any particular attribute

[1] The Heb. phrase is עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת; cp Ex. 111 (AV 'treasure cities'), 2 Ch. 846 (L adds τῶν φόρων), 1712 (EV 'cities of store'). עָרֵי is omitted in 2 Ch. 3228 (EV 'storehouses,' πόλεις [BAL]). In 1 K. 919 (ערי המס) 𝔊A renders πόλεις τῶν σκηνωμάτων, apparently מִשְׁכָּנוֹת. BL (*vide* 1023) omit. מסכנות in 2 Ch. 164 is corrupt; see ‖ 1 K. 1520, and cp CHINNERETH.

[2] For the question of the identity of Chrestus, see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 6, iii.

[1] Possibly, however, ἐν προθύροις represents במלבן, and במלט is omitted by 𝔊BAQ.

[2] *Studien zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2 20 (in his important dissertation, 'Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament').

but rather the general notion, of godhead. In a secondary though still early sense, it is applied to that 'which belongs to the sphere of deity, which lies near God's presence or has come into it (Ex. 3 5 Nu. 16 37 *f.* [17 2 *f.*]), or which belongs to him, whether as part of himself or as his property.' Davidson also remarks that the root 'probably expressed some physical idea, though the idea is not now reasonable.' See also WRS *Proph.*(2) 424, who points out (after Noldeke) that the Arabic evidence for the supposed root-idea of purity will not hold. In *RS*(2) 150 the same scholar finds 'some probability' that the original Leaning was 'separation' *or* 'withdrawal.'

Other less prominent terms are *bar* (בר), *zakh* (זך), and *ṭāhōr* (טהור), all of which are rendered indifferently by 'clean' and 'pure.' (2) Of these the most definitely religious in its application is *ṭāhōr*. No doubt gold may he *ṭāhōr*, *i.e.*, refined (Ex. 25 11 Job 28 19); so also a turban (Zech. 3 5), vessels (Ex. 24 6), etc.; hut the levitical sense is specially prominent (Lev. 7 19 Nu. 9 13, etc.) The eyes of God also can be *ṭāhōr* (Hah. 1 13); therefore he cannot tolerate wickedness. Similarly innocence in man; Job 17 9 Ps. 51 12 [10]. God's promises are *ṭāhōr*—*i.e.*, perfectly veracious (Ps. 12 7 [6]).

(3) זַךְ *eak*, also means refined (as oil, Ex. 27 20); incense (Ex. 30 34), morally pure, 'upright' (Job 8 6 [‖ יָשָׁר], Prov. 20 11 21 8). It is used of a prayer (Job 16 17), of the heart (it has to be made or kept 'pure' or 'clean,' Ps. 73 13 Prov. 20 9 [‖ טהר]), or the conduct (Ps. 119 9).

(4) בַּר, *bar*, 'separated'—;.e., 'pure' (cp [1] above). Some Rabhins interpret בַּר in Ps. 2 12, 'selected'=בחיר; but it would he easier (though not rhe best solution) to read בחיר[ו]. In a physical sense *bar*=spotlessly beautiful (Cant. 6 9 *f.*). Spotless purity belongs to God's commandments (Ps. 19 9). It is used of moral purity (Job 11 4 Ps. 24 4 73 1).

The NT terms which have to he noticed are (5) ἁγνός 'pure' (=*ṭāhōr*), in a physical sense of modesty or chastity (2 Cor. 11 2 Tit. 2 5 1 Pet. 3 2); sacred, for ceremonial use (2 Macc. 13 8); pure—ethically—of men (2 Cor. 7 11 Phil. 4 8 1 Tim. 5 22), of God (1 Jn. 3 3), and of his wisdom (Ja. 3 17).

(6) ἅγιος, worthy of veneration, whether of things connected with God (Lk. 1 4 Heh. 9 1 24), or of persons (*e.g.*, John the Baptist, Mk. 6 21; Christian disciples, Acts 9 13, etc.). Thus the church—like Israel (Tit. 2 14, see PECULIAR PEOPLE)—is called ἔθνος ἅγιον (cp Ex. 19 6, גוי קדוש). ἅγιος stands in the same relation δίακιος as חֶסֶד (see LOVINGKINDNESS and cp ASSIDEANS) to צֶדֶק (see Thayer, *Lex. NT*, *s.v.* ἅγιος).

(7) ὅσιος corresponds chieflv with חָסִיד: see (6) above: (so also in 𝔊). It is used of men (Tit. 1 8 Heb. 7 26), of the Messiah (Acts 2 27 13 35), of Messianic blessings (Acts 13 34 τὰ ὅσια Δαυίδ), and of God (Rev. 15 4 16 5 cp Ut. 32 4 Heb. יָשָׁר).

(8) ἱερός, consecrated to the deity, belonging to God, used of the 'sacred' writings (2 Tim. 3 15 RV, AV 'holy'). In 1 Cor. 9 13 τὰ ἱερά means all the sacred objects pertaining to the worship of God in the temple. For the negatives of these qualities, see COMMON, PROFANE.]

Baudissin's view (above [1]) suits many passages: the holiness of the *Ḳĕdēšīm* and the *Ḳĕdēšōth*[1] (see IDOLATRY, § 6), who were certainly found in Israel very early, can have consisted only in their separation: either they were dedicated to foreign gods, or perhaps they were set apart at puberty from the households in which they grew up, according to a custom which ranges from the Gold Coast to Tahiti (see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 2 225 *ff.*), and never returned to them or entered others. The hire of the 'harlot' Tyre (Is. 23 18) is to be 'holiness unto Yahwè,' not because the reviving trade of Tyre is to be conducted in a better spirit than before, but because it is to be taxed at the new Jerusalem (which is presumably to be a staple town of the wool and spice trade) in a way to absorb all its profits. Again (Zech. 14 20 *f.*), everything in the new Jerusalem after its last great trial is to be so holy, so perfectly the property of God, that the very horse-bells will bear the same motto as the High Priest's mitre; the pots in which the sacrificial flesh is boiled for priests are to be as holy as the bowls which hold the sacrificial blood reserved for God; the common cooking pots of Jerusalem are to be holy enough for pilgrims to boil their sacrifices in. Jerusalem (Joel 3 [4] 17) is to be 'holy'; no stranger is to pass through. There is to be through the wilderness of Judah a 'holy' way (Is. 35 8) in which no unclean shall walk.

So far it seems as if holiness might be explained as a relation rather than a quality. The flesh and blood of the sacrifice are holy because they belong to God; the pots and bowls have to be holy that they may hold the flesh and blood. So, too, the vessels (the bodies? or the wallets?) of David's followers (1 S. 21 5 [6]) have to be holy that they may receive the shewbread, which is holy because it is set before God. David (whom all the writers who speak of him regard, from their several points of view, as a model of wisdom and piety) vouches for the negative holiness of his men, and any accidental defilement which he does not know will have had time to wear off: he appears to think that the shewbread will sanctify their 'vessels,'[1] and implies that if they had been specially sanctified, as for a holy war or a pilgrimage, they might have eaten the shewbread though they were not priests.

2. Contagion of holiness.

The 'sanctification' of persons and things falls under the same notion. 'Holiness,' as Robertson Smith observed (*RS*(2) 450 *ff.*), is contagious: whatever a 'holy' thing or a 'holy' person touches becomes holy. When Elijah casts his mantle over Elisha, the latter has to follow till Elijah releases him; the worshippers of Baal, whose ordinary dress might 'profane' the house, are provided with special vestments from the stores of the house of Baal; otherwise, when they came outside, their ordinary dress would make whatever it touched 'holy to Baal,' and unavailable to the former owners. The priest on the great Day of Atonement (the rule is older than the day) is *to* take off the holy linen garments and leave them in the holy place, and to wash his flesh in water lest any of the contagion of holiness should cling to him. In a text which, though belonging to the main stock of P, seems to represent a later state of the law, the consecration of Aaron and his successors seems to consist in their investiture with the (hereditary?) state dress of Ex. 28; cp Nu. 20 25-28. According to another view, which is older than Zech. 4 14, the consecration consists in the anointing (cp ANOINTING, § 3, *c*). The doctrine of the contagion of holiness is at its height in Ezek. (46 24). who provides special kitchens where the priests are to cook the most holy things, and special chambers in which they are to eat them, without bringing them forth into the outer court to sanctify the people (who are eating their own sacrifices). Otherwise, they might become the property of the sanctuary, or at least would be subject to the same obligations as the priests. For the same reason, it is expressly stated, they are to leave the holy garments in the holy place, though all the top of the mountain is most holy. So, too, a little later, the profane sacrificers[2] of Is. 65 5 either threaten to sanctify the poor who approach them, or claim to be too holy to be approached. In Hag. 2 12 *f.* we find a distinct change. The contagion of uncleanness is stronger than the contagion of holiness. A garment in which holy flesh is carried does not sanctify; a garment which has touched the dead pollutes (cp EGYPT, § 19, and see DRESS, § 8). The stricter view is still presupposed, at least for the 'mostholy' things; any garment sprinkled with blood has to be washed in the holy place (Lev. 6 27 [20]);[3] otherwise it would sanctify. For the same reason the earthen pots used in cooking are to be broken; brass pots (too valuable to break) may be used, but only after having been rinsed and scoured—obviously to remove the last vestige of the

1 [See Dr. *Dt.* 264 *f.*; St. *GVI* 1479 *f.*; Movers, *Die Phön.* 1 679 *ff.* Benzinger (*HA*, § 61) remarks, 'It may safely he affirmed that this form of consecration to the deity, and especially the violation of nature combined with it, was unknown to the Israelitish nomads; but also that with so many other details of Baal-worship, it penetrated into the service of Yahwè, and there spread to a considerable extent.']

1 Everybody dedicated a new house (Dt. 20 5): was it ever a custom to dedicate vessels?

2 They wish to forsake God's holy mountain and set up a temple of their own; they are rebuked in a way to imply that no temple exists or is needed (cp Is. 66 1 *ff.* and see ISAIAH, ii., § 21).

3 Is this the reason why the holy garments are of linen?. Woollen garments would naturally he sent to the fuller at long intervals.

holy food. The rank of the priests is determined by their right to eat of both the holy and the most holy, which are often cited as if they were known, and never described: though we are told that the 'sin' and the 'trespass' offering are most holy and must be eaten in the holy place, and hence could not be eaten by the households of the priests. Why these special offerings are specially holy is discussed elsewhere (see SACRIFICE). The scribes, to whom we owe this law, are the fathers of those who decided that a book was or was not canonical according as it did or did not 'defile the hands.' After touching a really holy book, a man had to wash before touching common food lest his hands should sanctify it (cp CANON, § 4). In the oldest practice, it would seem, it is the contact with the holy flesh that is the essence of the consecration of priests: the sacrificer who wishes to institute a priest 'fills his hand.'[1] As sacrifice and slaughter are nearly synonymous (as late as Is. 34 6; ISAIAH, ii., § 14), we seem to find in one of the stories of the golden calf that the share of the Levites in the slaughter of the worshippers is virtually their consecration. 'They have filled your hand for YahwB' (*i.e.*, 'Ye have been to-day appointed priests'), 'for every man was against his son and his brother' (Ex. 32 29).[2] In 1 K. 13 33 Jeroboam fills the hand for the priests of the high places: in 2 Ch. 13 9 each candidate brings a bullock and seven rams to fill his hand.[3] This seems an echo of old tradition; for in Ex. 29 (P), Moses takes only *two* rams and a bullock when he fills the hand of Aaron and his sons: the blood of the ram of the 'fill offering' is put on the right ear, the right thumb, the right great toe, of each priest; the pieces, which as a rule are burnt, and one of those which in ordinary sacrifices fell to the priest as his fee, are both laid with cake on the hand of each priest and waved before God (to assert the priest's right to the 'wave-breast' and the 'heave shoulder') and then burnt. There seems to be an afterthought (*v.* 26) in which Moses as the officiating priest takes the wave breast to himself; the priests eat the rest of the sacrifice (which in ordinary cases the worshipper would eat) in the holy place. The idea seems to be that just as the worshipper in the old profession (Dt. 26 13) declares 'I have put away the holy out of my house,' so the sacrificer passes on the dangerous holy food to a priest who will take the risk and the privilege of sharing the table of God, and bear the iniquity of the people in their holy things. Possibly the Levites in Ex. 32 26 *ff.* may point to a time when the priest was not chosen by the sacrificer, but handselled his office by laying hands on the holy flesh.

3. Holiness of priests.

The question whether 'holiness' to begin with is nothing more than 'separateness' bears very directly on the 'holiness' of God. If holiness is originally a relation rather than a quality, if things and persons are holy to God as persons and acts are righteous before him, then God himself is holy simply as the centre of the circle of sanctity: if all that belongs to the sanctuary is holy, how much more he who dwelleth between the cherubim, who inhabiteth the praises of Israel (Ps. 22 3 [4])? He is the object of worship whom his worshippers 'sanctify.' He is the 'Holy One': 'I am God and not man, the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee' (Hos. 11 9 cited Is. 12 6: 'Rejoice and shout, O inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee'). Yahwè is the God, the Holy One of the prophet (Hab. 1 12). So Jacob (Gen. 31 53, cp *v.* 42 [E]) swears by the fear of his father Isaac—*i.e.*, the God whom his father feared.

4. Of God.

There are other texts, however, in which holiness seems to be absolute. The men of Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6 20) ask, 'Who can stand before YahwB, this holy god?'[1] In Am. 4 2 Yahwè swears by his holiness. Does that mean his character? or the reverence due to him? The answer will govern the sense in which his name is holy in 2 7. In Is. 5 16 (authoritative enough by whomsoever written) God's being exalted through judgment and sanctified through righteousness are closely parallel. The song ascribed to the mother of Samuel (1 S. 2) is an unambiguous echo of the song of the seraphim (Is. 6 3)—'Holy, holy, holy is Yahwb Săbāōth, the whole earth is full of his glory,'—where holiness and glory are clearly parallel. So, too, in Jer. 17 12, 'a high throne is the place of our sanctuary,' and in Ex. 15 11, 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?'—the holiness, the praises, the wonders, seem to belong to God's external majesty. Throughout the OT God's worshippers rehearse his acts much oftener than his attributes. We find his 'righteous acts' as early as the song of Deborah (Judg. 5 11); but not till Jer. 12 1 do we read, 'righteous art thou, YahwB, when I plead with thee'; where the sense is still half forensic, as in Ex. 9 27 (JE) Ps. 51 4 [6]. In Ps. 11 7 we have 'The righteous Yahwè loveth righteousness.' The parallel between holiness and glory is reinforced by the contrast between holy and profane, for profane certainly seems to mean what is cast down to be trodden under foot (Ezek. 28 16, 'Cast thee as profane out of the holy mount'; Ps. 89 39 [40], 'Thou hast profaned his crown to the ground'; cp 44). Israel, again (Dt. 26 19), is made high above all people, that it may be a holy people.

The demand that Israel shall be holy is common to every stage and aspect of the Law. In Ex. 22 31 [30] (JE) and Dt. 14 21, it is the ground on which Israel is to abstain from all meat not killed by men for human food; in Dt. 14 1 *f.* Israel as a holy people is forbidden to make to the dead blood- or hair-offerings, intended, doubtless, to keep up a physical communion with them (cp ESCHATOLOGY). The spiritual tie between God and his peculiar people who are his children is not to be impaired by a rite the sense of which was still clear when the book which Hilkiah found was written, though in Jer. 16 6 the rite seems harmless and unmeaning. Again, the tithe of the third year is profane if any of it has been 'eaten in mourning' or 'given for the dead' (Dt. 26 14). Are we to think of the mere unluckiness of any thing connected with the dead (Hos. 9 4)? or of some form of worship, as in Is. 8 19? Consecration for one mode of worship would be a defilement for another. In Lev. 19 27 (cp 21 5) we have the law against cuttings for the dead preceded by a law against an Arab tonsure, which probably marked consecration to an Arab god. This might go back to Hezekiah, who, according to Sennacherib (*KB* 2 94), entertained Arab mercenaries. Gratian adopted the dress of his Alan guard. If we suspect with Robertson Smith[2] an invasion of Arab totemism in the

5. Of Israel.

1 If Micah (Judg. 17 5) had begun with the Levite we might suppose that the filling of his hand consisted in his salary. He is not likely to have given his son a salary; yet he 'filled his hands.'

2 [So Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 137), who remarks, 'In the story before us the consecration of the bene Levi to the priesthood is explained ætiologically by their having filled their hand with the blood of their brethren.' It is doubtful whether 'they have filled your hand' is the meaning of the Heb. The expression 'Fill your hands' (if this be the meaning), is admitted, however, by Baudissin (*Gesch. des A T Priesterth.* Go) to be 'very suspicious.' It is always another who fills the new priest's hands. Perhaps in an interpolation (see Kue. *Hex.* 247) the phrase may he conceivable.]

3 Can we suppose that if anybody was allowed to qualify Jeroboam found the qualification for all comers?

1 Holiness in the same sense is ascribed to other gods; Eshmunazar of Zidon on his sarcophagus (*circa* 400 B.C.) speaks of the holy gods in the same way as do Nebuchadrezzar and the queen-mother in the Book of Daniel.

2 ['Here, therefore, we have a clear case of the re-emergence into the light of day of a cult of the most primitive totem type which had been banished for centuries from public religion, but must have been kept alive in obscure circles of private or local superstition, and sprang up again on the rising of the national faith, like some noxious weed in the courts of a deserted temple' (*RS*(2), 357). See the context, and cp Che. *Intr. Is.* 368 *ff.*]

time of Ezek. (8 7-12), Lev. 19 28 will forbid the tattooing of totem marks.

In the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy the holiness of the covenant people is demanded, so to speak, incidentally, and without express reference to the holiness of the covenant God. If one were to try to find a keynote for the older book it would be 'Justice'; for Deuteronomy perhaps 'Loving-kindness, '*ḥesed*,' the dutiful love of the worshipper to his God, which includes kindness for God's sake to men (see also LOVINGKINDNESS). 'Holiness' is certainly the keynote of the oldest stratum of the Levitical law (see LEVITICUS).

6. In the Codes.

Deuteronomy is clearly a development, as compared with the Book of the Covenant; a deeper insight into the vocation of the chosen people has been gained. Is the Law of Holiness a development in the same sense, compared with Deuteronomy? The interval between Ezekiel and Jeremiah is shorter than that between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant; yet Ezekiel is almost as full of the ideas of H (*i.e.*, the Law of Holiness) as Jeremiah of those of D. Has he inherited a relatively old tradition? Short as H is, it is full of variations and repetitions. Would not an elder or a younger contemporary of Ezekiel, giving expression to a new religious movement that had grown out of Josiah's covenant, have imparted more unity to his work? Again, in more than one way H seems to be older. No reader of Frazer (see especially *Golden Bough*, 1 279 n. 2) would think the law which forbids the reaping of corners later than the law against gleaning (Lev. 19 9 *f.*). Nor is the holiness required of priests yet extended to the whole people; thus if a layman eats נְבֵלָה he is defiled for the day and must wash his clothes; but for priests the prohibition is absolute. There seems, too, to be a recognition of other gods (Dt. 24 15 *f.*): if a man curses his own god he shall bear his iniquity (*i.e.*, he must not come to the priest of the God of Israel to make atonement for him). Certainly in D the demand for 'holiness' is based on the more characteristic demand for monolatry, whilst in H, though the demand for monolatry is not superfluous—Israel, we are told, went after the Shēdīm (see DEMONS, § 4) in the wilderness (Lev. 17 7)—it is not fundamental. The giving of the seed to Moloch is treated as analogous to the moral abominations of the nations, for which the land spewed them out, rather than to turning away to idols or making molten gods. It was a profanation of God's holy name just because those under his wrath (Ezek. 20 25 *f.*) regarded it as part of his service. Upon the whole, the demand for holiness in H seems to be an intensification of the demand that worshippers shall sanctify themselves, which we may suppose the better priests to have insisted upon as long as there were feasts in Israel. In many ways the holiness is still external: 'ye shall be holy, for I Yahwè am holy,' appears (Lev. 20 26) as a sanction for the law against abominable food (cp 11 44 *f.*); in 19 2 21 8 the context takes off nothing from the text. These passages mark the culmination, not the starting point, of a line of teaching. Generally the sanction of the precept is, 'I am Yahwè,' 'I am Yahwè your god,' 'I am Yahwè your god who brought you out of Egypt,' 'I am Yahwè who sanctify you.' Logically and theologically God's holiness is the source of all others: he is holy in himself and therefore what he takes for his must be holy too; but possibly, as Robertson Smith held, holiness may in the beginning have been regarded as a mysterious virtue inherent in things external to the worshipper—in trees, in waters, in stones, in the mysterious animal life of well-wooded and well-watered spots,—each of which may have served to suggest a higher power beyond the phenomena in which it was first recognised. Historically, however, the evidence that holiness is an attribute of the object of worship is neither so early nor so copious as the evidence that holiness is a relation bringing the worshipper and his holy things into a new sphere with something worshipped at its centre.

Obviously 'holy and profane,' 'clean and unclean,' is a cross division; holy things and persons are, or may be, as unavailable for common life as if they were unclean, though, on the other hand, holiness necessarily presupposes and includes cleanness. Again, uncleanness often seems, like holiness, to have something supernatural about it: unclean animals often seem to be 'abominable,' like 'idols'; the uncleanness of the dead, and of women at certain times, is as likely to savour of awe as of disgust.

7. Clean and unclean animals.

In historical times clean and unclean beasts are those which are fit or unfit for food rather than for sacrifice[1] (see however below, § 11); but the law of clean and unclean animals is puzzling.[2] The law which limited the eatable quadrupeds to the old order of ruminants (with the exception of the camel) was valuable incidentally from the hygienic point of view. If this was the origin of the law, it must have rested rather on instinct than on observation; at most, shepherds and herdsmen may have noticed what beasts they found feeding in the pastures of the wilderness, and decided that these were as fit for food as their own flocks and herds. All the patriarchs have camels, and Rachel (Gen. 31 34 [E]) hides the teraphim in the camel's furniture: in later, perhaps more historical, times camels seem to belong to aliens (cp CAMEL, § 2 *ff.*). In the oldest stratum of the story of Gideon (Judg. 8 25) we find the gold rings round the necks of the camels of the Midianites; in the oldest stratum of the story of David (1 S. 30 17) 400 of the Amalekites escape on camels. As far as we know, camel-riders have always killed, eaten, and sacrificed their camels, though the meat is inferior to beef and mutton. Possibly the camel was unclean because it was the domestic animal of alien nomads. If so, the rule 'whatever divideth the hoof and cheweth the cud shall be clean' may have been settled before the question of eating camels became practical. This question was decided by the observation that the camel does not strictly divide the hoof, or at least rests part of its weight on an undivided pad.

8. Quadrupeds.

The express prohibition of eating hares, rock-badgers, and swine, as food, is curious. No reason except a possible connection with totemism has yet been suggested why the rock-badger was forbidden; and for the prohibition of the hare we have only guesses—perhaps it is worth while to mention the idea that hares' flesh is unhealthy. The uncleanness of swine is at its height when they are kept in sties and left dirty; but in OT and NT times they seem to have fed in herds out of doors. Compared with sheep and goats, they are fond of mud—but so are buffaloes in modern Palestine, which are not regarded with the same horror as swine. On the other hand, tribes of herdsmen and shepherds have much more in common with each other than with swineherds, and if we are to look for a natural explanation of the abhorrence of swine we may look for it here: the droves of swine of the alien were abominable to the flocks and herds of the Hebrew. As for the actual feeling, whatever its cause, it is significant that in Ḥarrān, traditionally the last station of Abraham on his way to Canaan and the land to which Jacob returned, the land where he won his wives and his wealth, swine were sacrificed once a year and eaten only then. A sacrifice which is, for whatever

[1] With regard to sacrifices it is men that are clean or unclean. When men sacrifice of the flock and the herd, only the clean may eat (when Saul misses David at table the first thought that occurs to him is 'he is unclean'): that was the common law till slaughter without sacrifice was allowed in D in the interest of the one sanctuary. Of game, on the other hand, of the roebuck and the hart the clean and the unclean may eat alike—though possibly there is a trace of a blood-offering by hunters in the rule in H (Lev. 17 13) that the blood is to be not simply poured out but covered with earth—a prescription which might be either a survival or a development.

[2] [Cp Dr. *Dt.* 164 WRS *OTJC*(2) 366; Now. *HA* 1 116 *f.*]

reason, rare, is also mysterious, awful, and potent.. Dogs too were sacred in Ḥarrān; and both swine and dogs seem to figure in the profane sacrifices of Is. 65 and 66.[1] See DOG, § 4.

Whatever the reason for the express prohibition of camels, hares, rock-badgers, and swine, the prohibition is as old as any part of the law which we can trace; but the list of prohibited animals in Lev. 11 29 *ff.* (P) has integral relation to the rest of the law; the weasel, the mouse, and different kinds of lizards are 'the uncleanest with you of swarming things'; except dry sowing seed, everything that comes into contact with their carcase is unclean.

The rule is meant to work: one of these abominations does not defile a whole cistern or fountain; every earthenware vessel which they touch is to be broken; other vessels are to be washed in water and to he unclean until even. the water which washes **the** vessels pollutes all meat on which'it **falls**; any drink in the polluted vessels is of course unclean.

Two questions arise: Why should people wish to eat weasels, mice, and different kinds of lizards? and why are these charged with special uncleanness? The traditional answer to the second is that they are in a sense domestic vermin which haunt houses and are always getting into whatever is stored there, and so are worse than vermin out of doors; but, as most commentators think that one of the lizards enumerated is an iguana or a land crocodile *3* or 4 ft. long (see LIZARD [1]), the explanation has to bear a heavy strain. If Robertson Smith's theory of totemism is established, much will become clear.[2] The elders of Israel who worshipped 'creeping things' in 'chambers of imagery' (Ezek. 8 10 *ff.*) made it necessary to cultivate a special religious horror of their low-class totems: they were at the same stage as the Ḥarranians, who are said to have worshipped field-mice. Indications of high-class totems, however, are not wanting; see LEOPARD, WOLF.

There is neither a category nor a list of clean birds: of the unclean, as enumerated, most are uneatable—either birds of prey or feeders on carrion.

9. Birds. The lapwing is especially forbidden: the only possible reason yet discovered is that it haunts marshy places and that its flesh has sometimes a bad smell. Nothing is said one way or other of doves or pigeons,—which is remarkable, as they do not appear at Solomon's table, and, though they are the only birds which, as far as we know, were sacrificed, they were used for sacrifices of which the worshipper at least did not eat. In Syria, at any rate, they were always associated with the worship of Astarte, and, wherever that worsliip spread to the West, they went with it, and according to Lucian (*Dea Syra*, 14, 54) none of the worshippers at Hierapolis ventured to eat or touch them—they were too holy,—and whoever touched them was ἐναγής or 'unclean' for a day, and it was a question whether swine were 'holy' or 'abominable.' Probably the question of clean or unclean birds was only of secondary importance: it was not easy to keep ducks or geese; there were no cocks (see COCK) or hens; the 'fowls of heaven' generally appear as feeding on sacrifices or corpses; the 'fowler' (who appears as early as Hos. 98) probably caught small birds for the rich.[3]

The prohibition of 'flying swarming things that go on all fours' looks as if at first it included locusts, the only insects which anybody could wish to eat;

10. Insects. if so, subsequent scribes discovered that, as they leap on their hind legs and do not strictly go on all fours, they might be eaten in all stages of their growth.

The law of aquatic food is clear: 'whatever hath fins and scales' is clean; this limits the dietary to true fishes, and, among these, excludes eels and shads,—

11. Fish. popular and common articles of food in Egypt, Greece, and Italy. According to Pliny (*HN* xxxii. 10 1), Numa thought fish without scales unfit for funeral banquets; Piankhi Meri-Amen thought well of a king of Lower Egypt who ate no fish; according to Lucian (*Dea Syra*, 54), fish in general is forbidden food. The Law knows nothing of sacrificial fish. Perhaps the prohibition of fish was general, and the permission of what had fins and scales an exception: see FISH, § 8 *ff.* There is certainly a tendency to identify what is clean and what is fit for sacrifice. Thus Hosea (93) regards food eaten out of the land of Israel as unclean, because

12. Plants. it cannot be purified by acceptable sacrifice to the God of Israel; in Amos 7 17 a foreign land is polluted for the same reason; and in H the fruit of all trees is to be uncircumcised the first three years (*i.e.*, the fruit is to be picked off as fast as it forms while the trees are establishing themselves?); for the fourth year the whole crop is to be holy to praise Yahwb withal (*i.e.*, to be used for sacrificial feasts). There is no distinction anywhere between clean and unclean herbs; the first fruits of all are to be offered, though only corn and wine and oil figure in sacrifice. In P (Gen. 1 29) every herb and tree that yieldeth seed is given for

13. Different periods. meat from the first; so after the flood is all animal food;[1] as sacrifice was instituted (according to P) for the first time at Sinai, the distinction between clean and unclean animals was still in abeyance. The distinction between clean and sacrificial animals which is presupposed throughout D is perhaps to be explained by the transition from the nomadic state. If Levi the sacred tribe be a metronymic formed from Leah the wild cow, wild animals must have been sacred once (see LEAH).

The law of clean and unclean meats obtained special prominence in the Greek period: the first proof of the religious fidelity of Daniel and his companions is their resolution not to defile themselves with the king's meat; when Antiochus Epiphanes resolved to abolish 'Jewish particularism' eating swine's flesh was the test of conformity. If we go back fifty or seventy years, Joseph, the enterprising revenue farmer, whom his namesake idealised (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 10) as Machiavelli did Cæsar Borgia, had clearly no scruple of the kind;[2] yet even he, though his kindred in the next generation (*ib.* 5 1) were prominent on the heathen side and he himself fell in love with a pagan (*ib.* 8), was heartily thankful when his own niece was substituted for her in order to save him from polluting his seed among the heathen. A psalmist (see Ps. 141), who still instinctively draws his imagery from a time before the institution or revival of the evening burnt sacrifice, may be an older witness for the view (hardly to he traced in Ezra or Nehemiah) that the law of clean and unclean meats is given to separate Israel from the heathen: he appears to be thinking simply of fellowship at the table, not, like the author of Is. 65, of sacrificial communion. If so, a Maccabean editor may have revived a psalm which suited the times. Probably older psalms from 18 onwards lay the stress rather on cleanness of hands and innocency; in Is. 6 5 the unclean lips of prophets and people are generally explained as relating to sins of speech, after the analogy of Zeph. 3 9 13. After the destruction of the temple, and still more after Palestine ceased to be the centre of Jewish life, the law of clean and unclean was less zealously observed, though portions of it prove still

1 [See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 290 *ff.* Were these sacrificial rites practised by the early Samaritans? Cp Che. *Intr.* **Is.** 367.]

2 [Cp Stade, *Th. LZG* 1896, n. 1, col. 10, who remarks against Nowack that 'W. R. Smith's hypothesis has the special merit of explaining why certain animals are sacred, and why certain kinds of flesh may not he eaten. The theory that these animals were regarded as the property of the Godhead only throws the question back. For how came people to embrace such a remarkable theory?' For Nowack's view see his *HA* 1 118.]

3 See FOWL § 1. In 1 S. 26 20, if the text is right, partridge-hunting seem; to he beneath the dignity of a king. *See* PARTRIDGE.

1 Observe that in P's account of the deluge there is no distinction between clean and unclean beasts (DELUGE, § 12 6).

2 His son Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 9) is the first person we know of whom they tell the story of the wise man whose place at the king's board is piled with bones by envious detractors.

to be of considerable sanitary value. See FOOD, § 10 *ff.*

Human uncleanness[1] is of two kinds. It may arise from external contact, or from something in the man or woman who is unclean.

14. Human uncleanness.

The uncleanness of death falls under both; the dead is unclean and makes others unclean. Diseases like leprosy or issue, natural processes like menstruation and probably copulation, cause uncleanness too. If, as Wellhausen holds (*CH* 151; but cp *IJG* 108), Lev. 12 2 implies Lev. 15 19, the law of uncleanness after childbearing might be an extension by analogy of the older law of the uncleanness of menstruation.[2] If so, as the Vendidad has much to say respecting the uncleanness of childbed, we might suspect Persian influence—the rather that there is no hint of it in the older Hebrew literature, while the 'menstruous cloth' appears (Is. 30 22) in a passage still generally assigned to the Assyrian period. Cp FAMILY, § 11.

Perhaps a common element in all cases of uncleanness not caused by external contact is that the unclean in some way is disgusting or alarming. The law of leprosy is not to be explained from the risk of contagion: ordinary sickness, even pestilence, does not occasion uncleanness; the leper is 'unclean' because he is smitten of God, just as the madman in Moslem countries is 'holy,' and epilepsy was the ἱερὰ νόσος in Greece. In general, persons who are in a state to make ordinary people shrink from them, because their neighbourhood is uncomfortable or terrifying, are unclean.

Casual uncleanness, according to P in its final state, does not require an offering for its removal. It is enough to observe the prescribed term of seclusion, generally 'until the even,' and the prescribed washing;

15. Purification.

if either be neglected and the unclean negligently or ignorantly intrude among the clean, a 'sin-offering' is necessary. This is Dillmann's inference from Lev. 5 2. According to Nu. 5 2, the unclean is excluded not only from 'the congregation,' but also from 'the camp,'—*i.e.*, not only from the temple, but also from, at any rate, walled towns. No offering is prescribed for the menstruous woman; but after childbed and after issues a 'sin offering' is prescribed, whilst the leper has also to bring a 'trespass' offering before he can come into 'the congregation,' though

16. Case of leper.

he is admitted to 'the camp' after the performance of an (older?) rite with two birds, running water, cedar, hyssop, and scarlet. After he comes into the camp he must still wait several days before he comes to his 'tent.' Here it is hard to doubt that the law has a sanitary purpose: it imposes a short quarantine to make sure that the cure is complete, and not improbably to guard against the hereditary transmission of the disease. The 'trespass' offering of the leper looks like a 'development'; it is necessary to assert expressly that it belongs to the priest (Lev. 14 33); the leper is anointed with the blood and oil of the trespass offering, exactly as Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8 22) are anointed with the blood of the ram of consecration, whose flesh is boiled for Aaron and his sons to eat, while the 'wave breast' falls to Moses as the sacrificer's fee. Possibly the reconsecration of the leper as one of the holy people by sacrificial blood is older than the theory that he was not to eat of the sacrifice. The sin and the burnt-offering prescribed after all the graver kinds of uncleanness are to 'make an atonement,' which may imply that the uncleanness was a penal infliction, though this is nowhere stated. The (older?) rite, which readmits the leper to the camp, is the only one prescribed for the cleansing of a house from the plague of leprosy, whilst leprosy in a garment, if it ceases to spread, is sufficiently purged by two washings.[1] Much of the rite is still transparent. One of the birds is to be held over an earthen vessel full of living water into which the blood of the dead bird falls; the living bird, the cedar, the scarlet, and the hyssop are to be dipped in the water and blood; the leper who is to be cleansed is to be sprinkled with both; and then the living bird is to fly away with the plague of leprosy, as the women with the wind in their wings (Zech. 5 9) fly away with the wickedness of the land of Israel, or as the goat for Azāzel (see AZAZEL) carries away the sin of the congregation into the wilderness. Probably the living bird is dipped in the blood and water to establish a kind of blood brotherhood between it and the leper. If the blood and water were on the leper alone, the release of the living bird might symbolise that he who was hitherto shut up in Israel was now free as the fowls of the air. Living water is, of course, a natural element of all purifications; HYSSOP (*q.v.*), certainly a popular means of purification (Ps. 51 7 [9]), according to Pliny (*HN* xvi. 76) is good for the complexion, and according to others is a saponaceous herb. What are the cedar and the scarlet for? Cedar wood is aromatic; the bright colour of scarlet may betoken strength and splendour. In the ancient domestic rites of India (*SBE* **30** 281) children are made to touch gold and *ghee*, that when they grow up they may have riches and food. Remote as the analogy is, we may ask, Is the leper, in virtue of the rite, to dwell in cedar and be clothed with scarlet? See CEDAR.

The cedar, hyssop, and scarlet appear again in the mysterious rite of the Red Heifer whose ashes are used for the water of separation. It had a whole treatise to itself in the Mishna,

17. Red Heifer, etc.

where its qualifications were elaborated to such a point that at last R. Nisin said that no one since the days of Moses had been able to find one fit to be slain. There is an analogous rite in D (Dt. 21 1 *f.*) When the land is defiled with blood the ordinary way of putting away bloodguiltiness is to shed the blood of the slayer. If he cannot be found the land is made clean again with the blood of an unyoked heifer killed, either by beheading or by breaking the neck (the meaning of the verb *'ārăph* is not clear), in a barren valley with a running stream in it, where the elders of the city nearest the place where the dead man is found wash their hands of bloodguiltiness over the heifer. A barren valley is chosen, according to Dillmann, Ewald, and Keil, in order that the purifying blood may not be uncovered and lose its virtue; according to Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 371), to avoid all risk of contact with sacrosanct flesh. We might ask, Would, running water in a fertile valley used for such a rite pollute the fields of offerings? The goat for Azāzel is sent into the wilderness. If the heifer *is* beheaded, her blood is almost certainly intended to 'cover' the blood of the slain. If not, are we to think of Saul's first, muster (1 S. 14 32 *ff.*)? Do the elders by implication invoke on themselves the doom of the heifer if their protestation is false? What is the meaning of the obviously popular rite (see COVENANT, § 5) of dividing victims when a covenant is made (Gen. 15 10 Jer. 34 18 *f.*)? The rite of the Red Heifer is more general in its intention. Its principal use is not to do away bloodguiltiness, but to cleanse those who are defiled by contact with the dead. Incidentally we learn that it was required for the purification of the vessels of all spoil which will not abide the fire (Nu. 31 23); and the Levites on their consecration are to be purified by what is probably the same, 'the water of sin' (*ib.* 8 7). [Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29 4 and parallels) are washed at their consecration with common

1 [Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 428, 447 *f.*]

2 According to surviving folklore, many things will not 'keep' if made or handled by a person in a state of Levitical 'uncleanness.'

1 Neither of these laws belongs to the main stock of P though if they were later developments, we should expect that the cleansing of a house, at any rate, would have required an offering. In D the dedication of a house has all the look of a survival, and was probably accomplished at one time by sacrifice.

water.] Both texts are late, and represent the views of antiquaries rather than the claims of legists with practical interests to satisfy. The tendency to ascribe the whole law to Moses naturally brought with it an increasing zeal for the oldest rites that could be recollected; it does not follow that the water of separation was invented in or after the Exile, because the occasions for its application were prescribed then. Possibly, as the Persians removed the uncleanness of the dead by elaborate ceremonies with *gômêz*, the priests thought that in similar cases water hallowed with the ashes of a cow would be specially efficacious. The law of a purification on the third and the seventh day (Nu. 19 11-13 or 14-16?) loolrs older than the original law of the Red Heifer, which seems to end at *v.* 10; in *v.* 17 *ff.* we have the rule for its application.

The rite itself is as obscure as its history. For one thing, at every stage its ministers must be clean, and they become unclean by their ministry; the priest who superintends the burning is unclean till the even; so is he who burns; he who collects the ashes (though they must be laid up in a clean place) is unclean; so is he who sprinkles or even touches the water, which is the one means which can make those defiled by contact with the dead clean. Naturally, we suppose that those who were 'unclean' at the stage of the law implied in our records were 'sanctified' at an earlier stage. Twice the heifer (*vv.* 9 17) is called a sin-offering. The ritual has interesting analogies with, and differences from, that of other sin-offerings. Like the sin-offering for the priest's own sin, and that for the sin of the congregation, it is to be burnt outside the camp—hide, dung, and all. Unlike them it is to be killed, not in the place of the burnt offering, but without the camp. There is another contrast. The blood and fat of all sin-offerings, including the sin-offerings for priest and congregation and the bullock offered at the consecration of Aaron, is presented in the sanctuary; the blood seems specially used there, as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, to rehallow the altar profaned by sin. The heifer's blood is not brought into the sanctuary; it is sprinkled towards it seven times. But for this we might suppose that the uncleanness of death was driven away from the camp or the city and burnt with the heifer; but her blood is hallowing—else why is it sprinkled toward the holy place? Are all these rites compromises between the old custom of worshipping outside the city, which maintained itself as late as David (2 Sam. 15 32), and the new custom of hallowing the city by a sanctuary? As late as the Assyrian period (Is. 33 14, if this be Isaiah's), the close neighbourhood of an ever-burning altar made many uncomfortable.[1] For this reason, among others, the rarer and more solemn sacrifices were still performed outside. Then perhaps the old rite in the old place took on a new meaning. Kings were, as a rule, buried in the city, and it was customary (Jer. 34 5) to make a 'burning for them.[2] In 2 Ch. 16 14 we read of a very great burning for Asa: the Chronicler, who may be quoting a relatively old authority, thinks of perfumes, at which Jeremiah does not hint. Were valuables burnt in honour of kings? Have the cedar, the hyssop, and the scarlet burnt with the heifer any analogy to such burnings? Is the putting away of the heifer with something of a royal funeral an almost unconscious reminiscence of a well-nigh forgotten cultus of sacred animals? Is the red heifer the last trace of a cow goddess (see CALF, GOLDEN)? There are, of course, many instances of mortal representations of the Godhead, honoured for a time, and then ceremoniously put away. In any case, the efficacy of the heifer's ashes seems to lie in the fact that they reconsecrate rather than purge the unclean. All Israel were originally hallowed (Ex. 24 8 JE) by the blood of the covenant; so the priests are hallowed by the blood of the 'fill offering'; so the blood of the atonement rehallows the holy place and the altar that has been profaned; so the leper is rehnllowed after his uncleanness with blood, and the ashes of a peculiar sin-offering serve the same end. On the other hand, water and fire (except in Is. 65 *ff.*) seem simply to remove external pollutions, not to renew communion with a holy life.

18. Literature. Robertson Smith (*Kinship* ['85], *Rel. Sem.*(2) ['94]), and Wellhausen (*Reste Arab. Heid.*(2) ['97]) are the best authorities for the Semitic world. The subject is best studied from a comparative point of view, for which Frazer's *Golden Bough* ('90) is indispensable. The critical treatment of the subject is of recent growth and is capable of further development. Cp J. C. Matthes, 'De begrippen rein en onrein in het OT,' *Th. T.* 33 293-318 ['99]. The only earlier work of importance is Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* (Cambridge 1727)—see Robertson Smith's estimate in *Rel. Sem.*(2) p. vi. G. A. S.

[1] Have we a trace of the same feeling in Is. 32 19? Is not a fenced city on God's Holy Hill at once superfluous when God delivers his people, and also in some sense profane?

[2] Cp *Abodah Zarah*, 1 3 and the Gemara.

CLEMENT (κλημης [Ti. WH]), a Philippian Christian who had taken an active part in building up the church at Philippi, in which he had the co-operation of Euodia and Syntyche (Phil. 4 3). In the allusion to him there is nothing to imply that he was a companion of Paul in his journeyings, or to justify his traditional identification (in the Western Church) with the Roman Clement.

In the list of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is spoken of as having been the first of the Gentiles and Greeks to believe in Christ, and as having afterwards become bishop of Sardica. The Pseudo-Hippolytus has Sardinia, for which, however, we should probably read Sardica.

CLEOPAS (κλεοπας [Ti. WH], abbrev. from κλεοπατρος), according to Lk. 24 18 the name of one of the two disciples who accompanied the risen Jesus to Emmaus. The narrative in question, however, is one of the latest of those which attached themselves to the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. Paul, who had spent fifteen days in the society of Peter (Gal. 1 13) and was strongly interested in establishing the fact of the resurrection, knows nothing of it. By εἶτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . εἶτα . . . ἔσχατον[1] of 1 Cor. 15 5-8 he unquestionably intends to enumerate exhaustively all the appearances of the risen Lord which were known to him; and he had the most urgent occasion to do so, for the resurrection of Jesus had been brought in question at Corinth. The narrative of the third evangelist conveys in a highly concrete form the thought that it is from Jesus himself we receive the knowledge that his Passion and Resurrection had been foretold by Moses and all the prophets (24 25-27). In reality, however, this conviction must have been gradually reached as the result of a prolonged and ever-deepening study of the OT by the whole church. That it is in the Eucharist that his presence is made known to his church is, in like manner, an experience still reaented in every renewal of the act. Here too, accordingly, the thought, that in the nearness of Christ as experienced in the sacrament which commemorates his death we have our most convincing assurance that he truly lives, finds concrete expression.

After what has been said, it becomes a question whether Cleopas is a historical person at all, though there is nothing in the mere name to suggest that he is not. There is no sufficient ground, philological or other, for regarding him as a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.

Several MSS of the Itala and Vg., as also the Coptic and the Armenian, versions, read Κλεόπας or Κλεώπας in Jn. 19 25 also; but if this were the original reading, the substitution of the more difficult form Κλωπας would be incomprehensible. For the evidence that different persons are intended in Jn. and in Lk., and that the confusion of the two is due to later writers, see CLOPAS, § 5 *f.* P. W. S.

CLEOPATRA (κλεοπατρα [AKV]), 1. sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, Est. 11 1.

[1] RV 'then . . . then . . . then . . . then . . . last of all,' and AV 'then. . . after that . . . after that . . . then . . . last of all.'

2. Daughter of no. 1 (1 Macc. 10 57); see PTOLEMIES.

CLEOPHAS (κλωπας [Ti.WH]), Jn. 19 25 AV†, AV^mg. and **RV** CLOPAS (*q.v.*).

CLOAK (CLOKE).

For מְעִיל, *me'īl*, in Is. 59 17 see TUNIC. In this passage the *me'īl* was a military over-garment, and cloak well expresses this.

For ἱμάτιον (see especially Mt. 5 40; in Jn. 19 2 5, AV 'robe' RV 'garment'), the outside mantle (*pallium*, as distinguished from the χιτών or *tunica*), representing the Hebrew *kuttōneth*, see MANTLE.

Other garments rendered cloak are the Macedonian χλαμύς, or military cloak of 2 Macc. 12 35 RV ('coat' AV), and the φελόνης, or travelling cloak of 2 Tim. 4 13. See MANTLE.

CLOPAS (κλωπας [Ti.WH]). This name cannot be derived from the same Hebrew (Aramaic) word as αλφαιος.

In the first place, the vocalisation is not the same: Clopas would require some such form as חֲלֹפַי, while Alphæus presupposes חַלְפַי or חִלְפַי (see ALPHÆUS). In the second place, as regards ח, all that is certainly known is that it becomes K at the end and in the middle of certain words (2 Ch. 30 1 Neh. 3 6 [φασεκ] Gen. 22 24 [ταβεκ], Josh. 16 6 [ιανωκα]).

1. Name perhaps Greek.

True, it has been conjectured that the same holds good at the beginning of words (H. Lewy, *Die Sem. Fremdwörter im Griech.*, 1895, pp. 17 27 51 110 119 137; add, conversely, חלפסדרא as transliteration of κλεψύδρα). This hardly comes into consideration, however, in the present case, for a Hebrew (or Aramaic) derivation is never probable in the case of a word beginning with two consonants. In Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, initial *shĕwā* is always represented by a full vowel (*e.g.*, שְׁמוּאֵל, Σαμουήλ): the opposite instances given by Lewy (11 *f.*, 34, 45, 54, 59, 69, 98, 105, 118, 122 *f.*, 129, 206, 211, 246 *f.*) are more or less doubtful, and relate to words which were susceptible of such a modification in the transference as was hardly possible in the case of biblical proper names. Further, the Syriac versions of the NT betray no consciousness that both names are derived from a common Semitic source: with them the initial letter of 'αλφαῖος is always ח (or א), of κλωπας invariably ק.

It is not likely that κλωπᾶς is derived by metathesis from קְלָפָא ('club'); nor is there the least certainty that κλωπας is a contraction from κλεόπας.

On purely Greek soil, at any rate, κλεο- when contracted would become either κλευ- (*e.g.*, κλευκράτης, especially in Doric) or κλου- (as θεόδωρος becomes θούδωρος; see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. attischen Inschrr.* § 19, and cp THEUDAS). At the same time, the contraction of κλεόπας into κλωπας must he admitted to be at least possible, inasmuch as we know of no Greek word from which the syllable κλω- can come. In this case the original form of the name will be κλεόπατρος. For this reason the accentuation κλώπας is preferable to κλωπᾶς, especially as the accent is allowed to retain its original place in κλεόπας.[1]

In Jn. 19 25, the only place where the name occurs in NT, Clopas is mentioned as somehow related to a certain Mary. Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* iii. 11 32 1-6 iv. 22 4) informs us that Clopas was the brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Whether this is the Clopas referred to in Jn. 19 25 depends, in the first instance, on the answer to the question, who is intended by the 'Mary of Clopas' there.

2. Mary of Clopas probably not=Jesus' mother's sister.

As, there is no 'and' before her name, she would seem to be identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus who has been referred to immediately before; but it is quite improbable that two sisters alive at the same time should have borne the same name, at least in a plebeian family.

With a royal house the case is somewhat different. Of the sons of Herod the Great, two who never attained royal dignity bore the name of their father: one by his marriage with the second Mariamme, and one by his marriage with Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1 3 *BJ* i 28 4, § 562). There was, besides, his second son by Malthakè, who, however, as far as we know, took the name only as a reigning prince (see Lk. 3 1 and frequently), whilst before his accession he is in Josephus invariably designated by his other name, Antipas. His first son by Malthakè, too, whom Josephus always names Archelaus, is called Herod on coins and in Cassius Dio (55 27; cp Schür. *GJV* 1 375, ET i. 2 39). Thus the name Herod seems already, to some extent, to have acquired the character of a family name.

If φιλίππου he the correct reading in Mk. 6 17 (so also in Mt. 14 3, though not according to the western group), the son of Mariamme just mentioned, who, in point of fact, was the first husband of Herodias, must have borne the name Philip also, in addition to that of Herod, while at the same time this name, Philip, was borne by his brother, who is known to us from Lk. 3 1 as the tetrarch of NE. Palestine. As we are without evidence that the former Herod was called Philip, doubtless we must here conclude that Mk. and Mt. have fallen into an error, which, however, has been avoided by Lk. (3 19).

Again, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 5 1 xv. 3 1 xix. 6 2), not only Onias III (high priest till 174 B.C., died 171 B.C.) and Jesus (Jason) his successor (high priest 174-171 B.C.), hut also Onias (usually known as Menelaus) who came after Jason, were sons of the high priest Simon II.[2] 2 Macc. (3 4 4 23), however, which is here very detailed, expressly speaks of Menelaus as brother of a Benjamite named Simon, whilst the high priest Simon II. was of the tribe of Levi.

If, accordingly, one is determined to hold by the identity of Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, this must be on the assumption not only that she and the mother of Jesus were not children of the same marriage, hut also that they had neither father nor mother in common—that, in fact, each spouse had brought into the new household a daughter by a former marriage, named Mary. It is no argument for the identity of the two to allege that we are not at liberty to find more women mentioned in Jn. 19 25 than in Mt. 27 56 Mk. 15 40 (16 1) and Lk. 24 10;[3] for John mentions the mother of Jesus, though she does not appear in any of the synoptists. In other words, he did not hold himself bound by what they said, though, according to all scholars, their narratives lay before him. The only point on which he is distinctly in agreement with them is as to the presence of Mary Magdalene. If we will have it that he enumerates also the Salomè of Mark (whose identity with the mother of James and John the sons of Zebedee cannot seriously be doubted), we can find her only in the sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clopas must in that case be distinct from the latter, and may possibly be identified with the Mary who in Mt. is called the mother of James and Joses (or Joseph), in **Mk.** the mother of James the Less and Joses, or, more briefly, Mary [the mother] of Joses (so 15 47) or Mary of James (so 16 1 and Lk. 24 10). In this case, however, not only is it remarkable that the relationship of the apostles, James the Greater and John, with Jesus—as children of sisters—is nowhere mentioned

[1] [The name is possibly the same as the Palm. קלופא (Chabot, no. 12). In MH the name 'Cleopatra' usually appears under the form קל[ו]פטרא.]

[2] For a somewhat different account of these relations, see ONIAS.

[3]

MT. 27 56.	MK. 15 40.	MK. 16 1.	LK. 23 49.	LK. 24 10.	JN. 19 25.
(At the cross.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)
Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene	πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary the mother of Jesus.
Mary, the mother of James and Joses (or Joseph).	Mary, the mother of James the Less and of Joses.	Mary of James.	καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.	Joanna.	The sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clopas.
The mother of the sons of Zebedee.	Salome.	Salome.		Mary of James.	Mary Magdalene.

or in any way alluded to; but also it is almost unthinkable that the fourth evangelist presupposes the presence of the mother of John when in 19 26 he proceeds: 'when Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith, etc.' As far as the fourth evangelist is concerned, this scene furnishes a clear motive for thinking not only of the mother of Jesus as present, but also of the mother of John as absent. Lk. 24 10 (at the sepulchre) puts in the place of the mother of John a certain Joanna. If, as he often does, the fourth evangelist is here taking Lk. rather than Mt. or Mk. for his guide, it would be impossible to identify Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, whose name on this assumption must be taken to be Joanna. It is certain, however, that in Lk. this Joanna is identical with the Joanna who is mentioned in 8 3 as the wife of a certain Chuza and not stated to have been related to the mother of Jesus. Thus we may take it that it was not she, any more than any of the others, that was intended by the fourth evangelist, and that most probably his reason for mentioning the sister of the mother of Jesus is that, according to Lk. 23 49, 'all his acquaintance' (γνωστοί) are standing by the cross. There is no evidence of any allegorising intention that he could have had in the enumeration of these four (or three) women. Apart from the mother of Jesus and her sister, therefore, the names of the women seem simply to have been taken over from the Synoptists.

Who was the mother of James and Joses, with whom, according to this view, Mary of Clopas would have to be identified? The James in question is often supposed to be the second James in the list of the apostles. With this it seems to agree that Mk. calls him James the Less. Now, this James was a son of Alphæus. Thus Alphæus would appear to be the husband of the Mary mentioned by the Synoptists as present at the cross. From this it is not unusual to proceed to the further combination that in Jn. Clopas is named as the husband of Mary and that he is identical with Alphæus. Philologically the names are distinct (see above, § 1); but the identification is possible if, according to a not uncommon Jewish custom (Acts 1 23 12 25 13 1 9 Col. 4 11), Clopas had two names. A further step is to bring in at this point the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas was a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Over and above this, many proceed to the assumption—shown above (§ 2) to be untenable—that his wife Mary was identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus.

3. Clopas = Alphæus ?

In this case two brothers would have married two sisters, and the second James in the list of apostles would be a cousin of Jews and that both on the father's and on the mother's side. Even: however, if we regard Mary of Clopas as a different person from the sister of the mother of Jesus, her son, the second James, as long as he is regarded as the son of Clopas the uncle of Jesus, remains a cousin of Jesus, whilst, according to the identification of the sister of the mother of Jesus with the wife of Zebedee (spoken of above, § 2), this honour would belong rather to the first James and John the sons of Zebedee as being sons of the aunt of Jesus.

The next question that arises is, Who was Joses, the second son of Mary, according to the Synoptists? In Mk. 6 3 a Joses is named, along with James, Judas, and Simon, amongst the brethren of Jesus. This has given occasion for crowning the series of combinations which has been already explained, and completing it with a hypothesis whereby it becomes possible to deny the existence of literal brethren of Jesus, and to affirm the perpetual virginity of his mother. Once it is admitted that James and Joses were sons of Clopas (= Alphæus) and of Mary his wife, the same seems to hold good of all the 'brethren of Jesus.' In that case they would be 'brethren of Jesus' only in the sense in which 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) is used instead of ἀνεψιοί (children of two brothers or two sisters) in 2 S. 20 9 (cp 17 25).

4. The sons of Mary = Brothers of Jesus ?

Finally, to this is added, not as a necessary but as a welcome completion of the hypothesis, the suggestion that of the 'brethren of Jesus', not only James but also Simon and Judas were among the apostles.

Both names, in point of fact, occur, at least in Lk. 6 15 *f.* Acts 1 13 (Simon alone in Mk. 3 18 Mt. 10 3 *f.*). With regard to Joses, the fourth of the 'brethren of Jesus,' some have conjectured (carrying out the same hypothesis) that it was he who, according to Acts 1 23-26, was nominated (though not chosen) as successor to the vacant place of Judas Iscariot. It is true that all the better authorities here read Joseph, not Joses (see BARSABAS); but, on the other hand, this reading being accepted, it can he pointed out that according to the better MSS (at least in Mt. 13 55) Joseph, not as in Mk. 6 3 Joses, is the name of the fourth 'brother' of Jesus.

This whole identification of the 'brethren of Jesus' with apostles or aspirants to the apostleship, however, is quite untenable. According to Mk. 3 21 31 Mt. 12 46 *f.* Lk. 8 19 Jn. 7 5, the brethren of Jesus disbelieved his Messiahship while he was alive, and in Acts 1 14 1 Cor. 9 5 they are distinctly separated from the apostles.

Even if we give up the identification with apostles, Mary cannot be the mother of the cousins of Jesus.

Had she been so related to Jesus, Mt. and Mk., in seeking to indicate her with precision, would have named not two sons but four; or rather they would have mentioned no name: at all, but simply said 'the mother of the cousins of Jesus. Moreover, it is only of Symeon, the second 'bishop' of Jerusalem, that Hegesippus says he was son of Clopas and cousin of Jesus. If Hegesippus had regarded the four 'brethren of Jesus' as his cousins, he would surely have designated Symeon's predecessor also (James the 'brother' of Jesus) as son of Clopas, and Symeon himself, by whom in this case the Simon of Mk. 6 3 Mt. 13 55 would be meant, he would have designated as brother of James. This, however, is what he does not do: he calls James simply 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), and says (Eus. *HE* iii. 32 6) that men 'of the race of the Lord' (ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου) had presided over the church (in Palestine) in peace until Symeon the son of Clopas, the uncle of Jesus, was arraigned and crucified; cp iii. 20 6.[1]

Lastly, it is idle to deny the existence of actual 'brethren of Jesus': that is distinctly vouched for by the πρωτότοκον of Lk. 2 7—an expression all the weightier because it has been already suppressed in Mt. 1 25.

If James and Joses, the sons of Mary according to the synoptists, are thus no cousins of Jesus, we could all the more readily believe that they were really apostles or at least constant companions (Acts 1 21) of Jesus. Such an assumption, however, is not borne out by a single hint, and at the stage of the discussion we have now reached it has no more interest than the other which makes Clopas identical with Alphæus and regards him as the husband of Mary. The Mary in question, we are forced to conclude, was simply a woman not known otherwise than as the mother of a James and a Joses. Why is it, then, that the fourth evangelist designates her, not by reference to these sons of hers, but by calling her 'of Clopas'? That he here intends the Cleopas of Lk. 24 18 is quite improbable (see CLEOPAS); but neither is it likely that he can have meant a man named Clopas who was wholly unknown to his readers. His allusion must rather have been to the Clopas whom we know from Hegesippus as the brother of Joseph. There is no trace of any allegorising intention in this: we may take it that the evangelist is following tradition. It is possible, therefore, that Clopas was the husband of Mary, in which case James and Joses are cousins of Jesus, but not to be identified with his brothers of the same name, nor yet with the apostle James and the Joseph (or Joses) Barsabas of Acts 1 23. It is more probable, however, if the prevailing

5. Conclusion.

[1] In Eus. *HE* iii. 20 1 Hegesippus speaks of οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου υἱωνοὶ Ἰούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ; and in iv. 22 4 he says that ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ [Jesu] Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλώπα was ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερος. Inasmuch as he does not regard James as ἀνεψιὸς πρῶτος, as has been shown, the words δεύτερος and λεγομένου can mean only that he regards Symeon as 'cousin' and Jude as 'brother' of Jesus in a modified sense. He appears, then, to favour the assumption of the παρθενία of Mary at Jesus' birth. All the more remarkable is it that he does not yet seem to have drawn the further consequence of denying other sons to her. His statement that Clopas was the uncle of Jesus, therefore, does not proceed upon any such theory as that in favour of which it has (as we have seen) been applied and therefore in respect of trustworthiness is open to no suspicion:

usus loquendi is to be taken as a guide, that Clopas is designated as the *father* of Mary. In this case it is Mary herself who is the cousin of Jesus. In either case it is remarkable that in the synoptists she should be characterised not by her relationship to Jesus, but simply by mention of her sons; and this on the assumption that it is the uncle of Jesus who is intended, suggests a doubt as to whether the mention of Clopas in this connection is correct.

6. Later traditions. The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, following the combination mentioned above (§ 4), for the most part identify Symeon, son of Clopas, the second bishop of Jerusalem spoken of by Hegesippus, with the apostle Simon the Cananæan (AV 'the Zealot'); some give him in addition the name of Judas, and some make the name of his father his own proper name also, but in the form Cleopas or Cleophas, so that he is identified also with the disciple mentioned in Lk. 24 18. He is at the same time enumerated among 'the Seventy' of Lk. 10 1 (Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 2 142 *f.*). According to the *Treasure-cave* (*Schatzhöhle*, ed. Bezold, 1888, p. 267, 5; see *Thes. Syr.* ed. Payne-Smith, col. 3629), a Syriac collection of legends dating from the sixth century, he was brother not only of Nicodemus (a statement made of the apostle Judas also in a Latin list of apostles given in Lipsius, 1 193), but also of Joseph of Arimathæa. P. W. S.

CLOTH, CLOTHING. On these and similar words see, generally, DRESS, § 1.

The words are used with considerable looseness and frequently interchange with others of similar meaning. 'Cloth' (and 'clothes') occasionally render בֶּגֶד (DRESS, § 1[1]), and שִׂמְלָה (MANTLE), also once מַכְבֵּר, 2 K. 8 15, AV (BED, § 3); for σινδων Mt. 27 59, see LINEN. 'Cloth' *to* denote material or fabric is found only in Esth. 16, RVmg. For 'cloths of service' (Ex. 31 10, etc., AV; בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד) see DRESS, § 3 n. For 'striped cloths' (Pr. 7 16 RV, חֲטֻבוֹת) see LINEN. RV prefers 'cloths' in Ezek. 27 20 (בגד),[1] Lk. 24 12 (ὀθόνιον), where AV has 'clothes,' and 'clothes' otherwise recurs in Gen. 49 15 AV (סוּת, RV 'vesture'), 1 S. 4 12, EV (מַד), Ezek. 27 24, AV (גלוֹם, RV 'wrappings': see DRESS, § 1 [2]). 'Clothing' is used to render the general terms לְבוּשׁ (Job 24 7), בֶּגֶד (*ib.* 22 16), מְכַסֶּה (Is. 23 18), תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת (*ib.* 59 17), as well as the specific שִׂמְלָה, Is. 3 6 (MANTLE).

CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עַמּוּד הֶעָנָן), Exod. 13 21; *see* PILLAR OF CLOUD.

CLUB (תּוֹתָח, *tōthāḥ*; ϲφυρα Job 41 29 [21] RV, AV 'dart'). Read *tartaḥ* 'javelin,' and see WEAPONS.

CNIDUS (κνιδος [ℵAV: Ti. WH]), a city on Cape Crio (anc. Triopium) in the extreme SW. of Asia Minor, between Cos and Rhodes. It was originally built upon the rocky island (νῆσος ὑψηλὴ θεατροειδής, Strabo, 656) forming the cape, united to the mainland by a causeway, —thus making two harbours, one on the N. and the other on the S. of the isthmus (cp Mitylene and Myndus).

The inhabitants soon spread eastwards over the neighbouring part of the peninsula. The moles of the large southern port are still in existence, as well as much of the ancient city. The situation of Cnidus was eminently favourable to its development as a commercial and naval power; but, curiously like Cos in this respect, it played no part as a naval state—probably owing to the repressive influence of Rhodes.

The commercial importance of the city was inevitable. It lies upon the maritime highway (cp Thuc. 8 35, περὶ Τριόπιον τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁλκάδας προσβαλλούσας ξυλλαμβάνειν). Very early it had trade with Egypt and shared in the Hellenion at Naucrătis (Herod. 2 178). At least as early as the second century B.C. Cnidus had attracted Jewish settlers, for in 1 Macc. 15 23 it appears in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*circa* 139-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. Paul must have passed the city on his way to Cæsarea (Acts 21 1 *f.*); but its name occurs only in Acts 27 7 (βραδυπλοοῦντες καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον) after Myra had been passed, on the voyage to Rome. The continuous NW. (Etesian) winds had made the voyage over the 130 m. between Myra and Cnidus tedious; and rendered the direct course from Cnidus, by the N. side of Crete, impossible (μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου).

The wines of Cnidus, especially the kind called Protropos, excelled any produced in Asia (Str. 637). The best claim of the city to renown lies in the intellectual activity of its inhabitants and their encouragement of art. They possessed, at the Lesche at Delphi, two pictures by Polygnōtus (middle of fifth century, Paus. x. 25 1 *f.*). They bought the Aphrodite of Praxitĕles (his masterpiece, *quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt Cnidum*; Plin. *HN* xxxvi. 5 4: the Cnidians especially worshipped Aphrodite, Paus. i. 13). In addition, they had works by Bryaxis and Scopas. Eudoxus the astronomer, Ctesias the physician and historian, Agatharchides, and Sostratus the architect who built the Pharos of Alexandria, all belonged to Cnidus (cp Str. 119, 656).

For plan and views of the remains see Newton's *Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, etc., 1861-63; *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 167 *f.* W. J. W.

COACH (צָב), Is. 66 20 AVmg. See LITTER.

COAL. The coal of OT and NT is undoubtedly charcoal. A piece of black charcoal was termed פֶּחָם (*peḥḥām*;

1. Terms. cp perh. Ass. *pêntu* [or *pêmtu**] 'fire'; Prov. 26 21 [ἐσχάρα], Is. 44 12, 54 16†[ἄνθραξ; *carbo*]); pieces in process of combustion, 'live coals,' גֶּחָלִים, גַּחֶלֶת (*gaḥḥĕlĕth*, *geḥḥālīm*; cp Ar. *jahima* to glow, and perh. Ass. *guḫlu*, a shining precious stone; ἄνθραξ; *prunæ*), and often, more precisely, גַּחֲלֵי אֵשׁ (coals of fire), Lev. 16 12, etc. In this distinction, which is not uniformly observed (cp Is. 44 12 54 16), lies the point of the vivid comparison Prov. 26 21 (RV 'as coals are to hot embers,' etc.).

Of the other words rendered by 'coal' in the OT it is sufficient to say that רִצְפָּה,[1] *riṣpāh* (Is. 6 6) is rather a 'hot stone' (so RVmg.; ἄνθραξ), the [עֻגַת] רְצָפִים, *reṣāphīm*, of 1 K. 19 6 (ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρ[ε]ίτης) being, in like manner, the hot stones on which Elijah's cake was baked (see BREAD, § 2[*a*]); that רֶשֶׁף, *rešeph*, identified by the Rabbins with רֶצֶף, *reṣeph*, and twice rendered 'coals' (Ct. 8 6 AV, Hab. 3 5 AV, RVmg.; AVmg. 'burning diseases'), is rather 'flame' or fire-bolt (cp RV);[2] and that שְׁחוֹר, *šeḥōr* (Lam. 4 8; ἀσβόλη; *carbones*; EV, 'their visage is blacker than *a coal*'), is properly '*blackness*' (so the margins; others 'soot' [*fuligo*]).

2. Fuel. The Hebrews doubtless used for fuel as great a variety of woods as the modern Syrians now use (see Post in *PEFQ*, '91, pp. 118 *ff.*). Several are named in Is. 44 14-16. Ps. 120 4 (RVmg.) mentions 'coals of broom (רֹתֶם),' a desert shrub which, when reduced to charcoal, throws out an intense heat (on the text see JUNIPER). The references to thorns as fuel (קוֹצִים, סִירִים) are many; particular mention is made of the buckthorn or perhaps bramble (אָטָד, Ps. 58 9 [10]), of chaff—chopped straw (*tibn*), the refuse of the threshing-floor (Mt. 3 12),—and of withered herbage (Mt. 6 30 Lk. 12 28). At the present time the favourite fuel of the Bedouin is the dung of camels, cows (cp Ezek. 4 15), asses, etc., which is carefully collected, and, after being mixed with *tibn* or chopped straw, is made into flat cakes, which are dried and stored for the winter's use. We may assume that this sort of fuel was not so much required before the comparative denudation of the country, though Ezek. 4 12-15 certainly suggests that it was not altogether unknown.

3. The hearth. The charcoal was burned in a brasier (אָח, Jer. 36 22 *ff.*; AV 'hearth,' RV 'brasier') or chafing-dish (כִּיּוֹר אֵשׁ, Zech. 12 6, RV 'pan of fire'),—at least in the houses of the wealthy. The 'fire of coals' (ἀνθρακιά) at which Peter warmed himself in the high priest's palace was no doubt a fire of charcoal (*so* RVmg.) in a brasier[3] (Jn. 18 18 21 9).

1 For בבגדי חפש Gra. reads בב' חֵפֶץ; but we should more probably emend to בִּבְנֵי סְחִירִים 'with young suḥirs' (cp HORSE, MIZRAIM, § 2 *a* end); בני became בג, and from the transposition and confusion of letters ריחפש easily arose (Che.).

1 רצף, רצפה, 'coal' (= Ar. *rayfun*) is to be kept distinct from רצפה, 'pavement' (cp verb in Cant. 3 10), which corresponds *to* Ar. *raṣafa*, 'to arrange side by side': see Dr. *Tenses*(3), 231.

2 See Dr.'s elaborate note on Dt. 32 24.

3 For the arrangement of a modern Syrian 'hearth,' see Landberg's *Proverbes et Dictons*, 73 *f.*, 155 (with illustration).

In the houses of the humbler classes, the hearth (מוֹקְדָה, only of altar-hearth Lev. 6 2 [9]; mod. Ar. *mawḳida*) was probably a mere depression in the floor, the smoke escaping, as best it could, through the door or the latticed window (אֲרֻבָּה, Hos. 13 3, EV 'chimney'). See LATTICE. Chimneys there were none; the AV rendering, 'ere ever the chimneys in Zion were hot' in 4 Esd. 6 4, is based on a corruption of the Latin text (RV 'or ever the footstool of Zion was established').

4. Metaphors. Coal and coals supply a variety of metaphors. Thus 'to quench one's coal' (גַּחֶלֶת 2 S. 14 7; cp the classical ζώπυρον, and see Dr. *ad loc.*) is a pathetic figure for depriving a person of the privilege of posterity, otherwise expressed as a putting out of one's candle (rather, 'lamp')—Prov. 13 9 etc. To heap 'coals of fire,' or glowing charcoal, on an enemy's head must, it would seem, be to adopt a mode of revenge calculated to awaken the pains of remorse in his breast (Prov. 25 22[1] (MT). Rom. 12 20). Again, 'kindle not the coals of a sinner'—that is, do not stir up his evil passions—is the sage advice of the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 8 10); cp Ecclus. 11 32, 'from a spark of fire a heap of many coals (ἀνθρακιά) is kindled,' which finds an echo in Ja. 3 5. A. R. S. K.

COASTLAND (Is. 20 6† RV; Is. 11 11 23 2 6 24 15 59 18 Jer. 25 22 Ezek. 39 6 Dan. 11 18 Zeph. 2 11; RVmg. in Jer. 47 4 'sea coast'); a rendering of אִי (νῆσος; EV usually 'isle' or 'island,' AVmg. occasionally 'country' or 'region'). See ISLE.

COAT, an inexact rendering:

(1) of כְּתֹנֶת (see TUNIC) in Gen. 37 3 EV (RVmg. 'long garment'), Ex. 28 4, etc.; (2) of מְעִיל in 1 S. 2 19 AV (RV 'robe'; see TUNIC); (3) of סַרְבָּל in Dan. 3 21 AV (AVmg. 'mantle', RV 'hosen'; see BREECHES); (4) of χιτών in Mt. 5 40 EV (see TUNIC); (5) of χλαμύς in 2 Macc. 12 35 AV (see MANTLE). For 'broidered coat' see EMBROIDERY, § 1.

COAT OF MAIL occurs as a rendering of תַּחְרָא, *taḥrā* (Ex. 28 32 39 23 RV; AV 'habergeon'), שִׁרְיָן, *širyān* (Is. 59 17 RVmg., EV 'breastplate'), and שִׁרְיוֹן קַשְׂקַשִּׂים, 1 S. 17 5 EV; see BREASTPLATE.

COCK (ἀλέκτωρ), Mt. 26 34 74 Mk. 13 35 14 30 72 Lk. 22 34 60 Jn. 13 38 18 27. On the 'cock-crowing' (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) spoken of in Mk. 13 35 information is given elsewhere (see DAY, § 4). Mt., Lk., and Jn. speak of only this cock-crowing. The tradition preserved in Mark, on the other hand (though the text in the MSS differs), refers to a second. Thus the cock had completed its journey to Palestine. Its home was in India; thence it came to Babylonia[2] and Persia. Homer indeed gives Ἀλέκτωρ as the name of a man; but Aristophanes (*Av.* 438) considers the cock the 'Persian bird.' To the Jews, too, as well as (presumably) to the Egyptians, it was a Persian bird, even though the Targumic and Talmudic word for cock (תרנגול) may have a Babyldnian origin.[3]

Not improbably we have in Prov. 30 31 a reference to the impression which it produced not so long after its introduction into Palestine. The evidence of the versions[4] in favour of the rendering 'cock' cannot be regarded lightly, and there is no proof whatever of the sense of 'well girt up' for זַרְזִיר, or for the application of the term to the greyhound. The Talmudic זרזיר also certainly means some bird (a kind of raven).[5] The key to the difference of usage is supplied by Ar. *ṣarṣara*, 'to make a shrill noise'; hence *ṣarṣarun* is used in Arabic for both the cricket and the cock. The kindred Hebrew word also might be widely used: (1) for the cock, (2) for the starling. The second element in the phrase זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם is seemingly a difficulty. The word is no doubt corrupt. Dyserinck and Gratz would read מִתְנַשֵּׂא; cp 𝔊 ἐνπεριπατῶν. To keep nearer to the Hebrew and to find a more striking phrase, it is better to read מִתְנַקֵּם and render 'the cock who loves to take up a quarrel.' EV rather uncritically gives GREYHOUND (*q.v.*): cp FOWL, § 2.

There is a word in Job 38 36 (שֶׂכְוִי) which Vg., the two Targs., and Delitzsch render 'cock' (AV 'heart,' RV 'mind,' mg. 'meteor'). As, however, it is evident that some sky-phenomenon is meant, we should almost certainly read for שכוי, קשת, 'the bow star,' to correspond to תרתח (so read for טֻחוֹת), 'the lance star.' The bow star is Sirius, the lance star Antares. See Che. *JBL*, 1898. T. K. C.

[1] For another view of this passage, involving an emendation of the text, see Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 142, who follows Bickell.

[2] There is said to be a representation of a cock on a cylinder seal of the reign of Nabu-na'id.

[3] So, at least, Hommel, Hastings' *DB* 1214.

[4] 𝔊BℵAC (24 66) ἀλέκτωρ ἐνπεριπατῶν θηλείαις εὔψυχος; similarly Aq., Theod., Quinta, Pesh. ܬܪܢܓܠܐ; *gallus succinctus lumbos* (Vg.). Wildeboer ('97) speaks inconsistently, but favours the rendering 'cock,' if מתנים may be altered. For 'greyhound' he has nothing to say.

[5] See the Dicts. of Levy and Jastrow: Rashi here renders 'starling' (cp Syr. ܙܪܙܪܐ, Ar. *zurzūr*).

COCKATRICE is an archaic English word, derived or corrupted from the mediæval Lat. *calcatrix* [see the *New Eng. Dict.*, *s.v.*], but often confounded with 'crocodile'; the form of the word suggested the fable that the animal was hatched by a cock from the egg of a viper. For Pr. 23 32 AV (EVmg. ADDER; RVmg. 'basilisk') and Is. 11 8 59 5 Jer. 8 17† AV (RV 'basilisk,' EVmg. 'or adder'; צִפְעֹנִי, *ṣiph'ōnī*) see SERPENT, § 1 (7). For Is. 14 29† (צֶפַע, *ṣepha'*, EV as before, Vg. *regulus*) see SERPENT, § 1 (6). 𝔊 has βασιλίσκος in Is. 59 5 (EV VIPER, Heb. *'eph'eh*) and in Ps. 90 [91] 13 (EV ADDER, Heb. *pethen*). Horapollon (1 1) identifies the basilisk with the Egyptian uræus, a golden image of which is the usual ornament of the divine or royal head-dress. Probably this was the kind of serpent meant by 𝔊; the uræus, being divine, had of course extraordinary powers (see SERPENT, § 1, nos. 6 and 7).

According to Furetière, the cocatrix (cockatrice) is a kind of basilisk which haunts caverns and pits. The name *calcatrix*, however, properly means the ichneumon. Under the form Chalcadri, we find it in the Slavonic Secrets *of Enoch* (12 1 15 1), where, however, the writer may he thinking of the crocodile. See CROCODILE. T. K. C.

COCKLE, EVmg., better 'noisome weeds' (בָּאְשָׁה, *bo'šāh*; ΒΑΤΟϹ [BKAC]), Job 31 40†. The cognate verb means in Hebrew 'to stink'; but the primary sense of the root, according to Noldelce (*ZDMG* 40 727 ['86]), is the more general one of badness or worthlessness. A kindred substantive is בְּאֻשִׁים, 'wild grapes' (Is. 5 2 4). As בָּאְשָׁה occurs only once in Hebrew and is unknown to the cognate languages, there is no evidence to justify the identification with a particular plant, such as the 'cockle' of EV; still, as etymology seems to point to some 'stinking weed,' there is something to be said for the suggestion of Sir Joseph Hooker, that perhaps the reference is to the stinking arums.

Several of the arums are plentiful in Syria—*e.g.*, *Arum Dioscoridis*, Sibth., *Arum Palæstinum*, Boiss. and species of Helicophyllum (cp Tristram, *NHB* 439). The ancient versions, in supposing that a thorny plant is intended,[1] were no doubt guided by the parallelism of the verse. The older English Versions use 'cockle' as the rendering of ζιζάνια in Mt. 13. See TARES. N. M. —W. T. T.-D.

CŒLESYRIA (ΚΟΙΛΗ ϹΥΡΙΑ [BAL])—*i.e.*, 'hollow Syria,' first mentioned in 1 Esdras, where (κοίλη)[2] Συρία κ. Φοινίκη represents עֲבַר נַהֲרָה, the Aram. equivalent of the Heb. עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר (cp Ezra 8 36 Neh. 3 7).

1. Name.

The name occurs in 1 Esd. 2 17 24 *f.* 27 = Ezra 4 10 16 *f.* 20; 1 Esd. 6 3 7 27 29 = Ezra 5 3 6 6 6 8; 1 Esd. 7 1 8 67 = Ezra 6 13 8 36. 𝔊's version of the canonical Ezra regularly renders by πέραν (but πέρα Ezra 6 6 7 21 25 [BA]) τοῦ ποταμοῦ; once, however,

[1] So 𝔊BℵAQ renders בְּאֻשִׁים by ἄκανθαι in Is. 5 2 4. Pesh., however, 'carobs' (see HUSKS).

[2] κ. is a few times omitted—*e.g.*, 1 Esd. 2 25 6 3, etc.

ἑσπέρα τ. ποτ., in Ezra 4 20 [BA]. With this we may compare the πέραν Εὐφράτου, which; with τὰ κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας μέρη (Asia Minor, NW. of Taurus) appears in the famous Gadatas inscription of Darius I. (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 13 529 ('89), 14 6,8; cp Meyer, *Entst.* 19 *f.*). The same Aramaic designation is found upon a coin of the Persian period 'Mazdai . . . who is over עבר נהרא' (cp Hal. *Mél. Épig.* 64 *f.*), and seems to be the origin of the name of the Persian province *Arbāya* (for another well-supported view, see ARABIA, § 2). Φοινίκη and Ἀραβία occur together as one archonship in the epilogue *to* the *Anabasis* (see Marq. *Fund.* 39 *ff.*).[1] That the Minæan עבר נהרן is *to* be connected with עֲבָר, *arbāya*, though affirmed by Hartmann (*ZA* 11 81), Meyer (*ib.* 327), and Marq. (*op. cit.* 74 *f.*, cp EBER, 1), is strenuously denied by Glaser (cp *MVG*, 1897, 3 3 *ff.*; see Hommel *AHT* 324 *ff.*), who is, however, perhaps too strongly prejudicdd in favour of an exceedingly remote date for the inscriptions in question.

Ccelesyria is, strictly, the designation applied since the time of the Seleucidæ to the depression between the two Lebanons, otherwise known as the *bik'āh* of Lebanon (cp Josh. 11 17 12 7), the mod. *Beḳā'*; cp LEBANON.[2] In the Grecian period the term includes all E. Palestine. Thus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5), the seats of the Ammonites and Moabites were in it, and among its towns he mentions Scythopolis and Gadara (*ib.* xiii. 13 2 *f.*). In its widest sense it included Raphia (*so* Polyb. 5 80), and stretched 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt' (*Ant.* xiv. 45). In 1 Esd. and Maccabees (see below) these are its limits; and, roughly used, rather in a political than in a geographical sense, it and Phcenicia constitute the more southerly part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. At this period the districts referred to appear as one fiscal domain, under the suzerainty of one governor (viz., Apollonius [2 Macc. 3 5] Ptolemy [8 8] Lysias [10 11]). Under the Romans the term was again restricted, and Ccelesyria (with Damascus as its capital; cp *Ant.* xiii. 15 2 *BJ* i. 48) was officially separated from Phcenicia and Judæa (*Ant.* xii. 4 1 and 4; Pliny, 5 7). When, therefore, in 47 and 43 B.C., Herod was in command of Cœlesyria, he seems to have possessed no authority over the southern province. S. A. C.

2. Extent.

COFFER (אַרְגָּז), 1 S. 6 8 11 15†.

𝔊 has: in *v.* 8 εν θεματι βερεχθαν [B*], -ρσεχ. [Bab vid.], εν θ. αργοζ [A], εν θ. βαεργαζ [L]; in *vv.* 11 15, το θεμα εργαβ [B], το θ. αργοζ [A], εν θεματι βαεργαζ and το θ. βαεργαζ [L]. Aq. λάρναξ (or ὕφος); Sym. λαρνάκιον; Jos. γλωσσόκομον. Vg. always *capsella*.

The foreign-looking but really corrupt word *argāz* illustrates the need of a more correct Hebrew text (see TEXT, § 44 *f.*).

We cannot accept the far-fetched etymologies of Lag. (*Übers.* 85) and Klo. (*Sam., ad loc.*). The ז probably sprang out of a 'final nūn' (ן), which was attached as a correction to an ordinary nūn—thus ארנן (cp -αν [B]). In this case the 'corner' was really not distinguished in name from the ark (ארון). Or εν θεματι (𝔊, cp Lev. 24 6)—*i.e.*, בְּמַעֲרֶכֶת—'in a pile,' may represent the true text; but more probably θέμα = θῆμα = θήκη 'box.' See Che. *Exp. T.* 10 521 (Aug. '99), and on the narrative which contains the word, see Budde (*SBOT*), who carefully separates the interpolations. T. K. C.

COFFIN (אָרוֹן, ϲοροϲ), Gen. 50 26; also Lk. 7 14 AV^mg. See DEAD, § 1.

COHORT (ϲπειρα), Acts 10 1. See ARMY, § 10; CORNELIUS, § 1.

COLA, RV CHOLA (χωλα [B], κω. [A], κεειλα [א^c.a],—om. Vg. Syr.),—mentioned with BETOMESTHAM, BEBAI, and Chobai (see CHOBA),[3] as places to which orders were sent to follow up the pursuit of the enemy after the death of Holofernes (Judith 15 4). Possibly the HOLON of Josh. 15 51 may be intended Zockler). 𝔊א^c.a identifies the place with KEILAH; cp Josh. 15 44.

COLROZEH (כָּל־חֹזֶה, § 23, as if 'he seeth all'), a Jerusalemite of Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3 15; om. BKA, κολοζει [L]; 11 5, χαλεα [Bא], -λαζα [A], χο. [L]). As misleading a name as Pahath-moab or as Hallohesh. A clan of 'seers' at this period would of course be interesting; but the name is miswritten for הלוחש (EV 'Hallohesh'), probably under the influence of the name Hazaiah, which follows in Neh. 11 5. הלוחש itself is miswritten. See HALLOHESH. T. K. C.

COLIUS (κωλιος [A]), 1 Esd. 9 23 = Ezra 10 23, KELAIAH (*q.v.*).

COLLAR. 1. 'Collars' in AV Judg. 8 26 become in RV 'pendants' (נטיפות). See RING, § 2.

2. 'Collar' is also applied, inappropriately, to the round hole (פֶּה) for the head and neck in a garment. So in Job 30 18, 'It bindeth me about as the collar of my coat' (EV), and in Ps. 133 2 (RV^mg.), 'that flows down to the collar of his robes' (Kay). 'Collar' here should be 'opening.'

In Ps. *l.c.*, however, it is thought that the border of the opening, rather than the opening itself, must he intended. 𝔊 Sym. have ἐπὶ τὴν ᾤαν—*i.e.*, the lambskin trimming or edging on the neck-opening (cp Tg., אימרא 'fringe'). EV, however, ventures on 'skirts (skirt) of his garments'; the revisers felt that, even if AV gave an improbable rendering, they had nothing better to set in its place. The text can perhaps he corrected (see Che. *Ps.*(2)); it is certainly not right as it stands. In Job *l.c.*, Budde and Duhm prefer to render 'even as my tunic'; but this does not make the passage clear. There is reason to think (Che. *Exp. Times*, 10 3826 [May '99]) that we should read יִתְפֹּשׂ in *v.* 18*a* (𝔊 ἐπελάβετο) and בפי and 'יאחזני' in *v.* 18*b*, and render

> By (his) great power he takes hold of my garment,
> By the opening of my tunic he grasps me.

The word rendered in these two passages 'collar' becomes 'hole' in EV of Ex. 28 32; the context suggested this. The 'hole for the head' (RV) in the priestly *me'īl* (robe) was to have a 'binding (lit. lip) round about'; the material cut out was to he folded over, and so to make what might fairly he called a collar. In later Heb. we find the terms מפתח (opening) or בית הצואר (receptacle of the neck).

3. RV^mg. gives 'collar' for a certain instrument of punishment (צִינֹק, *ṣīnōḳ*, Jer. 29 26, AV 'stocks,' RV 'shackles'). The root (like סנק) in Aramaic and Talmudic means to bind, to confine. Ḳimḥi takes it to be a manacle for hands, not a collar. Orelli, on the other hand, compares Arab. *zināḳ* (necklace). 𝔊^BאAQ εἰς τὸν καταράκτην represents צִנּוֹר and can scarcely be correct.

COLLEGE, RV SECOND QUARTER (מִשְׁנֶה; Vg. *Secunda*), as if the 'new town' of Jerusalem (2 K. 22 14 = 2 Ch. 34 22; Zeph. 1 10). The rendering 'college' is due to Tg. Jon. 2 K. 22 14 בבית אולפנא, 'in the house of instruction.' See JERUSALEM.

The text is, however, plainly corrupt. In Zeph. 1 10 the natural parallel to the 'fish gate' is the 'gate of the old' (*see* Neh. 12 39, where these gates are mentioned together). For מן־המשנה, therefore, read מִשַּׁעַר הַיְשָׁנָה 'from the gate of the old city.' Similarly in 2 K. and 2 Ch. *l.c.* (see HULDAH). See also HASSENUAH. In 2 K. 22 14, μασενα [BA], -εννα [L], AV^mg. 'second part,' RV^mg. 'Heb. *Mishneh.*' In 2 Ch. 34 22, μαασαναι [B], μεσαναι [A], μασσεννα [L], AV^mg. 'in the school,' or 'in the second part,' RV^mg. 'Heb. Mishneh.' In Zeph. 1 10, τῆς δευτέρας [BאAQ]; AV 'the second.'

COLONNADE (אֵילָם), Ezek. 40 16, RV^mg. See PORCH, TEMPLE.

COLONY (κολωνια [Ti. WH]), Acts 16 12.† See PHILIPPI.

COLOSSE, better **Colossæ** (κολοϲϲαι [Ti. **WH**, and coins and inscrip.]; κολαϲϲαι, later MSS, Byz.

[1] It is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis between Babylonia and Assyria. In another inscription of the class, however, this position is occupied by Arbāya (cp *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 10 280 ['47].

[2] On the supposed reference *to* this valley (rich in heathen remains) in Am. 1 5 ('valley of Aven'—*i.e.*, of Sin), see AVEN, 3. This district is also called Μασσυας (Strabo, 2 16 17, ed. Meineke ['66]), or Μαρσυας (Polyb. 5 45), a name which may be derived from a hypothetical מְשׁוּחָה, 'depression'; cp √ שחח, שוח, 'to sink.

[3] Considerable confusion appears in the treatment of this and the preceding names in the Greek Versions.

writers, and some mod. edd. : the latter form was possibly the native pronunciation [1]), a town on the S. bank of the Lycus (*Churuk Su*), a tributary of the Maeander, in that part of the Roman province of Asia which the Greeks called Phrygia. In the neighbourhood of Colossae were Hierapolis and Laodicea (cp Col. 2 1 4 13 15 *f.*). As those two cities rose in importance, Colossae seems to have continuously declined (cp Rev. 1 11 3 14, where the church in Laodicea ranks among the seven great churches of Asia). Herodotus (7 30; cp Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 6) speaks of Colossae as 'a city of great size' : but in Strabo's time Laodicea is numbered among the greatest of the Phrygian cities, whilst Colossae, although it had some trade, is only a πόλισμα (Strabo, 576, 578). In Paul's time Pliny (*HN* 5 41) enumerates it among the *celeberrima oppida* of the district ; but that is merely historical retrospect. Its geographical position, on the great route leading from Ephesus to the Euphrates (it was passed, *e.g.*, by Xerxes in his march through Asia Minor, Herod. *l.c.*), was important. Hence arises the question as to whether the place was ever visited by Paul.

1. Description.

2. Paul's connection with it.

On his third journey Paul 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order' (Acts 18 23), and, 'having passed through the upper coasts (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) came to Ephesus' (Acts 19 1). The natural route would certainly be that followed by commerce, which would pass through Colossae, though travellers might, as Ramsay suggests (*Ch. in R. Emp.* 94), take a road to the northward, avoiding the Lycus valley entirely. It is, however, open to us to admit that the apostle may have passed through the town without making any stay. It seems distinctly to follow from Col. 2 1 ('as many as have not seen my face in the flesh') that at the date of writing Paul was not personally acquainted with the Colossian church ; but it would be unsafe to argue that he had not seen the town itself. If he did no missionary work there on his third journey through Asia Minor, it is impossible to assign his assumed activity at Colossae to the second journey on the strength of the expression 'gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia' (Acts 16 6) : on that occasion he diverged northwards from the eastern trade route leading by way of Colossae to Ephesus, and ultimately reached Troas (*v.* 7 *f.*). Further, although ethnologically Colossæ ranked as a Phrygian town, politically it belonged to Asia, a province which was altogether barred to missionary effort on the occasion of the second journey (Acts 16 6 ; see ASIA, PHRYGIA).

It would still be possible to argue that Paul established the Colossian church on an unrecorded visit made from Ephesus during his three years' stay there (cp Acts 19 10, 'so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word'). Nevertheless, Col. 1 4 ('since we *heard* of your faith') 1 8 2 1 are opposed to the idea of personal effort on his part, especially when contrasted with such passages as Gal. 1 6 1 Cor. 3 1-10, where we have positive claim to the foundation of the churches addressed. Nor is it allowable to insist that Epaphras and Philemon, who were certainly Colossians (Col. 4 12), must necessarily have been converted by Paul at Colossæ itself. The Colossian church was an indirect product of the apostle's activity at Ephesus. To whom, then, must the actual foundation be ascribed ? Probably to Epaphras, who is called 'a faithful minister of Christ' for the Colossians (ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, so AV : better ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, 'on our behalf,' RV), and their teacher (Col. 1 7, cp 4 12 13), although the honour has been claimed for Timotheus, on the ground that his name is joined with that of Paul in the Salutation (Col. 1 1).

[1] The name is probably connected with Koloe (lake near Sardis, Str. 626), the form being grecized to suggest a connection with κολοσσός. The more educated ethnic was Κολοσσηνός, the illiterate form Κολασσαεύς being perhaps nearer the native word. See Rams. *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1 212.

3. The Colossian Church.

It is clear from Philem. 22 that Paul looked forward to visiting Colossæ after his first imprisonment at Rome : whether he effected his purpose is not known (but cp 2 Tim. 4 20). Among the members of the Colossian church', besides Epaphras, Philemon with his wife APPHIA and slave Onesimus (Philem. 2 10 [1]), we hear of Archippus, perhaps son of Epaphras (Philem. 2 Col. 4 17). With regard to the composition of the church, we may say that it consisted chiefly of Gentiles, in this case the descendants of Greek settlers and native Phrygians, deeply imbued with that tendency to mystical fanaticism which was characteristic of the Phrygian race. Very soon, therefore, they fell away to angel-worship and a misdirected asceticism (Col. 2 16-18 21-23). The former heresy is illustrated by the famous ναὸς ἀρχαγγελικός or ναὸς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου (church dedicated to Michael), mentioned by Nicētas Chŏniates as standing at the chasm of the Lycus. The tradition is that the archangel opened the chasm and so saved the Christians of Chonas from destruction by an inundation. In the fourth century a Council at Laodicea condemned this angel-worship. Theodoret also speaks of the existence of the heresy in this region. Cp ANGEL, § 9.

The construction of a strong castle at Chōnai (mod. *Chōnas*), 3 m. S. of Colossae, was perhaps the work of Justinian. During the seventh or eighth century A.D., under the pressure of Arab incursions, the town in the plain was gradually deserted and forgotten. Hence Nicetas says that Chonai (his own birthplace) and Colossæ were one and the same place (ed. Bonn, 403). The idea even arose that the Colossians of the epistle were the Rhodians (cp Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* 1 214). The Colossians of Cedr. 1 758 are the Paulicians of the Church of Argaous in Armenia.

[Authorities : besides Lightfoot, *Colossians*, see Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* vol. i. with map ; id. *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 19 with map of the Lycus valley.] W. J. W.

COLOSSIANS [2] and EPHESIANS, [3] Epistles to the.

These two epistles are related so closely that they cannot without disadvantage be considered separately.

1. Contents of Col.

Colossians consists of two distinct portions : the one didactic and polemical, the other practical and hortatory, the whole being rounded off by the superscription (1 1 *f.*) at the beginning, and by commendations of the bearer, greetings and other messages, and the writer's autograph greeting at the close (4 7-18).

In the introduction, 1 3 *ff.*, Paul, as his custom is, gives thanks for the conversion of those whom he is addressing and expresses the wish that they may continue to grow in all wisdom.

At *v.* 13, by a gentle transition, he passes over into a Christological discourse setting forth the transcendent glory of the Son, and how he is head of the universe and of the Church, in whom all heaven and the whole earth are reconciled to God (*vv.* 14-20): in *vv.* 21-23 the readers' personal interest in Christ's work of reconciliation is affirmed, and in *vv.* 24-29 Paul goes on to say that he has had it committed to his special charge to proclaim the great secret of the universality of salvation, whence it is that he labours and cares so specially for the interests of his readers. In 2 1-23 the main business of the epistle is entered upon—an earnest warning against false teachers, who, holding out hopes of an illusory perfection, wish to substitute all sorts of Gentile and Jewish religious observances in the place of 'Christ alone.'

With the exhortation (3 1-4) to live their lives in the heavenly manner, and conformably to the new life, the apostle passes to the practical portion of the epistle. Here in the first instance (3 5-17) the sins of the old man that are to be laid aside and the virtues of the new man that are to be put on are indicated somewhat generally; then (3 18-4 1) the duties of wives and husbands, children and parents, servants and masters are specially described, with (4 2-6) an urgent call to continual prayer (including prayer for the success of his own mission) and to wise and discreet employment of speech in their dealings with the unconverted.

2. Contents of Eph.

The contents of Ephesians are, on the whole, similar to those of Colossians; but the polemical part and epistolary accessories are given much more briefly (only a superscription 1 1 *f.*, and in 6 21-24, a sentence devoted to the bearer of the epistle, with parting good wishes), whilst all the rest is

[1] Cp Ἀπφιάδι . . . γένει Κολοσσηνῇ, *CIG* 4380 *k*; and *Wolfe Exped.* 482, Ὀνήσιμος Ἀφίᾳ γυναικί.
[2] προς Κολασσαεις [WH]. προς Κολοσσαεις [Ti.].
[3] προς Εφεσιους [Ti. WH].

treated with greater amplitude. The doctrinal poi-tion extends from 1 3 to 3 21. Here it cannot be said that any one has as yet quite succeeded in pointing out any very clear and consecutive process of thought, or methodical elaboration of definite themes. To find, for example, in 1 3-14 'the operations of divine grace,' and, more explicitly, in *vv.* 3 *ff.* 'what God the Father,' in *vv.* 7 *ff.* 'what God the Son,' and in *vv.* 13 *ff.* 'what God the Spirit has done,' is to force the text into moulds of thought that are foreign to it. Strictly, this part of the epistle is simply a parallel, carried out with unwonted fulness, to the thanksgivings with which Paul is accustomed to introduce all his letters :—an act of praise to God who has wrought for all mankind deliverance from sin and misery through Christ and his gospel, and who has made the Church, of which Christ is the head, to be the centre of a new and glorious world.

In 1 3-14 Paul begins, then, with praise to God who from all eternity has graciously chosen his people to salvation ; in 1 15-23 he expresses his special joy that his readers are among those who have thus been chosen. 2 1-10 brings into a strong and vivid light the absoluteness of the contrast between their former and their present state, and the fact that the happy change is due to divine grace alone ; further, it is taught that the distinction between the uncircumcised and the circumcised people of the promise has been obliterated by the blood of Christ (2 11 13), and that, in the new spiritual building, where Christ is the chief corner stone, those who were afar off are incorporated as well as those who were nigh (2 14-22). there are no more strangers and foreigners. To proclaim the) full and unimpaired interest of the Gentiles in the gospel has been the noble function divinely assigned to Paul (3 1-12) ; his readers must not allow his present tribulations to shake their confidence in any way (3 13). His prayer (3 14 *ff.*), closing with a doxology (20 *f.*), is that they may ever go on growing in faith, in love, and in knowledge, until at last nothing more is wanting in them of all the fulness of God.

4 1-16, at the beginning of the practical section, urges the readers to give practical effect to the union that has thus been brought about, to walk worthily of the Christian vocation, and each to take his part in the common task according to the measure of his power, so that the whole may ever grow up more fully into Christ. What yet remains of the old man and heathen life must be sedulously put away (4 17-24) ; truthfulness, uprightness, and kindliness of speech and act must be cultivated as the true bases of social life (4 25-32) ; of these we have the best examples in the love of God and Christ (5 1 *f.*). In 5 3-21 personal holiness and the walk of believers as wise and pure children of light are further described. In 5 22-6 9 the duties of members of households in their several places and relations are treated in the same order as in Col. 3 18 *ff.*; and the very elaborate figure of the Christian panoply in 6 10-20 with the exhortation to carry on the warfare against the powers of evil with courage and boldness—a warfare in which he too would he so glad to join them as a free man—forms a fine close.

3. Church of Colossæ. COLOSSE (*q.v.*) lay not far from the larger cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, with the churches of which the Colossian Christians, it is clear, had kept up intimate relations from the first (Col. 2 1 4 13 15 *ff.*). These churches were not among those which had been directly founded by Paul; according to 2 1 (1 23) they had not yet seen him personally; their founder, according to 4 12 *f.* 1 7, had been a certain Epaphras. The fact that at the time when the epistle is being written Epaphras is with Paul of itself goes far to prove that he stood to him in the relation of a disciple; in any case Paul recognises the gospel proclaimed by him as the true one and not requiring correction. When these churches were founded is not said ; but they do not seem to have had a long history; we may venture to fix the date somewhere between the years 55 and 60 A.D. As, according to 4 11 *f.*, their founder was a Gentile Christian, we may take it that the great majority of the members also were Gentile Christians, an inference that is enforced by 1 21 27 *f.* 2 13. Thus Paul had a double right to regard them as belonging to his missionary field.

4. Of Ephesus. EPHESUS (*q.v.*) is the city in which, according to Acts 19 8 10 (cp 20 31), Paul for more than two years—approximately between 55 and 58 A.D. (see CHRONOLOGY, § 68 *f.*)—in the teeth of great hindrances (see 1 Cor. 15 32), had laboured with unwonted success in the cause of the gospel, which, until his arrival, had been practically unheard of there. At last the riot stirred up by Demetrius the silversmith, described in Acts 19 23 *ff.*, exposed his life to such serious danger (2 Cor. 1 8 *ff.*) that he was compelled to abandon the city for good, and betake himself elsewhere—to Macedonia, in the first instance (Acts 20 1). The events of that period did not prove fatal to the church at Ephesns: in Rev. 2 1-7 it stands at the head of the churches in Asia, and it is highly probable that Rom. 16 is a fragment of a letter addressed to it by Paul (Aquila and Prisca, *v.* 3 *f.*, as well as Epænetus, 'who is the first-fruits of Asia unto Christ,' *v.* 5, are among the saluted). In any case the apostle kept up a lively interest in this church, and maintained intimate relations with it. The writer of the 'we-source,' however, in Acts 20 17-30, describes a most affecting leave-taking between Paul and the elders of Ephesus, whom the former had asked to meet him at Miletus as he was on his way to Jerusalem, and plainly he regards it as having been final. Of what elements the Ephesian church was composed we have no means of judging, apart from Rom. 16 ; the probability is that the majority were converted pagans ; but it is nevertheless certain that the Jews in Ephesus were numerous, and we can well suppose that others of their number besides Aquila and Prisca had joined themselves to the company of believers in Jesus as the risen Messiah. In fact, when Paul, in Acts 20 29 *ff.*, in looking forward to the time after his departure, speaks of the appearance of false teachers and ravening wolves in Ephesns, Judaisers may very weil have been meant. Unfortunately the references to Ephesus in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 1 3 2 Tim. 1 15 18 4 12) throw no light on the subsequent history of Christianity there. All we can be sure of is that the apostle, after so long a residence, must have become acquainted in a very special manner with the peculiarities of the situation.

5. Occasion of Col. Even without any special occasion, perhaps, Paul might very well have written an epistle to the church of Colossæ at the time he did. Its founder had informed him of the orderly walk and steadfastness in the faith of its members, and doubtless also of their sympathy with himself. It was natural enough, therefore, that he should at least assure them of his gladness over the good beginnings they had made, all the more as a suitable opportunity had offered itself for communicating with them. Onesimus (49) was being sent back to his master, Philemon, with a short letter ; Tychicus, a member of the Pauline circle, was accompanying him, and it was almost a matter of course that he should be entrusted with letters of introduction to the churches whose hospitality he expected to enjoy. The epistle to the Colossians, however, is more than a mere occasional writing. The probability is that Paul's determination o write it was formed immediately on receiving the communication from Epaphras as to the condition of Christianity in the Lycus valley; false teachers had made their appearance in Colossæ, and Epaphras himself felt unable, single-handed, to cope with their sophistries. To deal with these is the writer's main object; even where he is not expressly polemical, as in chaps. 1 and 3, his aim is to establish a correct understanding of the gospel as against their wisdom, falsely so called.

6. False teachers. If the picture of the Colossian false teachers does not present such well-marked features as that of the Galatian false apostles, there is no occasion for surprise, for Paul knew the latter personally, the others only by hearsay. That the Colossian agitators must have belonged to the same class as others that we read of in other places is too much to assume. Many of the observations of Paul would apply well to Judaisers—as for example the marked emphasis with which it is said (2 11 *f.*) that the Colossians are circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands,

and (2 14) that the handwriting against us has been nailed to the cross and so cancelled. In particular the exhortation of 2 16, 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day,' seems decisive as to the Jewish character of the new teachers; in this connection the question of 2 20 (cp 28) cannot fail to suggest Gal. 4 3-9, and one is strongly inclined to presume the condition of matters in Colossæ to have been similar to that in Galatia. Only, it is commands and precepts of men that are being imposed with a 'touch not, taste not, handle not' (2 8 22), it is an 'arbitrary religion' (ἐθελοθρησκία) that is being thrust upon the Colossians (2 23)—in such terms Paul could hardly have described a return to compliance with the injunctions of the OT law. As the ascetic interest (223, 'severity towards the body'; 2 18 23, 'humility') has a foremost place with the false teachers, many take them to have been Christian Essenes or ascetics of an Essene character (cp ESSENES, § 3 *f.*). But it has to be remembered that ascetic tendencies were very widely spread at that time, and that they first came into Judaism from without. According to 28 the agitators gave themselves out to be philosophers. Paul indeed regards their wisdom as 'vain deceit'—according to 2 18 they 'are vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind,' and with deceiving speeches seek to lead their hearers astray—and when he *so* strikingly emphasises that in Christ Christians already possess the 'truth' ('all wisdom and spiritual understanding,' 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' 1 6 9 10 26 *ff.* 2 3), and so zealously points out what is the right way to perfection (**128 3** 14 **4** 12), all that we can infer from this is, that the innovators in Colossae came forward with a claim to be able to lead their followers from faith to knowledge, true wisdom, and a perfect Christianity. In doing so they appealed to visions they had seen (218); their knowledge of the celestial world entitled them, they contended, formally to set up a worship of angels, by which, however, Christ was thrust out from his central position as the only redeemer (219). Paul supplies no details of their speculations as to the powers and functions of these celestial spirits; but any such theosophy as this cannot be called Jewish in any specific sense. How far a religiously objectionable dualistic view of the universe lay at the bottom of the peculiar doctrines and precepts of these men will probably never be known; but that Paul should raise his voice so earnestly against them while taking up an attitude so different towards the 'Essenising' weak brethren in Rome (Rom. **14** *f.*)—although they do not appear to have attacked him personally at all—shows that he, for his part, discerned in them a spirit that was foreign to Christianity and hostile to it. As their philosophical tendencies and their worship of angels do not fit in with the theory that they were Jews (here Alexandrianism helps us no better than Essenism), it will doubtless be best to regard these Colossian false teachers as baptised 'mysteriosophists,' who sought to bring their ascetic tendencies with them into the new religion, and had found means to satisfy their polytheistic instincts by the forms of a newly-invented worship of angels. In doing so they prided themselves on their compliance with all the demands of the OT, though in detail they of course interpreted these in an absolutely arbitrary way. It was this method of an affected interpretation of the OT, claimed by them to be a guarantee of wisdom, that gave them something of a Judaising appearance; but in so far as their ideas had any individuality (as, for example, the notion that between man and the extra-mundane God there is a series of intermediate beings, and that the thing of essential importance is to secure the favour of these mediators or to know how to avoid their evil influences) they were of heathen not Jewish origin.

The Pauline authorship of Colossians has been denied in various quarters since Mayerhoff (1838), and, in particular, by the Tübingen School *en masse.* The external testimony to its genuineness is the best possible—ever since a collection of Pauline letters existed at all, Colossians seems to have been invariably included. In form, nevertheless, the epistle presents many striking peculiarities.

7. Genuineness: vocabulary, etc.

It contains a large number of words which Paul nowhere else uses—amongst them, especially, long composites such as πιθανολογία (2 4), ἐμβατεύειν (218); and on the other hand many of the apostle's most current expressions, such as E n, διό, ἄρα, are absent, and in the structure of the sentences there are fewer anacoloutha than elsewhere in Paul, as well as a greater number of long periods built up of participial and relative clauses. These difficulties, however, apply only to the first half of the epistle, and even here the genuine Pauline element is still more in evidence than the peculiarities just indicated; the difficulty and obscurity of the style, so far as old age or passing ill-health may not be regarded as sufficient explanation, can be accounted for on the ground that Paul had not so lively and vivid a realisation of the exact opponents with whom he had to do, as in the case of those of Galatia or Corinth.

8. Ideas.

But in substance also the Epistle has been held to be un-Pauline. It has been held to represent the transition stage between the Pauline and the Johannine theology—a further development of the Pauline conception of the dignity of Christ (1 15 *ff.*), in the direction of the Alexandrian Logos-doctrine, according to which he is regarded as the centre of the cosmos, the first-born of all creation (1 15), no longer as the first-born among many brethren only (Rom. 8 29). Formulae like that in 2 9, 'in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' it is urged, have a somewhat gnostic ring; the representation of the Church as being the body of Christ (1 24 2 19), further, is said to be post-Pauline, whilst Paul himself never gave ethical precepts in such detail as we find in 3 18 *ff.*

9. Genuineness not disproved.

In answer to all this, it can hardly be denied that Colossians exhibits a new development of Pauline Christology; but why should not Paul himself have carried it on to this development in view of new errors, which demanded new statements of truth? The fact is, that in some cases, probably, he has simply appropriated and applied to Christ formulae (as, say, in 2 9) which the false teachers had employed with reference to their mediating beings; and his theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of view or new expressions.

Unmistakable traces of an undoubtedly later age cannot be shown in the epistle, while whole sections, such as chap. **4**, can hardly be understood as the work even of the most gifted imitator. None of the gnostic systems of the second century known to us can be shown to be present in Colossians, whilst the false teachers with whom the epistle makes us acquainted could have made their appearance within the Christian Church in the year 60 A.D. just as easily as in 120.

There seems no cogent reason even for the invention of a mediating hypothesis—whether that of Ewald, which makes Timothy, joint-writer of Colossians, responsible for certain un-Pauline expressions, or that of Holtzmann, according to which an epistle of Paul was gone over in the second century by the author of Ephesians. With the one hypothesis it is impossible to figure clearly to oneself how the work of writing the letter was gone about; and the other it is impossible to accept unless we choose to admit irreconcilable traits in the picture of the false teachers—as, perhaps, that Paul himself wrote only against 'Essenising' ascetics, whilst the theosophic angelology was due entirely to the interpolator, who had other opponents in his mind. Even in its most difficult parts, however, the connection in the epistle is not so loose as ever to force upon one the impression that there must have been interpolation;

and, as regards certain of the difficulties raised by criticism, it is to be remarked that caution is always necessary in dealing with literary productions of a period so obscure. Colossians may be Pauline quite as well as Philippians or 1 Thessalonians. The number of those who doubt its genuineness does not grow.

10. Date.

Colossians was written in captivity (4 3 10 18), at the same time as Philemon, probably from Rome (not from Cæsarea), about 63 A.D. The apostle is surrounded by friends—Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus Justus. Whether Philippians was written before Colossians and Philemon, or whether Philippians should be regarded as the apostle's last writing is difficult to decide, quite apart from the question of a second captivity. The Christological portion of Philippians (2 4 *ff.*) has much in common with Colossians.

11. Relation to Eph.

If Ephesians also is really the work of Paul (see below, § 15 *f.*), it must have been written almost contemporaneously with Colossians. It is true, Indeed, that in Col. 1 1, as in Phil. 1 1, Timothy is named as joint-writer, while he is not mentioned in Ephesians. From this, however, it cannot be argued that the situations were materially different, any more than it could be argued that Colossians and Philemon must be of different date because in the list of those who send greetings in Philem. 23 *f.* we do not find the Jesus Justus named in Col. 4 11, or because, in Philem. 23 *f.*, Epaphras is called a fellow-prisoner and Aristarchus a fellow-worker, whilst in Col. 4 10 *ff.* Aristarchus, as a fellow-prisoner, heads the list of those who send greetings, and Epaphras seems to be regarded as one of the fellow-workers. In Eph. 3 1 13 6 20 also Paul is a prisoner, yet as much burdened with work as in Col. 1 24-29 4 3 *f.* Tychicus is introduced in Eph. 6 21 *f.* as bearer of the letter, and as one who will be able to give further particulars as to the apostle's state, in almost the same words as in Col. 4 7 *f.*; and although there is no mention of Onesimus in Ephesians, we must hold that both epistles refer to the same mission.

The frequent verbal coincidences between Colossians and Ephesians even in points in which the phraseology is a matter of indifference (cp, for example, Eph. 1 15 *f.* and Col. 1 3 *f.* 9; Eph. 2 1 and Col. 1 21 2 13; Eph. 6 20 and Col. 4 3 4), unless we have here a case of deliberate imitation by a later writer, are intelligible only if we assume the one letter to have been written when Paul's mind was still full of the thoughts and expressions of the other. Of Colossians the only portions not finding a parallel in Ephesians are: the polemical section, 2 7-3 4 (although indeed 2 10-14 is again an exception), and the greetings in 4 10-18*a*; of Ephesians, on the other hand, the only portions not finding a parallel in Colossians are,: the introduction (1 3-14), the liturgically-phrased section (3 13-21), the exhortation to peaceful co-operation (4 1-16), and the figure of the spiritual armour, although in this case also some reminiscences are not wholly wanting in Colossians.

That the one letter is a pedantic reproduction of the other cannot be said. If we possessed only one of them it could not be called a mere compilation or paraphrase. The parallel passages to Col. 1, for example, lie scattered up and down Eph. 1-4 (or 5) in a wholly different order, and there is no trace of any definite method according to which the one writing has been used for the other. There is no sort of agreement among critics on the question as to which of the two is the original form; but the present writer inclines to consider Ephesians the later, partly because in Colossians the various details and peculiarities are better accounted for by the needs of a church not yet far advanced ethically, and exposed to danger from false teaching, and it would have been rather contrary to what might have been expected if Paul had first sought to meet these very special needs by means of a letter of a more general character.

12. Character of Eph.

Of all Paul's epistles addressed to churches, Ephesians is certainly the least epistolary in character. One vainly examines the circumstances of those to whom it is addressed to find occasion for its composition. The epistle, which has a personal tinge in only a few places, could have been written equally well to almost any other church; it is more of a sermon than of a letter—a sermon on the greatness of that Gospel which is able to bridge over all the old contradictions in humanity, and on the grandeur of that one Church of Christ by which salvation is made sure, and on the precepts by which the members of this Church ought to regulate their lives. One commentator indeed goes so far as to say that in Ephesians 'we have the most mature and sustained of all the statements of Christian doctrine which have come down to us from the hand of the great apostle.' Other students may perhaps think Galatians and Corinthians more vivid and powerful, Romans richer, Philippians more sympathetic, but certainly so far as the thing can be done at all within the compass of one short letter, Paul has laid down in Ephesians something like an exhaustive outline of his Gospel. Viewed on its anti-Jewish or supra-Jewish side, however, it is much too slightly wrought out.

13. To whom addressed.

With regard to the question, to whom Ephesians was addressed, the only thing quite certain is, that if the epistle was written by Paul it cannot have been addressed to Ephesus. Even after all has been said by the apologists it remains incredible that he should have written to a church to which he had devoted three years of his life and to which, even after his final parting, his heart still yearned so tenderly, in so cold a tone as here,—without a word of greeting to anybody, without reference to any of their common memories, in short without a single individualising note of any kind. Even apart from 1 15 and 3 2-4 no one could suspect that the apostle is here speaking to a church with which his acquaintance was so intimate as it was with the Ephesians. If his acquaintance with the Colossians was formed only by report, every reader of the present epistle must hold the same to be true of this. If the words 'in Ephesus' in 1 1 are to be held to be original, we have hkre no composition of Paul the prisoner, writing in 63 A.D., but the work of a later hand who has artificially adapted himself to the part of the apostle but who wholly failed to realise how grossly improbable were the relations between Paul and the Ephesians as indicated by him.

But these decisive words—ἐν Ἐφέσῳ—are critically open to the gravest suspicion. It is true that from the date of the Muratorian Canon (about 180) onwards they are attested by witnesses innumerable; but an older authority—Marcion—about 140, cannot have read them where they now stand, since he took the epistle to be addressed to the Laodiceans; they are absent also from both of the oldest extant MSS. (א and B); and learned Church fathers, such as Origen in the third century and Basil in the fourth, agree in their omission. Not till the fifth century do we find the words regularly established in the recognised texts. But it is highly improbable that an original reading ἐν Ἐφέσῳ should ever have come to be deleted (let us suppose) on critical grounds; for the exercise of criticism in this sense was unknown in the second century, and, if it had been, its exercise here would not have been content with a mere negative, but would have gone on to substitute the reading that was considered to be more appropriate. It is absolutely impossible that the oldest text should not have contained the name of some place; a name is rendered quite indispensable by the context 'to the saints which are . . .'

14. A 'Catholic' epistle.

The only remaining alternative is that we should suppose the original name to have accidentally disappeared and that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was conjecturally inserted in its place, the determining consideration being that

Paul must surely, once at least in his life, have written a letter to his beloved Ephesians. If Marcion read ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ insteaa o: ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, it was only because he thought this a preferable conjecture; what he had in his mind was Col. 416, where an epistle to the Laodiceans is spoken of, which the Colossians also are bidden obtain a reading of. The letter alluded to must have been nearly contemporaneous with that to the Colossians; we may venture to conjecture that the then conditions in Laodicea were very similar to those in Colossae, so that on the present assumption the correspondences between the two letters become easily explicable. Tychicus then also will become the bearer of both letters. Only, on the other side again, it is not easy to understand in this case how it is that Paul treats the Colossians with so much greater intimacy and cordiality than he treats their neighbours the Laodiceans; how, further, he should invite comparisons by bidding the churches exchange letters with each other; and, lastly, how in spite of the labonr expended in behalf of the Laodiceans by Epaphras (Col. 4 13), Paul should not think it necessary to enclose a greeting from him. The attitude of Ephesians, with its absence of explicit and detailed reference to the circumstances and stage of growth of its readers, is, on the assumption of its being a Pauline letter, intelligible only if its destination excluded such individual reference; in other words, if it was really not addressed to any one church, but was a circular intended for a number of Gentile Christian chnrches (in the present case in Asia Minor, or, more precisely, in Phrygia)[1]—which Tychicus on the occasion of his journey to Colossæ was to visit, conveying to them at the same time also a direct message from the great apostle of the Gentiles. It is not, after all, beyond possibility, however, that Ephesians may be the epistle referred to in Col. 416; for there it is called, not the epistle *to* Laodicea, but the epistle *from* Laodicea, by which expression may have been intended nothing more than a copy of Ephesians to be obtained at Laodicea. In the original superscription, if this be so, we may suppose Paul to have named the province or provinces to the churches of which he wished to address himself (cp 1 Pet. 1 1)'; the epistle would then have an almost 'catholic' character, and, in point of fact, next to Colossians, 1 Peter, of all the other NT epistles, is the one that comes nearest Ephesians in substance.

15. Genuineness. The whole preceding discussion (§ 13 *f.*) falls to the ground if, as was done by the Tübingen school and still is done by many recent writers, the Pauline authorship is denied. The external testimony is the best possible: from Marcion's time onwards the epistle is included in all lists of Paul's writings, and from the second century onwards the citations from it are exceptionally frequent. On the other hand, in form and style it is removed still fnrther than Colossians from the manner of the earlier epistles of Paul; the number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα is astonishingly great; whilst in Paul the devil is called Satan, here (Eph. 4 27 6 11) he is called διάβολος or *(22)* 'prince of the kingdom of the air';[2] the structure of the sentences is strikingly lumbering; substantives closely allied in meaning are constantly linked together by prepositions—especially ἐν—or by the use of the genitive, an expedient that conduces neither to freedom nor to clearness of style. At the same time the epistle has a number of characteristically Pauline expressions, including some that do not occur in Colossians, and at every step genuinely Pauline turns of thought are recalled.

The absence of concrete details in Ephesians has already been noted; but, if it be true that we have here a circular letter, the standards which we might apply to Corinthians or Philippians cease to be applicable. Peculiarities in statement of individual doctrines or in theological outlook generally, indifference of attitude upon controverted points of the Pauline period, and a preference for the ideas of the old Catholicism that was beginning to take shape cannot be denied; but here again, as with Colossians, the case is met if we postulate a growth in the apostle himself, under the influence of new conditions. We fail to find in the epistle any direct evidence that the writer is a man of the second Christian generation, addressing men who have been born Christians; on the contrary, the readers are addressed as persons who had formerly been heathens.

16. Uncertain. The main obstacle to the traditional view of the authorship of the epistle is found in 4 11 2 20 35. In 4 11, in the enumeration of church officers, the peculiar spiritual gifts to which so great prominence is given in 1 Cor. 12 *f.* are almost entirely passed over; in 220 it is the glory of the Church that she is 'built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone,' and in 35, as if there had never been any such thing as a dispute in Jerusalem or in Antioch, the present time is spoken of as that in which the Gentiles' equality in privilege has been 'spiritually revealed to his holy apostles and prophets.' In the mouth of the apostle who has devoted the unremitting efforts of a lifetime to the establishment of this equality of privilege, this last expression has a peculiar sound. In a disciple of the apostle, on the other hand,—one who has in view the accomplished fact, the one and indivisible Church for which all the apostles and prophets are equally sacred authorities—the phrases quoted are natural enough; and on the whole the hypothesis that a Pauline Christian, intimately familiar with the Pauline epistles, especially with Colossians, writing about go A.D., has in Ephesians sought to put in a plea for the true catholicism in the meaning of Paul, and in his name, is free from any serious difficulty. It is very hard to decide; perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement, and Ephesians in the meantime used only with caution when the Pauline system is being construed.

17. Text of Col. and Eph. Like the Pauline epistles in general, Colossians and Ephesians are among the best preserved parts of the NT. They have hardly at all been subjected to 'smoothing' revision; the majority of the variants (which, it must be said, are very numerous) are clearly mere copyists' errors. At the same time the readings vacillate at several important points—*e.g.*, (Eph. 39) between κοινωνία and οἰκονομία, (Col. 2 18) between ἃ μὴ ἑόρακεν and ἃ ἑόρακεν, (Col. 3 13) between χριστός and κύριος. Influence of the text of Ephesians upon Colossians can be sometimes traced—*e.g.*, Col. 36, has been supplied from Eph. 56. The obscurity of many of the sentences may have helped to protect them from gratuitous change; in any case the exegete of either epistle has a much harder task than the text-critic.

18. Literature. H. J. Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe*, ('72), a most careful comparison of the two letters with each other and with those Pauline epistles of which the genuineness may he regarded as certain. Holtzmann's hypothesis is that in Colossians we have a genuine epistle of Paul to Colossæ, which has been expanded by later interpolations; the interpolator is the author of the epistle to the Ephesians,—a Gentile Christian, of Pauline training, who belonged *to* the post-aposfolic age. Alb. Klöpper, ***Der Brief an die** Colosser* ('82), and Der ***Brief an die** Epheser* ('91), a very thorough if somewhat stiff exposition: Colossians is held *to* he genuine, Ephesians not. H. v. Soden in *JPT*, 1885, pp. 320 *ff.*, 497 *ff.*, 672 *ff.* and 1887, 103 *ff.*, 432 *ff.* substantially accepted Holtzmann's hypothesis, and in the *HC* ('91) has given a luminous commentary. H. Oltramare, *Comm. sur les Épitres de **S. Paul aux** Colossiens, **aux** Eph. et Phil.*, 3 vols. 1891-92, maintains the genuineness of both epistles. In 'the case of Colossians this had already been argued most brilliantly by J. B. Lightfoot (*St. **Paul's** Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1875, 8th ed. 1886). J. Macpherson in *Commentary on St. Paul's Ep. to the Ephesians*, ('92), has sought with a painstaking care, worthy of Lightfoot

[1] So, long ago, Usher; and, recently, Lightfoot.
[2] In **Paul** he is called aiso, however, βελίαρ (2 Cor. 6 15) and 'the god of this world' (*ib.* 4 4). See BELIAL.

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himself, to vindicate tradition and solve the difficulties of the epistle. Er. Haupt (*die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*, 1899, an entirely new recast of the *Krit.-Exeget. Komm.* of H. A. W. Meyer) takes, as regards the genuineness, a position similar to that of the present article, but decides against the Roman origin and in favour of Cæsarea. Some new points of view are offered in Zahn's *Einl.* i. *d. N.T.*, 1897, 310-398, hoth on the question of introduction and on details of exegesis. The once justly popular commentaries of Ellicott ('55) and Harless (and ed. 58) on Ephesians are now somewhat out of date. See also the (posthumous) *Prolegomena to the Epp. to the Romans and Ephesians ('95)* by Prof. J. A. Hort ; and T. K. Abbott, *Comm. on Ephesians* **and Colossians** *('97).* A. J.

COLOURS. If in certain branches of art the ancient Hebrews fell far behind their contemporaries, they were not without artistic feeling; if they had no drama, they were not devoid of dramatic instinct (CANTICLES, § 7; POETICAL LITERATURE, § 5); and if, through no inherent fault of their own, they were unable to attain any degree of competency in the highest form of art, yet they had, as their poetry shows, a very real appreciation of the sublime and beautiful. The neglect to cultivate this taste was a necessary consequence of the effort to fulfil the ancient command in Ex. 20 4,—a command which would of course apply as much to painting as to sculpture—and of the monotheism to which they subsequently attained. (See Ruskin, *Two Paths, 7 f.* ; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., 1 III *f.* ; and cp ATHENS, § 1.)[1]

1. Artistic feeling.

A simple style of decoration and the use of some of the dves and dvcd stuffs they may indeed have learned at an early date.[2] When, however, the post-exilic writers wish to describe the decorations of an ideal sanctuary, they are obliged to borrow their ideas of ornament from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, or Greece. (See Wornum, *Analysis of Ornament,* 51 *f.*, and cp ISRAEL, § 67.) Characteristic of this style of decoration was a love of costly display combined with brilliancy of colour (*Analysis of Ornament*, 5, and BABYLONIA, § 18, ASSYRIA, § 10, EGYPT, § *36).* From these countries, then, in which art was the ally, if not the offspring, of idolatry. came the practice of decorating sculpture in the round with bold colours and costly raiment,[3] a practice condemned by Ezekiel (23 14) as being an insult to Yahwe. That such cases, however, were exceptional among the Hebrews appears probable from the fact that their language contains no words for 'paint,' 'painting,' and 'painter' (see PAINT). Nor does this striking phenomenon stand alone. It is also noteworthy that in the original texts no term is found to express that property of light known to us as *colour.*

2. Decoration.

When a Hebrew writer wishes to compare one object with another in respect to its colour he finds it necessary to use the word *'ayin* (עַיִן 'eye') in the sense of *appearance.* So in Lev. 13 55 the plague is spoken of as changing 'its appearance' (EV, here and in the following examples, 'colour') and in Nu. 11 7 the appearance of nianna is described as being like the appearance (so here RV) of bdellium. The same word is used of the appearance of wine (Prov. 23 31), of amber (Ez. 1 4 27 8 2), of burnished brass (Ez. 1 7 Dan. 10 6), of a beryl (Ez. 1 16 10 6), and of crystal (Ez. 1 22). Certainly the term *colour* occurs frequently in the EV ; but in such cases the translation is seldom warranted by the original text. In the Apocrypha, on the other hand, a word does once occur (χρῶμα, Wisd. 15 4) with reference to a painted image ; but in this instance the term denotes rather the paint or pigment used.

3. Colour vocabulary.

Just as the want of a word to express the idea of 'painting' tends to prove that the art was very little cultivated, so also the want of a word for *colour* (found in Syriac *gawnā*, Arabic *lawnun*, Egyptian[1] *iwn*) naturally suggests that colonrs were not much talked about by the Hebrews. This inference could indeed be shown to be unwarrantable if we found many names for different colours, and could prove archæologically that many colours were in use. When, however, we come to examine the Hebrew colour-terms—and this applies also to those in use among the Greeks and the Romans[2]—at any rate in biblical times, we find that very few of them are real colour-terms at all, such terms being used as denote rather a contrast between light and darkness, brightness and dimness, than what we commonly understand by *colour.* Still, if colours are not sharply distinguished in the languages of the ancient world it does not follow that the Hebrews and other primitive races were unable to distinguish shades of colour for which their language possessed no distinct terms, or that they were, at least with respect to certain colours, colour-blind.[3]

4. Colour sense.

It is not so much a question of deficiency of colour-sense (as was contended some years ago) as of an undeveloped colour-vocabulary. (See Del. *Iris*, 20, and Benzinger, *Arch.* under 'Farben'; also Grant Allen, *Colour* ***Sense***, chaps. 11 13.) If colour-blind people arc in common life able to nxe correctly the names of colours that they do not see, so conversely a people may be able to discriminate colours for which their language has not set apart names.[4] Besides, it now seems clear that even the lower animals are sensitive to colour (see Grant Allen, 221 ; Clodd, ***The Story*** *of Creation*, 87 *f.* ; and cp Drummond, ***Ascent of Man***, 165 *ff.*, Montaigne, ***Essays*** [Cotton], 1394 ['72]).

From the use of the terms which the Hebrews did possess, we are led to conclude that one and the same word was used to denote several shades of one colour ; the context or object to which the colour was applied affording the clue as to the particular shade intended. Sometimes, however, in order to distinguish the shade of colour quite unmistakably, the thing described is compared with another object of which the colour in question is peculiarly characteristic (cp Eng. salmon-pink, emerald-green, etc.).

5. Scarcity of real colour names.

It is indeed remarkable how few real colour-terms occur in the OT. Only three of the natural colours are distinguished by names, while for blue and yellow distinct terms are entirely wanting. The deficiency, however, is made up for by the use of the terms expressing degrees of light or dark ; and in addition to these are found artificial colonrs with the name of the object from which they were derived like our crimson, cochineal, indigo, etc. Substances, too, of which a particular colour was characteristic, may have been used to represent the colonr itself (like Eng. orange, etc.).

It will be convenient to group and examine the words employed under the following headings ; terms expressing (1) light and degrees of light, (2) darkness and degrees of dark, (3) natural colours, (4) variegated surfaces, (5) pigments, (6) objects. Finally, it will be necessary to point out instances in which the EV expresses or implies a reference to colour where no such reference

6. Classification.

1 On the natural stages in the 'expression of the imagination,' see Shelley's *Defence of* ***Poetry***, part i. *beg.*

2 Already the poet who sang of the glorious victory over Sisera knew of dyed stuffs (שְׁלַל צְבָעִים), and seems to assume that Israel could be expected to provide its enemies with booty of this kind (Judg. 5 30). Of what colours, however, this stuff was composed is not stated; nor is it said with what colours the needlework (רִקְמָה, cp 1 Ch. 29 2 Ez. 17 3) mentioned in the same passage was embroidered. See EMBROIDERY.

3 For specimens of early Gr. coloured figures see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Tafel-Band, lxviii. and cp the notes in Text-Band, 917, 418.

1 Cp *inm*, which means originally 'skin' 'complexion.'

2 Cp De Quincey, *Autobiography*, note to chap. on *Laxton*: 'The truth is, colours were as loosely and latitudinarially distinguished by the Greeks and Romans as degrees of affinity and consanguinity are everywhere.' See further Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiqq., s.v.* 'colores,' and Robertson Smith in ***Nature***, Dec. 6th, 1877.

3 Broadly speaking we may say that all people see alike. Where, however, as in the case of artists, the colour-sense has been specially trained, colours are seen differently. Colour-blindness can only he regarded as a disease. [Cp Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, new ed. in small form ('97), 1 72, § 6.]

4 Even the modern Englishman does not use more than ahout half a dozen colour-names (red, yellow, green, blue, pink, gray, brown, white. and black), though he is quite able to distinguish many other shades of colour for which the English dictionary has names, as well as probably others for which it has none.

necessarily exists. Except in the case of (5) and (6) it is impossible to arrive at very definite conclusions, the interpretation being based mainly on philological considerations.

7. Degrees of light.

(1) Light *and degrees of* light.—The word צַח, *ṣaḥ*, (from צחח, Syr. *ṣaḥ*, 'to shine'), used in Cant. 5 10 to denote the glow of a healthy complexion and translated 'white' in the EV, means primarily *glowing* or *glistening* (cp its use in Jer. 4 11, if the text is correct, of a wind [AV 'dry,' RV 'hot'], in Is. 18 4 of heat [EV 'clear'], and in 32 4 as an adverb [צַחוֹת EV 'plainly']). 𝔊 represents it in Cant. by λευκός, a word which originally contained a similar idea, as is shown by its use in Mt. 17 2 Mk. 9 3 and Lk. 9 29.

Similarly צָחֹר, *ṣāḥōr*, seems to mean literally 'dazzling,' though in Judg. 5 10 it is applied to asses of a light colour, perhaps reddish-white (cp Ass, col. 344, n. 2). What particular shade of colour the word denotes in this passage is doubtful; but Moore may be right when, following A. Muller (*Das Lied der Deborah*), he supposes it to be 'gray or tawny inclining to red.' 𝔊B's rendering, μεσημβρίας, is a mere guess, intended to connect the word with צהרים (cp Jer. 20 16 𝔊). A derivative (צַחַר) from the same root is traditionally found in Ez. 27 18 (צֶמֶר צחר, EV 'white wool'; but see JAVAN), and probably also the name Zōhar (Gen. 46 10 צחר; see NAMES, § 66) is to be derived from the same root.

The term צָהֹב, *ṣāhōbh* (from צָהַב, Ar. *ṣahiba*), 'glittering like gold,' starts with the same idea. It is used of leprous hair in Lev. 13 30 32 36, where the EV represents it by 'yellow,' and in Ezr. 8 27 the Hophal participle of the same root is applied to 'brass' (AV 'fine copper,' RV 'bright brass'). In Lev. 13 30 32 𝔊 translates it by ξανθίζων, and in 13 36 by ξανθός, whereas in Ezra 8 27 (= 1 Esd. 8 57) it would seem to render by στίλβων [BAL].[1] To express 'brilliant,' as contrasted with 'white,' the NT employs λαμπρός in Lk. 23 11 (EV 'gorgeous'), Acts 10 30 (EV 'bright'), Ja. 2 2 (AV 'goodly,' RV 'fine'), Rev. 15 6 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'), and Rev. 19 8 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'). In Acts 10 30 Ja. 2 2 Rev. 15 6 the Vulgate translates the word by *candidus*.

8. Degrees of dark.

(2) ***Darkness*** *and degrees of dark*.—To express the idea of darkness the term שָׁחֹר, *šāḥōr* (from שחר, Syr. *šeḥar*, 'to be black') is employed. It is used of the dark hair in a leprous rising (Lev. 13 31 37), of a sunburnt skin or complexion (Job 30 30, ἐσκότωται [BK], μεμελάνωται [A]; Cant. 1 5), and of dark horses (Zech. 6 2); and a diminutive form שְׁחַרְחֹר, *šeḥarḥōr*, is applied in Cant. 1 6 (𝔊 μεμελανωμένη) to dark ringlets. When it is desired to express a particularly dark colour another substantive is sometimes added, as 'oven-black,' Lam. 5 10 (of skin; 𝔊 ὡς κλίβανος ἐπελιώθη), 'raven-black,' Cant. 5 11 (of hair), and in the NT 'sackcloth-black' (Rev. 6 12). In the EV *šāḥōr* is represented by 'black,' and in 𝔊 and NT by μέλας. From the same root are derived שְׁחוֹר, *šeḥōr* (Lam. 4 8; see COAL, § 1), and probably שִׁיחוֹר, *Šīḥōr* (Josh. 13 3), another name for the Nile (see SHIHOR).

Another word חוּם, *ḥūm* (from חום = חמם), applied to sheep whose wool has been scorched by the sun, though really meaning simply 'dark,' may be translated 'brown,' as is done by AV in Gen. 30 32 *f.* 35 40. In 𝔊 it is rendered by φαιός and once (*v.* 40) by ποικίλος.[2] To express the idea of gloom and sorrow we meet with the root קדר, *ḳādhar*, which has the primary meaning 'to be dirty.' Thus it can be applied to the turbid water of a brook (Job 6 16), to a sorrowful countenance (Jer. 8 21), to mourning garments (14 2), and even to gates of a mourning city (Jer. 14 2) and to the heavens (Jer. 4 28 1 K. 18 45). In Is. 50 3 a derivative (קַדְרוּת) from the same root is used of the mourning garb of the heavens (EV 'blackness'). To the same root also probably belong the names Kedar (קֵדָר Gen. 25 13) and Kidron (קִדְרוֹן 2 S. 15 23; see NAMES, § 102). Further, חָשַׁךְ, *ḥāšak*, 'to be dark,' a word generally used of the darkness of approaching night (cp Job 18 6 Is. 5 30), is used in Lam. 5 17 of the eyes becoming dim, in Ps. 69 24 of their becoming blind; and in Lam. 4 8 the same term is applied to a dark complexion. This root gives us the common word for 'darkness' (חֹשֶׁךְ). Both קדר and חשך are represented in 𝔊 by σκοτάζειν, σκοτοῦν, συνσκοτάζειν: and חשך also by σκοτίζειν.

Finally, to this class belong also apparently חַכְלִילִי, *ḥakhlīlī* (Gen. 49 12, 𝔊BAL χαροποιοί) and חַכְלִלוּת, *ḥakhlīlūth* (Prov. 23 29 𝔊BNA, correctly πελιοί): both of them seem to refer to the *dull* (EV 'red') appearance of the eyes after excessive drinking (cp the name Hachilah [חכילה 1 S. 23 19], and see NAMES, § 102).

9. Natural colours: white.

(3) *Natural colours*.—Under this heading are included those Hebrew words which more closely resemble our natural colour-terms. There are three classes: (α) white, (β) red, (γ) green. It is doubtless true that primarily white denoted simply purity, green paleness, and red depth of light; but the use to which the words are applied shows that the Hebrews attached to them fairly definite ideas of colour.

(α) White is commonly represented by לָבָן, *lābhān*. Thus it is used of the colour of goats (Gen. 30 35 37), of teeth (49 12), of manna (Ex. 16 31), of leprous hair (Lev. 13 3 10 20 *f.*), of the leprous spot (Lev. 13 24 38 *f.*), of garments (Eccl. 9 8), and of horses (Zech. 1 8 6 3 6). Here also, as with the shades of dark, different shades of colour seem to be clearly distinguished, as 'milk-white' (Gen. 49 12), 'coriander-seed white' (Ex. 16 31), 'snow-white' (Nu. 12 10 2 K. 5 27 Ps. 68 14 Is. 1 18), and in the NT 'wool-white' (Rev. 1 14), 'bright-white' (Mt. 17 2 Lk. 9 29), and 'harvest-white' (Jn. 4 35). We even find in Lev. 13 39 a compound expression (כֵּהוֹת לְבָנוֹת) used to describe a shade of white (AV 'darkish white,' RV 'dull white').

From the same Hebrew root seem to be derived the names Laban (לָבָן Gen. 24 29), Lihni (לִבְנִי Ex. 6 17), Lihnah (לִבְנָה Josh. 10 29; but see LIBNAH), Lebanah (לְבָנָה Ez. 2 45), and Lebanon (לְבָנוֹן 1 K. 5 20 [6]), so-called either on account of its snow-capped peak or from the colour of its stone, as well as the substantives לְבָנָה, *lebhānāh* 'moon' (Ca. 6 10), לִבְנֶה, *libhneh*, 'white-poplar' (Gen. 30 37), and, possibly, לְבֵנָה, *lebhēnāh*, 'brick' (Ex. 1 14; see, however, BRICK, § 1, n.). See NAMES, §§ 66, 102.

The corresponding root in Aramaic is חִוַּר, *ḥūr*, which in Is. 29 22 is used (as a verb) of the face becoming pale with shame, and in Dan. 7 9 of a snow-white garment.[1] Both these words are usually represented in 𝔊 by λευκός (cp, however, Gen. 30 37 where χλωρός = לבן), and, moreover, there occurs in the Apocrypha a word λεύκωμα which is used of a disease of the eyes (Tob. 2 10 3 17 6 8 11 8 13, but in Ecclus. 43 18 λευκότης, Heb. לָבָן).

To the same class, perhaps, belongs also חֹרִי, Gen. 40 16. In the RV it is translated 'white bread'; but from what follows in the context the word would seem to refer, not to the contents of the baskets, but to the baskets themselves (AV 'white baskets'). Finally, to express the idea of the hair becoming grayish-white through old age, there is the root שִׂיב, *šībh* (1 S. 12 2 Job 15 10),

[1] The Heb. has וּכְלֵי נְחֹשֶׁת מֻצְהָב טוֹבָה שְׁנַיִם חֲמוּדֹת כַּזָּהָב. For this 1 Esd. has καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ χρηστοῦ στίλβοντα σκεύη δέκα [B] and κ. σ. χ. ἀπὸ χ. χρηστοῦ στίλβοντος χρυσοειδοῦς 6 κα δύο [L].

[2] There is also a form כִּמְרִיר, *kamrīr* (Job 3 5 plur. constr. [𝔊 om.]) which occurs in Job (AV blackness), and has often been connected with an Aram. root ܟܡܪ, 'to be black.' BDB, however, appends a query, and Che. denies the existence of a root כמר in OT (*Expositor*, June 1897, p. 406; *JQR*, July 1897, p. 575). Cp ECLIPSE, CHEMARIM.

[1] Robes of state seem to have been of white as well as of purple (see below, § 15). Cp Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8 3, viii. 7 3, xix. 8 2; *BJ* ii. 1 1; see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 3 380 [*ET* 6 104].

whence the derivative שֵׂיבָה, *sēbhāh*, 'gray hair' (Gen. 42 38 44 29 31 Deut. 32 25 Hos. 7 9 Prov. 20 29) or 'old age' (Is. 46 4). In 𝔊 it is usually represented correctly by *πολιά* or *τὸ γῆρας*.

(*β*) Perhaps the most clearly distinguished of the natural colours, as being the colour of blood, was *red*, to express which the Hebrews commonly used the root אדם, *'ādham*. That it denoted a brilliant hue is evident from the fact that Isaiah uses the verb האדים in the sense of becoming like scarlet (תּוֹלָע, see below, § 14), and the Priestly Code speaks of skins dyed red (מְאָדָּם). The adjective אָדֹם, *'ādhōm*, is applied to blood in 2 K. 3 22, to blood-stained apparel in Is. 63 2; and verbal forms, to a blood-besmeared shield (מאדם) in Nah. 2 4 [3], and to wine (יתאדם) in Prov. 23 31. That the root, however, was also employed to describe other colours of a reddish hue is apparent from its use as applied to a heifer (Nu. 19 2) or a horse (Zech. 1 8), to a reddish-brown (אדמני, Gen. 25 25 1 S. 16 12;[1] cp Lam. 4 7, Cant. 5 10, and see GOLIATH, § 2, n.) skin, as well as to reddish or brownish-yellow lentils (Gen. 25 30).[2] The Priestly Code uses also a diminutive form (אדמדם) to express merely 'reddish,' applying it to the colour of the leprous spot (Lev. 13 19 24) or sore (Lev. 13 42 *f.*).

10. Red.

From the same root are derived the names Edom (אֱדֹם Gen. 25 30), Admah (אדמה Gen. 10 19), and Adummim (אדמים Josh. 15 7 18 17; see NAMES, § 102) as well as the precious stone called אֹדֶם (see RUBY and PRECIOUS STONES). To אָדֹם *'ādhōm*, corresponds *πυρρός* (lit. 'having the colour of fire') in 𝔊 and NT; and in Mt. 16 2 3 we find the verb *πυρράζειν* used of the sky.

Other roots, however, besides this are occasionally employed to designate this colour. Thus the root חָמֵץ, *ḥāmaṣ*, which usually conveys the idea of 'acidity, fermentation,' seems to be used in Is. 63 1 *to* denote a colour; and the context requires a blood- or wine-like appearance (cp Eng. sorrel, (1) from *sur=sour* and (2) from *saur*=reddish-brown). אמצים in Zech. 6 7 is also, from the context, possibly to be read חֲמֻצִּים (Che.); cp Ges.-Buhl, *s.v.* אמץ. The root חמר,[3] *ḥamar* 'to be red,' is traced by some in Ps. 75 9, and, with more justice, in Job 16 16 (Pŏ'al'al form). To this class we may also probably assign שָׂרֹק, *sārōḳ*, 'reddish-brown' (cp Ar. *ašḳaru*, 'a sorrel-horse,' and Heb. שֹׂרֵק)—a term used in Zech. 1 8 of a horse.

(*γ*) The third natural colour term describes, those uncertain hues—colours which it has, in all ages, been found difficult to distinguish—that waver between blue, yellow, and green. In Hebrew the adjective employed (from ירק, 'to be pale,' cp Assyr. *arāḳu*, 'to grow pale' [of the face], *arḳu*, 'yellow,' and Aram. ܝܪܩ, 'to be pale') can be applied to the colour of vegetation (Job 39 8 2 K. 19 26 Is. 37 27); and a substantive יֶרֶק, *yereḳ*, derived from the same root denotes vegetable produce in general. As, moreover, the root idea of the word was originally, like that of *χλωρός* its Greek equivalent, merely *paleness* or faintness of colour, a derivative (יֵרָקוֹן) can be used to describe a panic-stricken countenance (Jer. 30 6) or the fading colour of decaying vegetation (Deut. 28 22 Amos 4 9 Hag. 2 17). Further, to express simply 'palish,' a diminutive form (ירקרק) can be used of plague spots (Lev. 13 49 14 37) or of the appearance of gold (Ps. 68 13).[4] On the word חָרוּץ, *ḥārūṣ* (√חרץ 'to be yellow?'; cp NAMES, § 66) which is applied to gold (Ps. 68 14, etc.) and seems to denote a shade of *yellow*, see GOLD.

11. Green hues.

(4) Variegated *surfaces.*—A few words occur which though their precise meaning is uncertain, undoubtedly denote a parti-coloured appearance of some kind: their employment being for the most part restricted to the description of animals. Of these the term rendered in AV by 'ringstraked' and applied to goats (עָקֹד, *'āḳōdh*, Gen. 30 35 39 *f.* 31 8 10 12), probably has reference to white stripes on an otherwise dark skin; that translated 'speckled' (נָקֹד, *nāḳōdh*, Gen. 30 32 *f.* 35 39 31 8 10 12) to light spots on a dark skin; and that represented by 'grisled' (בָּרֹד, *bārōdh*) and used of both goats (Gen. 31 10 12) and horses (Zech. 6 3 6) to light patches on a dark skin. The last word would, therefore, probably correspond to our *piebald.*

12. Variegated surfaces.

In Jer. 12 9 (RV) we meet with the phrase 'a speckled (צָבוּעַ) bird of prey.' The commentators have sought to justify and explain it; but it remains improbable.[1] A combination of different colours is expressed in Gen. 30 32 *ff.* by טָלוּא, *ṭālū'*, probably 'besprinkled,' 'flecked' (cp *sparsus*). The same term is used in Ezek. 16 16 of the dyed stuffs of many colours with which other peoples were wont to decorate their shrines.

(5) Pigments.—The Hebrews knew and made use of several pigments, three of which were derived from animals. These three dyes were all manufactured by the Phœnicians: the one 'scarlet' or 'crimson' (whence its Gr. name *φοινικοῦν* and Lat. *phœnicium*), from an insect (coccus) which gave its name to a species of oak on which it was found (*Ilex coccifera*); the other two from a slimy secretion found in a special gland of a species of shell-fish called *Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*. By infusing the insect (coccus) in boiling water a beautiful red dye was produced, superior in effect and durability to cochineal; the other dyes when applied to articles became at first of a whitish colour, but under the influence of sunlight changed to yellowish greenish and finally to purple, the purple being red or blue according to the species of shell-fish employed. These three colours were held in high estimation by the ancients on account of both their brilliancy and their costliness. The purple-blue is translated 'blue' in the EV, but must have corresponded rather to our *violet*, by which it is once rendered in the AV (Esth. 1 6 and in the margin 8 15).

13. Pigments.

The Hebrews knew no blue colour with which to compare it, and hence it is said in *Berachoth* 1 2 that 'purple-blue is like the sea, and the sea is like the plants, and the plants are like the firmament of heaven' (see also *Menach.* 4, and cp Del. in *PRE*(2) iv. 488, *Iris*, 18 *f.*, and the articles PURPLE, SCARLET, BLUE, CRIMSON).

(*a*) To designate the first of the dyes mentioned above, the Hebrews sometimes used simply תּוֹלָע, *tōlā'*, 'worm,' just as we speak of crimson (fr. Arab. *ḳirmiz*=Sansk: *krimi*) and cochineal (really a term denoting the insect *Coccus cacti* found in Mexico). Thus it is used in Is. 1 18 as the most natural example of a glaring and indelible dye, and in Lam. 4 5 (where 𝔊^BQ gives the simple term *κόκκος*, 'berry' [A, *κόλπων*], the insect being regarded in early times as a species of berry) of princely raiment It even occurs as a verbal derivative (מְתֻלָּעִים, Nah. 2 3 [4]; 𝔊 *ἐμπαίζοντας*) with the meaning 'to be clothed in scarlet' (see, however, DRESS, § 3, n.). More often, however, the form תּוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ath*, is found with the addition, either before or after it, of the word שָׁנִי, *šānī*—a word which has been derived from the root שָׁנָה, *šānāh* (cp Assyr. *šinîtu*, possibly fr. *šanû*), supposed to mean 'to glitter,' and is thought to refer to the brilliant colour derived from the תּוֹלָע. In this form it is mentioned as a costly possession (Ex. 35 23), and as being, therefore, suitable for an offering (Ex. 25 4 35 6 Lev. 14 4 [ת״ שְׁנִי] 6 49 51 52 [שְׁנִי הַתּ״] Nu. 19 6 [שְׁנִי ת״]), for the hangings (Ex. 26 36

14. Scarlet.

[1] Che., אדמני עִם; cp Lam. 4 7 (*Exp. T.*, Aug. 1899). If however, 1 S. 16 12 refers, not to David's complexion, but to the colour of his hair, the word will then mean 'reddish.'

[2] Unless we point הָאֱדֹם (see ESAU, § 1).

[3] From this root some derive חֵמָר, *ḥēmār*, 'asphalt,' חֹמֶר, *ḥōmer* 'clay,' יַחְמוּר, *yaḥmūr*, 'roebuck.'

[4] Cp ME-JARKON (a doubtful place-name in Josh. 19 46).

[1] 𝔊 *σπήλαιον ὑαίνης* (BNQ; but *ληστῶν* [A]). צָבוּעַ seems to be an old word for hyaena (see ZEBOIM). *σπήλ.*=מערת, which may have been miswritten מרעת, out of which we may deduce a false reading טְרֵפָה (see Siegf.-Sta., *s.v.* עיט).

27663637 38 18), for the ephod (Ex. 28 5 6 39 2 8), for the priests' girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 5 29), for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), and for the embroidered. pomegranates (Ex. 28 33 39 24), etc. In Ecclus. 45 11, also, it is used of some kind of embroidered work (Gr. κεκλωσμένη κόκκῳ; vet. Lat. *torto cocco*). A thread of this colour—expressed by *šānī* alone—was commonly used in the times of the Jahvist as a mark (Gen. 38 28 30; Josh. 2 21, JE), and the single term is employed in two poetical passages (2 S. 1 24, where the maidens of Israel are called upon to lament Saul, who used to clothe them in scarlet; and Ca. 4 3) as equivalent to the longer expression. In the acrostic on the 'Capable Woman' the same word is used in the plural (שָׁנִים, *šānīm*[1]) to describe the warm clothing provided against the cold of winter (Prov. 31 21), and in Is. 1 18 to denote probably scarlet-stuff as distinguished from the dye itself (תּוֹלָע). As a substitute for these expressions we find the Chronicler using a word כַּרְמִיל, *karmīl* (2 Ch. 2 7 14 3 14, cp Ex. 36 35), derived from the Persian (*kirm*, 'a worm,' see CRIMSON, and cp above). In 𝔊 κόκκινος is chosen to represent all these expressions, and there can be no doubt that where the same word occurs in the NT it. denotes this dye (Mt. 27 28 Heb. 9 19 Rev. 17 3 4 18 12 16).

Later OT writers knew of another pigment of a like shade of colour, called שָׁשַׁר, *šāšēr* (EV 'vermilion')—perhaps oxide of lead (cp 𝔊 μίλτος and see Riehm, *HWB* 'Mennig'). It was used for painting ceilings (Jer. 22 14, 𝔊 μίλτος) and images (Ezek. 23 14, 𝔊 γραφίς).

(β) The Purple-blue (תְּכֵלֶת, *tĕkhēleth*, Assyr. *ta-kil-tu*) and Purple-red (אַרְגָּמָן, *'argāmān*, Bib. Aram. ארגון,

15. Purples. Assyr. *argamannu*) dyed stuffs also figure largely in the decoration of the Tabernacle and the priestly robes; but they can hardly have been known as early as the scarlet (cp CANTICLES, § 15), their employment being characteristic of P and later writers. They also can be used for an offering (Ex. 35 4 35 6), as being a valuable possession (Ex. 35 23), as well as for the curtains (Ex. 26 1 36 8), for the veil (Ex. 26 31 36 35). for the hangings (Ex. 26 36 27 16 36 37 38 18), for the priest's ephod (Ex. 28 6 39 2), for the girdle (Ex. 28 8 39 5 29), and for the breastplate (Ex. 28 15 39 8), etc. A late prophet knows both colours as part of the splendour of heathen worship (Jer. 10 9). It seems natural also to another late writer to assume that the Midianitish chiefs would wear robes of purple-red (Judg. 8 26); and Ezekiel tells how the robes of purple-blue worn by the Assyrians had struck the imagination of the women of Israel (23 6), whilst he also knows (27 7) of purple-blue and purple-red from ELISHAH (*q.v.*). In Ecclus., too, both dyes are mentioned (45 10) as occupying a prominent place in the raiment of Moses, and in 6 30 ribbons of purple-blue are said to form part of the adornment of Wisdom. On the defeat of Gorgias dyed stuffs of both colours were taken by Judas Maccabæus among the spoil (1 Macc. 4 23). Of the two purples red seems to have been preferred. Solomon's 'seat of purple' (Cant. 3 10) is perhaps due to error (see PURPLE); but purple robes of office were common. Judas was struck by the fact that the Romans, notwithstanding their power and riches, were not clothed in purple (1 Macc. 8 14). When, however, Alexander appoints Jonathan high priest, he sends him a purple-red robe (10 20 62 64 [KV]); so likewise Antiochus when he confirms him in the office (11 58). On the other hand, when the treachery of Andronicus is discovered, he is at once deprived of the purple robe (2 Macc. 4 38). Similarly in the NT in Mt. 27 28 (χλαμὺς κοκκίνη) Mk. 15 17 (πορφύρα) and Jn. 19 2 (ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν), the red-purple robe is used as a mock image of majesty; while in Lk. 16 19 (πορφύρα) it is one of the characteristics of a rich man. In Rev. 17 4 (πορφυροῦν καὶ κόκκινον) it is part of the attire of the great harlot, and in 18 12 (πορφύρας) is referred to as valuable merchandise (cp also *v.* 16 πορφυροῦν). It is also worthy of note that one of Paul's converts made her living by selling this dye (πορφυρόπωλις, Acts 16 14). In Cant. 7 6 the hair of the bride seems to be compared with purple (ארגמן), and Greek parallels for this are quoted. The comparison, however, can hardly be trusted, for ודלת ראשך כארגמן מלך is a dittogram of ראשך עליך ככרמל which precedes. Each form of the clause seems to be more correct in one half than the other. Read, perhaps, with Cheyne 'The locks of thy head are like Carmel (ככרמל); they are pleasant (נעמה) as an orchard of pomegranates' (see GALLERY, 2). נמן in כארגמן is plainly some word which should follow ככרמל; probably נעמה (written נעמ׳, and corrupted נמן; cp HAIR, § 1). In the Gr. תְּכֵלֶת is commonly represented by ὑάκινθος and ὑακίνθινος,[1] and ארגמן by πορφυρός in both OT and NT (see Rev. 9 17 21 20).

(6) *Objects*.—The words included under this heading denote objects of which a particular shade of colour

16. Object names. was Characteristic. Thus בּוּץ, *būṣ* (2 Ch. 5 12, 𝔊 βύσσινος) was the fine cotton or linen manufactured by the Egyptians, and called elsewhere (Ex. 26 1 Gen. 41 42, etc.) שֵׁשׁ, *šēš* (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 448, and the articles EGYPT, § 35, COTTON, and LINEN). חור, *ḥūr*, in Esth. 1 6 probably means 'white-stuff' (whence חורי in Is. 19 9), and כַּרְפַּס (Pers. *kārpas*) 'white cotton.' Three more rare words occur in the same verse which have been thought to denote different species of valuable stone or plaster: שֵׁשׁ, *šēš*, (also in Ca. 5 15) which has been supposed to be identical with שַׁיִשׁ, *šayiš* (1 Ch. 29 2), and to mean 'white marble' or 'alabaster'; בַּהַט, *bahaṭ* (𝔊BNא σμαραγδίτης, 𝔊A σμάραγδος) denoting perhaps 'porphyry' (so BDB; EV 'red marble,' RVmg. 'porphyry'); דַּר, *dar*, meaning possibly 'pearl' or 'pearl-like stone'; 𝔊 πίννινος λίθος); and סֹחֶרֶת (*sōḥereth* EV 'black marble,' RVmg. 'stone of blue colour'), which has been derived from סחר = שחר, and taken to mean 'black marble' (see, however, MARBLE).

Lastly it remains to notice a few passages in which the EV unnecessarily implies a reference to colour.

17. Ambiguities of EV. Thus the colour 'green' is sometimes used in the EV to represent words denoting not colour but a healthy and flourishing condition. Of such words רענן, *ra'ănān*, which means rather 'luxuriant,' is correctly translated in 𝔊 by various words expressive of *luxuriance* (δασύς Dt. 12 2 Is. 57 5; σύσκιος 3 K. 14 23 Ca. 1 16 Ez. 6 13; ἀλσώδης 4 K. 16 4 17 10 2 Ch. 28 4 Jer. 3 6 13 17 8 Ez. 27 6). Very similar is the use of לַח, *laḥ*, 'fresh, moist' (χλωρός Gen. 30 37 Ez. 17 24 20 47 [21 3]; ὑγρός Judg. 16 7 8) and רטב, *rāṭōbh* 'juicy' (ὑγρός Job 8 16). Again אָבִיב, *'ābhībh*, denotes 'fresh, juicy ears of corn' (Lev. 2 14), and אב, *ēbh*, can be used of 'fresh young plants' (Job 8 12 Cant. 6 11); whilst פַּגִּים, *paggīm*, seems to denote tender young fruits (Ca. 2 13, see Del. *ad loc.*), and כַּרְמֶל, *karmel*, (Lev. 23 14) applies to 'garden fruit' in general.

To this category belong also such compound expressions as נְאוֹת דֶּשֶׁא 'grassy pastures' (Ps. 23 2) and צִמְחֵי שָׂדֶה 'sprouts of the field' (Ecclus. 40 22). In all these cases the term 'green,' used in AV, might indeed serve as a paraphrase; but it is otherwise with the following examples:—In Job 6 6 the word רִיר translated 'white' (of an egg) is thought by many to mean 'the juice of purslain' (so RVmg. 𝔊 ῥήμασιν κενοῖς but see FOWL). but whichever interpretation be adopted it will be admitted that the Hebrew word contains no idea of colour. Similarly חֶמֶר, the reading adopted by EV in Is. 27 2 (AV 'red wine,' RV 'wine') instead of חֶמֶד (RVmg. 'a pleasant vineyard'; see *SBOT*), means really 'foaming wine' (Driver on Dt. 32 14); and

[1] 𝔊 διστάς (*v.* 22) however suggests שְׁנַיִם 'double.' So Vg. Schleusner, Gra., Che.

[1] 𝔊 also gives ὑακίνθινος for תַּחַשׁ (Ex. 25 5 26 14 35 7 23, etc.), taking it as the equivalent of תְּכֵלֶת.

סוּף in the expression יַם־סוּף (Ex. 10 19, etc., Wisd. 10 18 θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν), meaning 'reed,' contains no reference to colour. Moreover, in the expressions אִישׁוֹן לַיְלָה (AV 'black night,' RV 'blackness of night') in Pr. 7 9 and פָּארוּר (AV 'blackness') in Joel 2 6 Nah. 2 10 the English renderings are purely paraphrastic. In the same way the long robe (perhaps white with a blue border) worn by Joseph (Gen. 37 3) and by Tamar (2 S. 13 18) is transformed in the EV into 'a coat of many colours.' In Pr. 20 30 (חַבֻּרוֹת AV 'blueness') and Ecclus. 23 10 (μώλωψ AV 'blue mark') the words mean literally 'bruise.'

Literature.—Riehm, *HWB* 'Farben,' 1 436; Benzinger, *Arch.* 269 *f.* 'Farben-namen'; Nowack, *HA* 263 *f.* 'Malerei'; Del., *Iris*, and 'Farben' in *PRE* (2); Perrot and Chipiez (W. Armstrong), *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judæa, Syria, and Asia Minor*, 1 109-370; and, since the above was written, an article by G. W. Thatcher in Hastings' *DB*. M. A. C.

COMFORTER (παρακλητος [Ti. WH]), Jn. 14 16. See PARACLETE.

COMMENTARY (מִדְרָשׁ), 2 Ch. 13 22 RV, AVmg. See CHRONICLES, § 6 [2]; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14.

COMMERCE. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

COMMON. The negatives of the qualities 'clean,' 'holy' (see CLEAN, § 1) are—

1. 'Common,' a synonym for 'unclean' (see CLEAN), constantly in RV for חֹל, *ḥōl* (properly, 'that which is open,' Baudissin *Studien*, 2 23). AV, however, only twice renders *ḥōl* thus (1 S. 21 4 *f.*); elsewhere it has 'unholy' (Lev. 10 10) or 'profane' (Ezek. 22 26 42 20 44 23 48 15). In NT, the RV is less strict with κοινός, which is almost indifferently rendered 'common,' 'unclean,' 'unholy,' 'defiled,' 'polluted.' So in 1 Macc. 1 47 62, RV (with AV) gives 'unclean' for κοινός. No injury is done to the sense; cp Acts 10 15, 'what God hath cleansed (=pronounced clean) that call not thou common'; *w.* 11 'common and unclean.' That which is 'common' is free, or at any rate is treated as if free, from ceremonial restrictions; it can be used in the common life—the life of the עַם הָאָרֶץ, the unintelligent 'people of the land' (ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον, Jn. 7 49). And those who use what is only treated as if 'common' or open, when it has no right to be so treated, become 'common'—*i.e.*, unclean—themselves. 'Common,' therefore, becomes a wide term, dangerously wide from a truly religious point of view. What an irony in the evangelist's expression 'with common (EV defiled), that is, unwashed hands'!

2. 'Unclean,' the strict rendering of ἀκάθαρτος in NT, of טָמֵא, *ṭāmē'*, in OT (𝔊 ἀκάθαρτος). Both 'common' and 'unclean' can be used (1) of forbidden foods or of animals which may not be eaten (Acts 10 14 11 8 Rev. 18 2). (2) Of persons who are not Jews, or who do not belong to the Christian community (Acts 10 28 1 Cor. 7 14 2 Cor. 6 17; cp κοινόω, Mk. 7 15 and parallels, Heb. 9 13 Rev. 21 27 [RT and RV]).

3. 'Unholy,' given in AV of Lev. 10 10 (*ḥōl*) becomes 'common' in RV. In Ezek. 22 26 42 20 44 23 (same formula), AV renders *ḥōl*, 'profane.' The influence of 𝔊 and Vg. may be suspected; these versions respectively give βέβηλον, *profanum*, so also in Ezek. 48 15, AV profane, Vg. *profana*. 'Profane' is best reserved, however, for other Heb. words (see PROFANE). RV of NT retains 'unholy' in 1 Tim. 1 9 2 Tim. 3 2 (ἀνόσιος), Heb. 10 29 (κοινός).

4. On the peculiar technical term חָנֵף, 'to be polluted,' see HYPOCRISY.

COMMUNITY OF **GOODS**, in the widest sense of that expression, is usually considered (on the authority of Acts 2 42-47 4 32-5 11 6 1-6) to have been one of the established institutions of the earliest Christian society at Jerusalem. This opinion requires strict limitation; but that limitation is not to be based, as it has been, either on the intrinsic improbability of the institution itself, or on a vague conjecture that the writer of Acts has idealised the facts. It arises from an investigation of the sources of his narrative (cp ACTS, § 11)—a method which has to record one of its most assured results in connection with the subject of the present article.

1. Three accounts in Acts.

We have in Acts not one account of the institution but three. (*a*) One account comprehensively records the sale of all lands and houses (χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν: Acts 4 34 *f.*); according to 2 45 the sale was of all possessions and goods whatsoever (τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις), a common fund being thus formed, out of which all were supplied according as any man had need: (*b*) According to another account, the sale of property (κτῆμα, 5 1 χωρίον, 5 3) cannot have been universally prescribed, or even generally customary; for Peter (5 4) expressly declares that Ananias was free to retain in his private possession either his property or the money for which it was sold. Moreover, although there is no hint of there being anything to mark out the act of Barnabas (4 36 *f.*) from the universal practice assumed in (a)—such as that the estate was his only one, or was particularly valuable—it is thought worthy of special honourable mention. In 4 36 *f.*, therefore, it is not assumed, as it is in 4 34 *f.*, that the sale of property was expected of all. (*c*) In 4 32, however, where we find 'said' (ἔλεγεν) and not some word implying 'retained as private property,' there is no idea of any sale of property at all. The idea simply is that the owners placed their property in a general way at the disposal of the community at large. There is no assumption of a common fund.

2. Possibly a fourth account.

(*d*) A fourth account may possibly be distinguished in Acts 2 44.

The statement in 2 44 *b*—that they had all things common—by itself alone agrees well enough with the last-mentioned and simplest account of the institution (that there was no actual sale), and 2 44 *a*, which declares that all that believed were together in one place,[1] might by itself be taken, like 1 15 2 1 1 Cor. 11 20 14 23, to refer merely to the exigencies of social worship;[2] but the connection of the clause with the statement that follows (that they had all things in common) appears to imply that the entire community lived in common, dwelling in the same house and having common meals.

This inference, however, may safely be set aside, as it may well be doubted whether the collocation in Acts 2 44 has not arisen from the author's having inadvertently combined two heterogeneous ideas without perceiving the possible misleading effect.

A social institution of the nature indicated would scarcely have been practicable in a community of 120 persons (Acts 1 15)—much less in one of 3000 (2 41) or more (2 47). The other statements in Acts do not preclude the supposition that the meals, even love-feasts and the observance of the Lord's Supper associated with them, were held in different houses at the same time. Κατ' οἶκον (AV 'from house to house,' AVmg. and RV 'at home') in 2 46 (cp 5 42) need not be intended to convey that the whole community assembled on one occasion in one house and on another occasion in another; it may have a distributive meaning like κατὰ πόλιν ('in every city') in 15 21 (and κατ' οἴκους, that is 'in every house,' in 20 20). In Rom. 16 5 14 *f.* we find several household churches in the same city; cp also 1 Cor. 16 19 Col. 4 15. The complaint about the neglect of certain widows in the daily ministration (Acts 6 1), which the word καθημερινῇ proves to have referred to their sustenance, could not have arisen if there had been common meals (although indeed the expression 'tables' [τραπέζαις] might seem to point to these). It could have arisen only if the widows' share of provisions was brought to their houses.

3. Acts 5 2.

A misrepresentation of the original idea, similar to that which, as has just been shown, may be present in 2 44, is unquestionably to be found in 5 2 *f.* The writer of this verse held Ananias to have sinned in keeping back part of the money obtained by selling his estate. The duplicity with which Peter charges him does not consist in his having, when questioned, passed off as the whole a part of the money thus obtained. It is only Sapphira (5 8) who does this. Ananias, according to 5 2 *f.*, has already committed the crime of keeping back some of the money before he could be questioned by Peter. This cannot possibly be reconciled with Peter's declaration in 5 4, that Ananias had a perfect right to retain the whole. Notwithstanding that plain declaration, the author must have had before his mind, in writing 5 2 *f.*, the stricter view that it was an absolute duty to sell all the property and to hand over the whole of the money.

4. Acts 4 32-5 11 not coherent.

The hypothesis that the narratives are based on various sources receives material support from the impossibility of discovering any real coherence within the passages themselves.

Acts 4 33 treats of a subject quite different from the matters

[1] This will also be the sense if we accept the reading of **WH**, which omits ἦσαν and the following καί; they are retained in their marginal rending.

[2] ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in the NT always refers to place; AV 'into one place.'

dealt with in the preceding and the following verses. Nor can 4 34 he connected with 432. It could be connected with it only if the absence of poor persons were the reason (γάρ) why all property was common (*v.* 32) instead of being the result of the community of goods. Further, according to 4 34 *f.*, the absence of poor is due not to community of goods, but to the sale of all property in land and houses and the establishment of a common fund, whereas, in 4 36-5 11 again, the sale of any property appears as a voluntary act of certain individuals. In like manner 2 42 is so definitely repeated in 246 that the narrative can hardly he an independent composition. It must be a compilation. Even more marked is the repetition of the first clause of 2 43, ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος, in the third, φόβος τε ἦν μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας. But even if this last clause he omitted, with WH (though it is difficult to explain how it could have arisen as a variant to the first clause), 244, with the reading καὶ πάντες Si, cannot be connected with what precedes. The opening, 'but also all that believed (were) together,' implies that others were together as well. The omission of the καί sanctioned by WH is clearly an attempt to remove the difficulty.

An attempt to prove that all these passages have been compiled by an editor from various sources, could be based only on an examination of the whole book. Such proof is not needful to our present purpose. It will be sufficient to have shown that the book presents three different views on the subject of community of goods.

If it be asked which of the three is the most likely to be the true view, it will be safe to answer that, if any one is to be preferred, it is that which is simplest (§ 1 *c*). An account of any institution of the kind. clothed with the glamour of the ideal, is sure to have been exaggerated by writers with incomplete information.

5. Which the most trust-worthy.

It is certain, however, that the general idea of community of goods was not strange to the primitive Christian society.[1]

It is indicated in such sayings of Jesus as those recorded in Mt. 6 19 *f.* 10919 21-24, and in such information ahout his own life as we find in Lk. 83. Besides, we know there was a distinctly Ehionite tendency which applied a literal ,interpretation to the blessings pronounced on the poor and hungry (Lk. 6 20 *f.* 24 *f.*), and saw the path of salvation in giving away all property in alms (Lk. 6 34 *f.* 1141 12213316 9). It is not certain indeed that this Ebionite tendency was dominant in the period immediately following the death of Jesus. (The passages cited were taken up by the Third Evangelist from a document which itself rests upon an older written collection of sayings of Jesus. This is proved by the remodelled words in Lk. 6 20-26, which, not having any reference to the disposition of the persons addressed, certainly did not come in their present form from the lips of Jesus. Besides, what is here recommended is not so much community of goods as almsgiving.) The epistles of Paul, which are our most trustworthy authority, only show that in his time (20-30 years after the death of Jesus), the community at Jerusalem was poor, or, at least, contained a good many poor members, and stood in need of assistance from the Gentile-Christian churches (& τοὺς ἁγίους, 1 Cor. 16 1 2 Cor. 8 4 9 1 ; but τῶν πτωχῶν alone, Gal. 2 10 ; εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων, Rom. 15 26).

The Gospels prove that many poor people had already attached themselves to Jesus in his lifetime. An active care for these, and consequently a more or less organised διακονία, must be assumed in the original church at Jerusalem. We may well suppose that, in as far as this ministration took the form of a community of goods, it led, according to the usual lesson taught by other attempts of the kind, to the increase of poverty. It may, moreover, be conjectured that in the earliest Christian times the institution of community of goods increased the tendency to forego the pursuit of wealth, which, even without that institution, was occasioned, according to 1 Thess. 4 11-18 2 Thess. 2 1 *f.* 36-13. by the belief that the end of the world was near at hand and by the unrest to which this belief gave rise. We may suppose that wealthy members of the community in Jerusalem allowed their property to become available for the use of poor brethren ; and this does not preclude the belief that of their own free will certain persons, such as Barnabas and Ananias. went further and sold their belongings for the benefit of the community.

Still, it is certainly not true that communism was prescribed as obligatory.

The uncertainty of the subject is shown also by Acts 6 1-6. It would be very remarkable if there were no necessitous persons whose support could be neglected hut widows. The phrase seems to be due to a usage of the author's own (comparatively late) period, in which, according to 1 Tim. 5 3-16, the 'widows had an official position in the community. It is strange also that, although the mention of the names of the seven men appointed to 'serve tables' (διακονεῖν τραπέζαις) points to a genuine tradition, their function—they are nowhere styled διάκονοι—is never referred to afterwards (they are not to he identified with the πρεσβύτεροι of 11 30), and that only the Hellenists had to complain of the neglect of their widows. Just as in Acts 1536-39 a less serious dispute is narrated in place of one that had more important issues (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM., § 3), so here, at the bottom of the narrative before us, there really lies, we may conjecture, some dissension occasioned by different conceptions of Christianity entertained by the natives of Palestine and by the Christian Jews who had come in from abroad.

In any case, the community of goods did not last long, though the view that it came to an end when the society was dispersed by the persecution (Acts 8 1-4) is no more than a conjecture.

The subsequent influence of the idealised picture in Acts is very noteworthy. In the exhortation *to* works of charity in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (19 8), and similarly in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (4 8), the statement of Acts 4 32 is-repeated as a command : 'Say not, "It is private property"' (οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι). Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 13, states that the Christians supported those in need from a common fund (ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ), and ridicules the credulity with which they allowed themselves to be cheated by impostors in so doing. The influence of the same ideal on the monastic life is obvious. P. W. S.

6. Subsequent influence of the idea.

COMPASS. For מְחוּגָה, *mᵉḥūgāh* (περιγώνια [Q mg. ?] BℵAQΓ om.), RV COMPASSES, Is. 44 13,† cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2. For כַּרְכֹּב, *karkōbh*, Ex. 27 5 38 4†, AV 'ledge,' see ALTAR, § 9 *(a)*.

CONANIAH (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ, Kt., כָּנַנְיָהוּ, Ḳr., but according to Baer in 2 Ch. 31 13 כָּנַנְיָהוּ ; cp CHENANIAH, כְּנַנְיָהוּ ; § 31 ; 'God hath established,' χωΝΕΝΙΑϹ [BL]).

1. Chief of the temple overseers, temp. Hezekiah, in conjunction with his brother Shimei, according to the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 31 12 *f.* (AV CONONIAH) (Χωχενιας [A], -ωμεν. [B *v.* 12]).

2. A 'chief of the Levites' (Ch.) or 'captain over thousands' (1 Esd.), temp. Josiah ; 2 Ch. 35 9 (χωνενιας [A*],-ωχεν. [A ?])= 1 Esd. 1 9 (ιεχονιας [BA], βαναιας [L]; EV JECONIAS).

CONCUBINE (פִּילֶגֶשׁ, Gen. 22 24 ; Bibl. Aram. לְחֵנָה, Dan. 5 2). See MARRIAGE, § 5, FAMILY, § 5 *a*, and SLAVERY.

CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS. In a country where the rain-supply is small and irregular, which possesses scarcely more than one perennial stream (נַחַל אֵיתָן ; cp Am. 5 24), and is not rich in springs, the preservation of water in cisterns and reservoirs, and the employment of trenches or conduits to convey it to the place where it was most needed, must have been of paramount importance. Hence the indispensability of rain and the trust placed in the continuance of its supply form the basis of some of the best-known and most beautiful metaphors in OT.

Leaving to the article SPRINGS [*q.v.*] what needs to be said upon the *natural* supply of water, we propose here to notice the *artificial* means by which it was stored and conveyed.

The ordinary method of preserving water was to dig (חפר, כרה) or hew (חצב) out of the living rock a reservoir, varying in size from a small pit to an extensive subterranean vault lined with masonry. Such cisterns go back to pre-Israelite times (Dt. 6 11 Neh. 9 25). To dig them was the work of a benefactor and deserving of special mention (*e.g.*, 2 Ch. 26 10), and the opening ceremony, on one occasion at least, becomes the subject of a song (see BEER).

1. Cisterns.

The ordinary Heb. term is

1. בּוֹר, *bōr* (for variant forms cp *BDB* s.v. ; λάκκος [BAL]),

[1] We can here only mention the possible influence of Essenism. See ESSENES, § 3.

properly an artificial excavation, and thus distinct from בְּאֵר *beēr*, a natural well (*see* SPRINGS). When dry the *bōr* is a pit (cp Gen. 37 20) which can be used as a prison (Jer. 38 6 Gen. 40 15, etc.; cp בית הבור Ex. 12 29). In poetical language *bōr* is applied to the pit of the grave (Pr. 28 17) or to Shĕōl (Ps. 30 3 [4]). In only two cases does *bōr* occur as part of a place-name : *see* BOR-ASHAN, SIRAH.

Other terms are :—

2. גֶּבֶא *gébe'* (cp Ar. *jābiyatun* 'watering trough'), Is. 30 14 (AV 'pit'; in Ezek. 47 11† EV 'marish' [morass]), and

3. גֵּבִים, Jer. 14 3 2 K. 3 16 (AV 'ditch,' RV 'trench'), perhaps used for purposes of irrigation (cp 2 K. 25 12 = Jer. 52 16, 39 10 after Klo.); see AGRICULTURE, § 5.

4. בְּרֵכָה, *berēkhāh* (κρήνη, κολυμβήθρα) is used of an *artificial* pool, Eccl. 2 6 (with עשה), but elsewhere appears to refer to *natural* springs. Several pools were found in and around Jerusalem (cp below, and see JERUSALEM), also in Gibeon (2 S. 2 13), Hebron (*ib.* 4 12), and Samaria (1 K. 22 38); for Cant. 7 4 [5], see BATH-RABBIM.

5. מִקְוָה, *mikwāh*, Is. 22 11, AV 'ditch,' RV 'reservoir.'

It was of the utmost importance that citadels should be well supplied with tanks for collecting the rain-water (so at Masada and Machærus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 14 6, *BJ* vii. 6 2, ἐκδοχεῖον). A cistern in the temple is mentioned in Ecclus. 50 3 (ἀποδοχεῖον) : cp below, and see SEA, BRAZEN. In the towns it seems to have been customary for every house to possess a cistern[1] (cp 2 K. 18 31 Prov. 5 15). The best example of this is found in Mesha's stele (*ll.* 24 *f.*); 'there was no cistern (בר) in the midst of the city in amp, and I said to all the people, "Make ye every man a cistern in the midst of his house."' The same king records that he made כלאי האש[וח למ]ין, 'the locks or dams of the reservoirs[2] for water'; but whether המכרתת (the cutting[s] *l.* 25) which Mesha made with the help of his Israelite prisoners was a conduit which fed these reservoirs is uncertain. The view is not improbable, however, since the art of forming channels to convey water was common to all the Semitic races and was not due to foreign influence.

2. Conduits. Remains of conduits (תְּעָלָה, ὑδραγωγός [BAQL], *aquæductus*[3]), connected as a rule with pools, are to be found in many places in Palestine; they are usually mere trenches running along the surface of the ground, subterranean channels being somewhat rarer. Certain of the rock-cut channels and cisterns in Jerusalem (as well as the Siloam conduit) may be pre-exilic; in many cases, however, they have been enlarged or repaired to such an extent as to make it extremely difficult to tell to what period they belong.

3. Pools of Solomon. Jerusalem was well supplied with water. Perhaps the most important of its supplies was that which came from the so-called Pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem ($13\frac{1}{2}$ m. distant). These pools (situated close by the *Kal'at el-Burak*) are near 'Aṭān and Arṭās, and must have been devised for a more important work than that of merely irrigating gardens[4] (Eccles. 2 6 Ecclus. 24 30 *f.*, see BATH-RABBIM). There are three of them, partly hewn and partly enclosed by masonry. The lowest seems to have been used at one time as an amphithentre for naval displays.

The pools are fed by two large conduits. The one, after cutting through the valley of 'Aṭān (Etam) by a tunnel, runs through the Wady Dēr el-Benāt, along the Wādy el-Biār (Valley of Springs), and ultimately enters the Bir el-Derej (Spring of Steps). The other is much longer and full of windings. Starting from a large reservoir, the Birket el-'Arrūb (now converted into a garden), it leaves the Wādy of the same name, and after crossing the plateau of Teḳū' flows into the middle pool. Conduits connect also the Sealed Spring (mod. *'Ain Ṣāliḥ*), identified by a modern tradition with the גַּן נָעוּל in Cant. 4 12, and the 'Ain 'Aṭān[1] with this water-system.

From the Pools of Solomon the water is led into the city by two conduits. The higher goes along the N. slope of the valley of Burak, descending near Rachel's tomb and rising again. (A syphon was used and remnants of the pipes may still be seen.) It then proceeds towards the hill of Ṭanṭūr and the W. er-Rabābi (see HINNOM, VALLEY OF). It is partly rock-hewn and partly made of masonry. The lower conduit (still complete) goes with many windings from the lowest pool, E. along the slope of the valley, and then W. above Arṭās. One arm of the conduit was connected (probably under Herod's government) with the spring of Arṭās and ran to the Frank mountain. The main arm passes Bethlehem and Rachel's tomb on the *S.*, proceeding sometimes above ground in a channel about 1 ft. square, and sometimes underground in earthen pipes. It then crosses the Hinnom valley by a bridge of nine low arches and meets the other conduit hard by the Birket es-Sulṭān. It finally runs SE. and E. along the valley over the causeway, under the Bāb es-Silseleh (Chain-gate), and supplies the 'Elkas' and the king's cistern in the Ḥaram.[2] These conduits were repaired by the Sultan Mohammad ibn Kalaūn of Egypt about 1300 A.D. Their date is unknown. The upper conduit is more artificial, and probably the older. Some refer them to the golden age of Judah, and tradition (oral and Rabbinical) ascribes them to Solomon. It has also been pointed out that they exactly resemble the conduits which were made by the Arabs in Spain.[3]

4. The Siloam Conduit. The well-known Siloam conduit runs from the Virgin's Spring (*'Ain Sitti Maryam*) to the Pool of Siloam (see JERUSALEM). It runs underground in a circuitous course and is 586 yds. in length[4] (the direct distance between the two pools is 368 yds.). At its lower end it has a height of 16 ft.; but this gradually decreases to $3\frac{3}{4}$ ft., and then to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. This low part, however, is near the surface, and perhaps was originally an open channel. It is a dangerous conduit to explore, as the water is apt to enter unexpectedly and fill the passage. In various places false-cuttings and set-backs are found, indicating subsequent changes in the direction taken by the workmen. About 19 ft. from the Siloam end, on the right-hand side as one enters, is an artificial niche which contained a tablet bearing on its lower face an inscription.

5. Siloam Inscription. This was first observed in 1880, and was brought under the notice of Schick. The tablet was about 27 inches square, and its top only one yard above the bottom of the channel. The inscription, known as the Siloam inscription, is the oldest

1 As Robinson remarks (*BR* 1 480 *ff.*), 'the main dependence of Jerusalem at the present day is on its cisterns, and this has probably always been the case.'

2 The meaning is not certain : perhaps it is 'two reservoirs.'

3 The Heb. תְּעָלָה, *te'ālāh*, is used of ditches for irrigating trees (Ezek. 31 4 σύστεμα or σύστημα [BAQ]), of a trench round an altar (1 K. 18 32 35 38; in these passages θααλα [L] θάλασσα [BA]), and of conduits or aqueducts in the ordinary sense of the word (Job 38 25, ῥύσις [BℵA] Is. 7 3 [om. 𝔊BℵAQΓ] 2 K. 18 17 Is. 36 2 2 K. 20 20).

4 The name 'Solomon's Pools' is based solely upon Eccles. 2 6, and, notwithstanding the statement of Josephus, we have no evidence that the gardens of Solomon were situated in the *W. Arṭās* (= *hortus*, garden?); Baed.(3) 129 *f.*

1 In the Jer. Talmnd it is stated, moreover, that a conduit led from *'Aṭān* (Etam) to the temple (Jer. *Yoma*, iii. fol. 41; cp Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi*, chap. 23).

2 Many subterranean passages and structures have been found under the Haram. Cp Jos. *BJ* vi. 7 3 8 4 9 4, and Tacitus : 'Templum in mobum arcis . . . fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus' (*Hist.* 5 12). Many of these were for removing the water and blood of the sacrifices, or for flushing the blood-channels (cp *Yoma*, 5 6, *Pesachim* 2 2, *Me'ila*, 3 3, *Middoth*, 3 2).

3 Jos., indeed, speaks of a conduit which Pilate began to build, taking funds for the purpose from the temple treasury and thereby causing grave disturbances (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 2, *BJ* ii. 9 4), and in one place gives the length as 400 stadia—a measure which would suit the conduit which leads from the Wādy Arrūb. It is more probable, however, that Pilate simply repaired the existing conduits; his reign was so often disturbed by Jewish seditions that he could hardly have had time to carry out such an immense undertaking. See Schür. *GVI* 1 410, and cp Eus. *HE* ii. 6 6-7.

4 More precisely, 1757 ft. (Conder); but Warren gives 1708.

Hebrew inscription extant (cp Dr. *TBS* xv. *f.* [facsimile opposite], WRITING, § 4).

It runs as follows:—'(1) [Behold] the piercing through (הנקבה). Now this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet [the miners were lifting up] (2) the pick (גרזן) each towards his fellow, and whilst there were yet three cubits to be struck through, there was heard the voice of each man (3) calling to his fellow, for there was a fissure[1] in the rock on the right hand. . . . And on the day of the (4) piercing through, the hewers (החצבם) smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick; and there flowed (5) the water from the channel (מוצא)[2] to the pool (ברכה) 1200 cubits; and a hundred (6)[3] cubits was the height of the rock over the the head of the hewers.

The difference of level in the bed of the channel is so slight that one is led to suppose that the excavators had some kind of test. Shafts were made here and there, probably in order that the men might find out their whereabouts. The first shaft is 470 ft. from the Siloam end. After that the passage is straighter.

The conduit is the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was in its infancy. Its date is uncertain. It may be the one referred to in 2 K. 20 20 (= 2 Ch. 32 30);[4] but the allusion in Is. 8 6 to the 'waters of Shiloah that flow gently' suggests that it may have been in existence in the days of Ahaz.[5]

More or less parallel with this, but straighter, is a channel, evidently connected with the Birket el-Ḥamrā (Red-pool), which lay to the E. of the Siloam pool. It is older than the Siloam conduit (see Schick, *PEFQ*, Jan. 1891).

6. Other Conduits.

The conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field (2 K. 18 17) is identified by Wilson with the aqueduct which seems to have run over the Cotton Grotto to the convent of the Sisters of Zion.[6] Among other conduits may be noticed the one which connects the Citadel or Castle of David (el-Ḳalā'a) with the Birket Māmillā. It is possibly referred to in Jos. *BJ* v. 7 3, where mention is made of the 'gate where water was brought in to the tower of Hippicus' (the latter is usually identified with the NW. tower of the citadel).

For others, less important, see the memoirs of the *PEF*. Many remains of conduits, more or less well preserved, have been found in other parts of Palestine. It will be sufficient to mention the aqueduct at Jericho across the Wādy el-Ḳelt (see Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13 1. Schur. *GJV* 1 276); another on the road from Damascus to Palmyra, not far from Jerūd; the ḳanāt Fir'aun, which crosses the Wādy Zīda near *Der'āt* (Edrei); and the aqueduct conveying water from 'Ain eṭ-Ṭābigha (Perrot-Chip. *Art in Jud.* 1 330; *Baed.*(3) 291).

(See 'Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' *ZDPV* 1 132-176 (1878); Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.* 51 *ff.* 230 *f.*; Warren and Conder, *Jerusalem*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judæa*; Baed. *passim*, and the many notes and articles in the *PEF* publications). S. A. C.

CONEY (שָׁפָן, see SHAPHAN; χοιρογρυλλιος [BAFL] [Th. and many MSS of LXX have λαγωος in Ps. 104 18], Lev. 11 5 [in 𝔊^BAF, unless the order of the verses is accidentally reversed, שפן is translated δασύποδα] Dt. 14 7 Ps. 104 18 Pr. 30 26†) should rather be 'rock badger' (RV^mg.), the animal having been identified with certainty as *Hyrax syriacus*—called in Syriac *ḥăgāsā* and in Arabic *wabr*[7] (Rob. *LBR* 3 387, Tristram, *FFP* 1 *f.*).

[1] זדה, wholly unknown, is translated by Sayce (*RP*(2) 1 175) 'excess,' referring to a set-hack. For the illegible part in the middle of *l.* 3 he suggests 'and on the left.'

[2] מוצא, like Ass. *mūṣu*, seems to mean 'channel,' 'water-course'; cp *COT* 2 311 *ff.*

3 So most, reading מא[ת] אמה; bot the surface of the rock is here only about 10 ft. above the top of the tunnel whilst towards the N. it is 170 ft. This reading may represent the average thickness of the rock. Since, however, at the place of juncture (812-18 ft. from the back of the Virgin's fountain) there is a difference of height of just 13 inches, another reading מ[נ]ת אמה, 'a portion' [of a cubit], has been proposed (cp Sayce, *loc. cit.*).

[4] It is otherwise identified with the one whose remains running W. and E. were discovered during the digging of the foundations for the English church.

[5] So Stade, *GVI* 1 594.

[6] Jos. (*BJ* v. 4 2) places the Royal Caverns (Cotton Grotto) near the Fuller's Monument. See *Athenæum*, 6th Feb. 1875.

7 The name *thufun*, which is almost the same word as שָׁפָן, is stated by Fresnel (*JRAS*, 1838, p. 514) to have been found by him in use among the southern Arabs for the *jerboa*, an animal somewhat resembling the *hyrax*.

The origin of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain: it has been derived by Rodiger and others from a root meaning 'to hide,' akin to צפן. The rendering 'coney' (the probable meaning of the Targumic טפזא) is due to Jewish tradition; but the habits of the rabbit do not suit the references in Ps. 104 18 Pr. 30 26. Still less is to be said for 𝔊's rendering χοιρογρύλλιος—*i.e.*, hedgehog.[1]

The *shāphān* of OT is known to naturalists under the name of *Procavia (Hyrax) syriaca* (Schrb.). It is a member of the Hyracoidea, one of the most remarkable orders of the Mammalia.

The Syrian hyrax is about the size of a small rabbit, and has a superficial resemblance to that rodent. It is of a dull orange-brown or fawn colour, and has prominent incisor teeth, one pair in the upper jaw and two in the lower; the former, as in the rodents, grow throughout life, but instead of being chisel-shaped at their tip are pointed, and the teeth are triangular in section. As in the rodents, there is a wide gap between the incisor and the molar teeth. The zoological position of the order is obscure. Cuvier pointed out certain anatomical features which they share with the rhinoceros; but this relationship has not been universally accepted, and at present it is better to regard them as an isolated order. Palæontology has so far thrown no light on the subject. About fourteen species of hyrax are known, all of them from Africa, Arabia, and Syria. The *P.* (*Hyrax*) *syriaca*, like most of its congeners, lives in holes in rocky ground; usually many animals are found together, and they are very shy and easily frightened. When alarmed they utter a shrill cry and hastily retreat to their holes. According to Nassonow,[2] they are easily tamed. They eat green leaves, fruit, hay, etc. They are said to make a nest of grass and fur, and to bring forth from two or three to six—three seems the usual number—young at a time. The Arabs esteem them as food, though Canon Tristram found them 'rather dry and insipid.' N. Y.—A. E. S.

CONFECTION, CONFECTIONARIES (Ex. 30 25 35, AV; 1 S. 8 13, EV), old words meaning a composition (*confectio*), or mixture of drugs or dainties, and those who prepare such mixtures—*i.e.*, 'apothecaries'—respectively. RV correctly translates: 'a perfume (רֹקַח) after the art of the perfumer (רֹקֵחַ).' In 1 S. *l.c.* female perfumers are meant (רַקָּחוֹת, μυρεψοί, *unguentariæ*). It is the masc. pl. of the same word (רקחים) that is rendered 'apothecaries' in EV (RV^mg. 'perfumers') in Neh. 3 8 (ιωακειμ [Bℵ], ρωκεειμ [A], μυρεψοί [L], *pigmentarii*).

CONFESS, CONFESSION. The verb ידה in Hiph. and Hithp. means either to acknowledge aloud in ritual worship God's great and glorious attributes (=to praise him) or to make a solemn confession of sin.

1. The term.

The former meaning is far the commoner in Hiph., the latter in Hithp. (*a*) For הוֹדָה 'to confess,' see Ps. 32 5 Prov. 28 13†; (*b*) for הִתְוַדָּה 'to praise,' 2 Ch. 30 22† (RV 'making confession'). For the more usual senses, see (*a*) *Ps.* 7 17[18] 42 6 1 Ch. 16 8 34 and elsewhere, (*b*) Lev. 5 5 16 21 26 40 Nu. 5 7 Ezra 10 1 Neh. 1 6 9 2 *f.* Dan. 9 4 20. Note also that the noun תּוֹדָה, generally 'thanksgiving,' has in Josh. 7 19 Ezra 10 11 the sense of 'confession (of sin). 𝔊 renders the verb usually by ἐξομολογεῖν, ἐξομολόγησις, once by ὁμολογεῖν; it never renders the noun by ὁμολογία.

No doubt there is primitive Semitic symbolism in the choice of ידה to express the religious act of confession; but here, as elsewhere, we painfully feel the uncertainty of the subject (cp Lag. *Or.* 2 22). The root-meaning of the verb is 'to throw,' or perhaps (cp Ar. *wadā* and הָדָה, Is. 11 8) 'to extend.' Some peculiar gesture used in confession seems to be indicated (cp *BDB*, *s.v.* ידה). In 1 K. 8 38 'spreading forth the hands' is specified; but this was simply the ordinary gesture in prayer.

Individual confession of sin must be assumed to have been common, though references to it are scanty. Josh. 7 19 is a passage by itself: Achan is bound to confess, to 'give glory' thereby to the all-seeing God; but he is not forgiven. Prov. 28 13 (but not Ps. 32 5, where pious Israel speaks) extols the benefit of it. 1 K. 8 38 virtually refers to it. When God touches the heart or

2. Individual confession.

[1] That this and not *jerboa* (as supposed by Rödiger) is the meaning of the Greek word is made certain by the testimony of Suidas and Hesychius: *see* also Ducange, *s.v.*

[2] *Zool. Anz.* no. 490, 1895.

conscience of the sinner (נֶגַע לְבָבוֹ, 𝔊 ἀφὴν[1] καρδίας αὐτοῦ, but EV 'the plague of his own heart'), the sinner spreads forth his hands (see § 1) towards 'this house' and obtains forgiveness. It has been suggested that the liturgical formula להזכיר 'to bring to remembrance' (?) in the headings of Pss. 38 and 70 *f.* (viewed as a Single psalm) means that these psalms were to be used by a man confessing his sin at the offering of a special sacrifice ;[2] but the view is not very probable. After the destruction of the temple, the confession of sin by the high priest for the whole people having ceased, the duty had to be discharged by each Israelite for himself in the synagogue. Various formulae came into use, for which see the interesting conspectus in the article 'Sündenbekenntniss' in Hamburger's *REJ*, Abth. 2.

3. Liturgical confessions. (*α*) Of liturgical confession of sin there are three great examples : Neh. 9 Is. 637-6411[12] Dan. 9 (psalms like 51 may also be compared). Early formulae used by the high priest on the great fast have been preserved (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 7). See also the short general formula quoted by Weber (*Jüd. Theol.* 321), from Talm. Jer. *Yoma*, end. Such compositions belong to the class called וִדּוּי, *widdūi*.

(*β*) There were liturgical confessions of another kind —*Thanksgiving* confessions. A sacrifice of תודה (confession=thanksgiving) is one which is accompanied by a loud (because earnest) acknowledgment of God's gracious guidance (Ps. 107 22 ; cp Jer. 33 11, post-exilic). The so-called *Hōdū*-psalms (105-107) also may be mentioned here. On the phrase לְהֹדוֹת לי׳, descriptive of a special service of the Levites, cp CHOIRS, § 2.

The point of contact between confession of sin and eucharistic confession is given in 1 K. 833. When Israel is defeated because of its sins, 'if they turn again to thee, *and confess thy name*, and pray . . ., then hear thou in heaven, and forgive'; and it is in harmony with this that two out of the three liturgical prayers mentioned above begin with a glowing acknowledgment of Yahwè's goodness. (The prayer in Dan. 9 merely recognises the duty of thanksgiving in a few words relative to God's fidelity to his covenant.)

4. NT. In the New Testament we find both senses of ἐξομολογεῖν (to thank, and to confess); *e.g.*, Mt. 11 25 36. In Rom. 14 11 the verb represents תשבע ; see Is. 45 23. Ὁμολογεῖν and ὁμολογία usually signify 'profess,' 'profession' ; so, *e.g.*, 1 Tim. 6 12, AV Heb. 3 1, AV, etc.

Confession and repentance are necessarily connected—the Baptist's hearers are baptised, confessing (ἐξομολογούμενοι) their sins (Mk. 1 5 Mt. 36)—and therefore so also are confession and forgiveness. See 1 Jn. 1 9 and especially Ja. 5 16, where the 'healing' spoken of has reference to the sins confessed' (moral and physical troubles connected ; cp Is. 535 1 Pet. 2 24). The ἀλλήλοι ('one another') are Christian disciples.

The 'confession' of 1 Tim. 6 12 may be that made at Timothy's ordination ; but that of Heb. 3 1 seems to be the confession of the divine sonship of Jesus, snch as was made at baptism (see BAPTISM, § 3). T. K. C.

CONFISCATION OF GOODS (עֲנָשׁ נִכְסִין), Ezra 7 26 (ΖΗΜΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ [BA], ΖΗΜΙΩCΑΙ ΤΑ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 24 (ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩ [-ΡΙΚΗ] ΖΗΜΙΑ [BA]). Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. 1 Esd. 632 has τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι [εἰς] βασιλικά 'all his goods to be seized for the king,' for Ezra 6 11, 'let his house be made a dunghill' (𝔊 otherwise).

For the 'forfeiture' threatened in Ezra 10 8 (יָחֳרַם כָּל־רְכוּשׁוֹ, ἀναθεματισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ ὕπαρξις αὐτοῦ ; 1 Esd. 94, ἀνιερωθήσονται τὰ κτήνη [-θήσεται τὰ ὑπράχοντα, L] αὐτῶν 'seized to the use of the temple') see BAN, § 3.

1 Cp 1 S. 1026. For נגע in *v.* 37 𝔊 has συνάντημα.

2 B. Jacob, *ZATW* 1763 *f.* ['97].

3 Read τὰς ἁμαρτίας (WH), not τὰ παραπτώματα (TR).

CONGREGATION. For עֵדָה *'ēdāh*, and (less correctly) קָהָל *ḳāhāl*, and מוֹעֵד *mō'ēd*, see ASSEMBLY.

'Thy congregation,' Ps. 68 10(11), RVmg. 'thy troop' (cp 2 S. 23 11 13, EV ; but see LEHI), represents a corrupt Heb. word. חיתך should probably be לַחְמְךָ. Canaan was a land of corn; cp Is. 36 17. Fully corrected, the line becomes, 'with thy bread they were satisfied therein' (Che. *Ps.*(2)).

συναγωγή (Acts 13 43) is in RV SYNAGOGUE (*q.v.*).

For Acts 7 38 RVmg. as in Tyndale, etc. (ἐκκλησία), see CHURCH (so in EV).

CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF (הַר מוֹעֵד ; ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ [BℵAQΓ]; in *monte testamenti* ; ܛܘܪܐ ܕܙܘܥܐ), RV's modification of the unfortunate 'mount of the congregation' of AV, which suggests an impossible identification with Zion (Is. 14 13†). The phrase occurs in the boast of the king of Babylon, and describes a mountain whose summit was above the 'stars of God' (the brightest constellations), and its base in 'the recesses of the north.' The best rendering is 'Mountain of (the divine) assembly.'

No one would have thonght of Mount Zion, but for the accidental parallelism of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (AV 'tabernacle of the congregation,' RV 'tent of meeting'), and the supposed reference to a passage in Ps. 48 2 [3], rendered in EV 'Mount Zion [on] the sides of the north, the city of the great king.

מוֹעֵד is a perfectly vague expression, and Ps. 48 2 [3] is under too great a suspicion of corruptness to serve as a commentary.[1] It is, in fact, no mountain known in terrestrial geography that is meant, but the 'holy mountain of Elohim' (Ezek. 28 13 *f.*), where there were the 'flashing' stones (see CHERUB, § 2, n.), and the cherub, and (so the prophet thought) the king of Tyre [see CHERUB, § 2). It is not stated that this holy mountain was in the north ; but we may presume from Ezek. 14 that it was regarded as being there. This is confirmed by Job 37 22 (emended text).

> Out of the north cometh (supernatural) brightness ;[2]
> On Eloah there is awe-inspiring splendour.

That the Babylonians believed in a similar northern mountain can hardly be doubtful, in spite of Jensen's learned argument (*Kosmol.* 203-209) against comparing the הַר מוֹעֵד with the Ê-ḫarsag-kurkura ('Mountain-house of the lands') of the Prism Inscription of Tiglath-pileser I. (Del. *Par.* 118). It appears that the later OT writers supposed the north to be above, and consequently the south below the earth (see Job 26 7, and cp EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF). The expressions 'I will scale the heavens,' and 'in the recesses of the north,' are therefore strictly accurate.[3]

CONIAH (כָּנְיָהוּ), Jer. 22 24. See JEHOIACHIN.

CONONIAH (כָּנַנְיָהוּ), 2 Ch. 31 12 *f.* AV, RV CONANIAH.

CONSECRATE. For קִדֵּשׁ *ḳiddēš*, 'to separate' (Ex. 28 3), see CLEAN, § 1 *f.* For מִלֵּא יָד *millē' yād*, 'to fill the hand' (1 Ch. 29 5), whence מִלֻּאִים *millu'īm*, EV CONSECRATION (Ex. 29 22), see CLEAN, § 3. For הֶחֱרִים *heḥĕrīm*, 'to devote (Mic. 4 13), see BAN, § 1. For הִזִּיר 'to dedicate (oneself)' (Nu. 6 12), whence נֵזֶר *nēzer*, AV CONSECRATION, RV 'separation' (Nu. 6 7), see NAZIRITE.

Τετελειωμένος in Heb. 7 28 is better rendered 'perfected' by RV (cp AV 2 10 5 9). For ἐνεκαίνισεν (Heb. 10 20), RV 'dedicated,' see DEDICATE.

1 Some (Olsh., Che. *Ps.*(1), We.) omit יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן as a gloss. Che. *Ps.*(2) begins a new stanza with the words הַר־צִיּוֹן בְּיַרְכָּתָיו צְפוּנוֹ 'Mount Zion—in its recesses is his jewel.' צָפוּן 'jewel'= the holy city, as in Ezek. 7 22 (see Smend, *ad loc.*). Those who accept neither solution of the problem must adopt the view described in *OPs.* 317, which, however, Baethg. rightly pronounces *not* quite satisfactory.

2 Read זֹהַר with Che. (*Expos.* July 1897) and Duhm.

3 Hommel (Hastings' *DB* 1 216) adopts this view, and compares הַר מוֹעֵד with a Bab. title of the sacred mountain, *Ê-šarra*, 'house of assembly.' Karppe (*Journ. As.* 9 ['97], 104) thinks that the sacred mountain was originally the earth itself.

CONSTELLATIONS (כְּסִילִים), Is. 13 10 EV. See STARS, § 3 (6).

CONSUL. A letter of 'Lucius, consul of the Romans' (ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων [AKV]) to King Ptolemy of Egypt is giver? in 1 'Macc. 15 16-21. See LUCIUS, 1, and MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9.

CONSULTER WITH FAMILIAR SPIRITS (שֹׁאֵל אוֹב), Dt. 18 11. See DIVINATION. § 4 (ii.).

CONVOCATION, HOLY (מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ), Ex. 12 16. See ASSEMBLY, 3.

CONVOY (עֲבָרָה), 2 S. 19 18 [19], RVmg., EV FERRY BOAT (*q.v.*).

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS. The task of preparing the daily food naturally fell to the women of the household, even women of the highest rank attending, on occasion, to this part of the household duties (2 S. 13 8 *f.*; cp below). An apartment or apartments specially devoted to the preparation of food—in other words, a kitchen—can have been found only in the houses of the wealthy. We can realise without difficulty the kitchen of the Hebrew kings and nobles from the life-like picture of that of Rameses III. as figured on his tomb at Thebes (reproduced in Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* 2 32 34). In such establishments there were cooks, male (טַבָּחִים : 1 S. 9 23 *f.*) and female (טַבָּחוֹת : 1 S. 8 13). In connection with the great sanctuaries, too, such as Shiloh (1 S. 14. 9) and Bethel, there must have been something of the nature of a public kitchen, where the worshippers had facilities for preparing the sacrificial meals. In his sketch of the restored temple at Jerusalem, Ezekiel makes provision for such kitchens (both for the priests [46 19 *f.*] and for the people [21-24]), which are here called 'boiling-places' (מבשלות, μαγειρεῖα [BAQ] : v. 23) and 'boiling houses' (RV *v.* 24 בית־מבשלים, οἶκοι τῶν μαγείρων). See CLEAN, § 2.

1. Kitchens.

In an ordinary Hebrew household, whose food, except on great occasions, was exclusively vegetarian, the culinary arrangements 'were of the simplest kind. Two large jars (כַּד, *kadh*, the ὑδρία of Jn. 4 28 2 6 *ff.*) of sun-dried clay had a place in the meanest house, one for fetching the daily supply of water from the spring—carried then as now upon the head or on the shoulder[1] by the women of the household (Gen. 24 15 *f.*; cp 1 K. 18 33 [34] : EV 'barrel')—the other for holding the store of wheat or barley for the daily bread (1 K. 17 12 14 16 : EV 'barrel'). In both the passages last cited the American revisers rightly prefer the rendering 'jars.' To these we must add some instrument for crushing or grinding the grains of the various cereals used as food, in particular wheat and barley (see FOOD, § 1, BREAD, § 1). The most primitive method was simply to crush the grains between two stones or rather to rub them upon a flat stone by means of another. Such primitive corn-grinders or 'grain-rubbers' (as they were called in Scotland) were found by Mr. Bliss at all stages of his excavations in Tell el-Hesy—the probable site of Lachish—'long slabs flat on one side and convex on the other, with rounded ends' (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 83, illustr. p. 85). They are found also both in ancient and in modern Egypt (see illustr. in Erman's *Egypt*, 190, for 'the former; for the latter, Benz. *HA* 85, Nowack, *HA* 1 110). The pestle and mortar (see MORTAR) represent a later stage in the art of preparing food. The still more effective hand-mill or quern (רֵחַיִם) with its upper and nether millstones—hence the dual form—is the last to appear (Erman, *op. cit.* 189 ; see also MILL).[2]

2. Culinary arrangements.

[1] The practice varies in different parts of Syria. In some parts the jar when empty is carried on the head ; when filled, on the shoulder (*ZDMG* 11 516).

[2] Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 179: 'After the water-skins a pair of millstones is the most necessary husbandry in an Arabian household.'

MILK (*q.v.*) was kept in skins (Judg. 4 19), but more usually in bowls, wine in skin bottles (see BOTTLE, 1), oil and honey in earthenware jars (see Cause, 2). Olives, grapes, figs, and the other fruits of the soil were no doubt kept partly in similar jars, partly in baskets, of which several varieties are named in OT and NT (see BASKET). Such were the *sal* (סַל, Gen. 40 17 etc.; κανοῦν [ADEL]), a basket of wicker-work; the *ṭěne'* (טֶנֶא, Dt. 26 2; κάρταλλος [BAFL]; *canistrum*, cp Verg. *Æn.* 8 180) for carrying wheat from the threshing-floor, to judge from the passage Dt. 28 5 17 ('blessed shall be thy basket and thy kneading-trough' RV ; 𝔊 *ai* ἀποθῆκαι σου) ;[1] and the *dûd* (דּוּד), a basket in which figs were gathered (Jer. 24 2 Ps. 81 6 [7] RV). The preparation of bread, always the staple article of diet, required the kneading-trough (מִשְׁאֶרֶת) of wood, earthenware, or bronze according to circumstances, and the oven (תַּנּוּר)—mentioned together Ex. 8 3 (7 28)—for which see BREAD, § 2 *c*.

Coming now to cooking, in the ordinary sense—that is, the preparation of food by the agency of fire,—we find that the various methods of cooking to which reference is made may be grouped under two heads. The food was cooked either (1) by bringing it into immediate contact with the source of heat, whether as in the case of the ash-calces (*subcinericius panis*, 1 K. 19 6, described under BREAD, § 2 *a*) or in the rough and ready method of roasting on the live embers (see below) or in the more civilised method of roasting by means of spit or gridiron; or (2) by using a suitable liquid as the medium for transmitting the heat required—such as water, milk, oil, or fat (in frying). It would seem that the Hebrews originally included these various processes under the general term בשל.

3. Preparation of food.

The original signification of this verbal root was evidently 'to be or to become ripe,' 'to ripen' applied to grain (Joel 3 [4] 13) and fruit (Gen. 40 10) from which the transition to the idea of 'making (food) eatable'—*i.e.*, cooking—was easy (cp post-biblical תַּבְשִׁיל, something cooked, a 'dish'). Hence we find בִּשֵּׁל בָּאֵשׁ 'cooked with fire' (2 Ch. 35 13) and מְבֻשָּׁל בַּמַּיִם 'cooked with (or in) water' (Ex. 12 9), when it is important that 'roasted' and 'boiled' shall be precisely distinguished. In ordinary language, however, בִּשֵּׁל was used only in the sense of 'boil,' while for the various forms of 'roasting' indicated under (1) above (1 S. 2 15 Is. 44 16 19) use was made of the word צָלָה. That which was roasted, a roast, was צָלִי (Is. 44 16; cp קָלִי roasted or parched corn; see FOOD, § 1). In the Talmud a third verb is frequently found alongside of צָלָה and בִּשֵּׁל—viz., שָׁלַק, which is applied not only to the cooking of flesh but also to the boiling down of fruit to make preserves (*Ma'as.* 4 1, *Kel.* 8 8). These three verbs are generally taken to represent the Latin *assare*, *coquere*, and *elixare* respectively, in which case שלק would signify 'to boil thoroughly' (cp הָתֵם in Ezek. 24 10, RV 'to boil well,' and רתח, *ib. v.* 5): it is probably equivalent to our 'stew,' since in the absence of knives and forks (see MEALS) the Oriental has to stew his meat till it can be readily pulled in pieces by the hand.

When the meat was boiled in a larger quantity of water than was necessary for stewing, the rich liquor which resulted was known as מָרָק, *mārāḳ* (Judg. 6 19 *f.* Is. 65 4 ḳr. [Kt. פרק] EV 'broth'), also perhaps as מֶרְקָחָה (Ezek. 24 10, RV 'make thick the broth'). The meat and the broth might be served together or separately (the latter by Gideon, Judg. *loc. cit.*). When the meat, on the other hand, is set on with a smaller quantity of water, to which onions or other pungent vegetables or spices have been added, the result is the favourite Arab stew *yaḫni* (يخني), perhaps the שְׁלוּק (*Ned.* 7) and שְׁלָקוֹת (*Ab. Zar.* 2 5) of the Mishna. The 'savoury meat' (מַטְעַמִּים, Gen. 27 4 : cp Prov. 23 3) which Rebekah prepared from 'two kids of the goats' was doubtless a spicy stew of this kind.

A reference to another modern dish, *kibbeh*, which has been

[1] The Mishnic Heb. טְנִי is a large *metal* basket; cp *BDB*, and, for this and other vessels, J. Krengel, *Das Hausgerät in der Mishnah*, 1 Theil, 1899 (*see* index).

called the national dish of Syria, has been found by various scholars in Prov. 27 22 RV: 'Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar with a pestle among bruised corn, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.' This exactly describes the operation of making *kibbeh*: the mutton is first pounded to shreds in a wooden or stone mortar; it is then mixed with *burghul* (see FOOD, § 1). and the whole boiled and served.[1] [But on the-text see *Exp. T.* viii. ['97], 432; where הריפות 'bruised corn' (?) is emended to חֲבֵרָיו, 'his fellows.']

When an animal of the herd (בָּקָר) or of the flock (צֹאן, see, further, FOOD, § 11, and SACRIFICE) was to be prepared for food it was first slaughtered according to the prescribed method and the carcase thoroughly drained of its blood. For skinning, flint knives (cp מַאֲכֶלֶת Judg. 19 29) were used in early times (cp Josh. 5 2 *ff.*, RV 'knives of flint')—such as those recovered from Tell-el-Hesy (Bliss, *op. cit.* 194, illustr. 106). Sacrificial knives were later known as מַחֲלָפִים (Ezra 1 9; cp post-biblical חֲלִיפוֹת); a knife for ordinary domestic purposes was שַׂכִּין (Prov. 23 2)—in later Hebrew always סַכִּין. The animal was then cut up, the technical term for which was נִתַּח (Lev. 1 6 12, and often)—a single piece נתח[2]—the priests received the portions that were their due and the remainder was consigned to the pot. The latter, if of copper, had in later times to be scrupulously scoured (מרק) and rinsed (שׁטף, *Zebaḥ.* 11 4 *ff.*; cp Mk. 7 4) when the cooking was over.

The primitive hearth was formed of a couple of stones by which the pot was supported, room being left

4. Firing. beneath for the fuel—wood or dung (see COALS, § 2). Large pots might be placed on the top of the *tannūr* or baking oven, as at the present day; such an arrangement was found to have been in use in the ancient Lachish (see Bliss, *op. cit.* 97). The smaller pots were boiled on a chafing dish or pan containing charcoal (כִּיּוֹר אֵשׁ, Zech. 12 6 AV 'hearth of fire,' RV 'pan of fire'), as in Rameses' kitchen. In Lev. 11 35 there is mention, alongside of the *tannūr* or oven, of the *kīraim* (כירים, κυθρόποδες [BF], χυτρόποδες [AL]; EV 'range[s] for pots,' RV^mg. 'stew-pan'). According to the Talmud, it was a portable cooking-stove, capable of holding two pots (hence the dual) as distinguished from the *kūppāh* (כּוּפָּה, better כֻּפָּה), a stove which had room for only one pot (Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s.v.*). Like the *tannūr*, it was of baked clay, and, therefore, easily broken (cp Di. *in loc.* and Now. HA 2 280, n.). The *kīrāh* (in the sing.) and the *kūppāh* are frequently mentioned together in the Mishna (see esp. *Kelim*). For carrying the necessary charcoal a ladle or firepan (מַחְתָּה) was used (Ex. 27 3 38 3; in Num. 16 6 *ff.* 'censer'; *Kel.* 2 3 7); for stirring and adjusting it, a pair of tongs (מֶלְקָחַיִם Is. 6 6); יָעִים shovels (*pala* or *rutrum*), for removing the ashes, are mentioned, but only in connection with the great altar (see ALTAR, § 9). The bellows (מַפֻּחַ; φυσητήρ [BℵAQ]) of Jer. 6 29 was probably used only by the metal smelters—For a description and illustration, see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 2 312. The ordinary housewife was content to fan the charcoal with a fan (מְנָפָה, *Kel.* 16 7) of feathers, as pictured in the representation of Rameses' kitchen referred to above.

The names of various utensils in which food was actually cooked are differently rendered in EV without

5. Cooking utensils. any attempt at consistency: pan, kettle, caldron, pot (in this order is the list given in 1 S. 2 14). The data at our command do not permit of these being accurately distinguished one from another. In the houses of the poor they were doubtless of glazed or even unglazed earthenware (כְּלִי חֶרֶשׂ, Lev. 6 28 [21]; see POTTERY); in those of the wealthier classes, of bronze (כְּלִי נְחֹשֶׁת, *loc. cit.*, Ezek. 24 11). The difference of rank (so to say) between the two materials gives point to Ben Sira's illustration, 'What fellowship shall the earthen pot have with the [brazen] kettle?' (χύτρα πρὸς λέβητα: Ecclus. 13 2 *f.*). In connection with the temple we read not only of pots and caldrons made of bronze (1 K. 7 45 2 K. 25 14 Jer. 52 18) but also of such vessels of silver and gold (Jer. 52 19).

i. For boiling meat various vessels were employed (cp 1 S. 2 14). (a) The most frequently mentioned is the סִיר, *sir*, pot or caldron. It was used for cooking the ordinary family meal (2 K. 4 38 *f.* Mic. 3 3 Ex. 16 3 [flesh pots of Egypt]), and for boiling the sacrificial flesh (Zech. 14 20). It served also for a 'washpot' (Ps. 60 8 [10]). It must have been one of the largest of the cooking vessels, to judge from the incident recorded in 2 K. 4 38 *ff.* ('the great pot' for the whole company of the prophets). (b) The *kiyyōr* (כיור) must have been a wide, shallow pot of considerable size, since the same name is given to the 'laver of brass' (Ex. 30 18) at which the priests were to wash their hands and feet. It served as a chafing-dish (Zech. 12 6). Wherein the *kiyyōr* differed from (c) the *pārūr* (פרור) in which the manna was boiled (Nu. 11 8 RV), and (d) the *dūd* (דּוּד, Job 41 20 [12]), and (e) the *ḳallāḥath* (קַלַּחַת, Mic. 3 3), we do not know.

In Job 41 20 [12] caldron (AV) is a mistranslation of אגמון (see RUSH, 2). In 2 S. 13 9 MT has מַשְׂרֵת, not found elsewhere (EV pan); but the true reading is probably '[and she called the] servant' (מְשָׁרֵת: so Klo. followed by Ki. and Bu.).

These various pots, pans, etc., were probably used without a lid (in late Heb. כִּסּוּי), although the obscure צָמִיד of Nu. 19 15 is taken by some to have this signification.

ii. A fork (מַזְלֵג, מִזְלָג) of two or three (1 S. 2 13) prongs was used to lift the meat from the pot, and also to stir the contents of the latter (*see* illustration, Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 32).

iii. The spoons (כַּפּוֹת) mentioned among the furniture of the table of shewbread (Ex. 25 29) and elsewhere were more probably shallow bowls. We find, however, in the Mishna, real spoons (תַּרְוָד) made of bone (*Shabb.* 8 6, *Kel.* 17 2) and of glass (*Kel.* 30 2). There is also mention of a wooden cooking ladle (פָּרוּר עֵץ *Bēṣāh*, 1 7), which was probably used for removing the scum (חֶלְאָה, Ezek. 24 6 11, so AV; but this word is more probably 'rust' as RV) from the contents of the *pārūr* or pot (otherwise explained by Levy, *s.v.* פָּרוּר).

While boiling, to judge from the comparative frequency of the OT references, was the favourite

6. Roasting. mode of cooking flesh-meat, there need be no hesitation in saying that roasting also was practised from the earliest times. In its most primitive form, roasting, as we have seen, consists in laying the meat directly on the ashes or other source of heat, either kindled on the ground or in a pit specially dug (Burckhardt, *Notes, etc.* 1 240, Rob. *BR* ['41], 1 118 304). The fish of which the disciples partook by the lake of Galilee was cooked by being laid on the charcoal (ὀψάριον ἐπικείμενον, Jn. 21 9).

The spit, the ὀβελός of the Homeric poems, is not mentioned, as it happens, in the OT; but of its use there need be no doubt. In Egypt, Erman tells us, 'the favourite national dish, the goose, was generally roasted over live embers; the spit is very primitive, a stick stuck through the beak and neck of the bird. They roasted fish in the same way, sticking the spit through the tail' (Egypt, 189, illustr. *ib.*, and Wilk. 2 35). The wooden spit was favoured by the Romans (cp Verg. *Georg.* 2 396, 'Pinguiaque in verubus torre-

[1] For other modern dishes see Lane (*Mod. Egypt.* 5) and esp. the elaborate menu of a native dinner in Klunzinger (Upper *Egypt*, 59 *f.*); see also, for Syria, Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, passim).

[2] The 'good piece' (AV) or 'portion' (RV) of flesh which David distributed among the people at the inbringing of the ark (2 S. 6 19 1 Ch. 16 3) is only one of several traditional renderings of the doubtful Heb. word אֶשְׁפָּר, the real signification of which has been lost. See Dr. *TBS in loc.* [Since the word appears to be corrupt, the emendation פַּת שְׁאֵר, 'a piece of flesh,' has been suggested by Cheyne. This easy alteration suits the context.]

bimus exta colurnis).' Later Hebrew legislation—in this, no doubt, perpetuating an ancient practice—required that the Passover lamb should be roasted on a spit of pomegranate (שְׁפוֹד שֶׁל־רִמּוֹן [Levy, שַׁפּוּד] *Pes.* 71). The ordinary spit, being of iron,—so much we may infer from the demand that a spit purchased from an idolater must be cleansed in the fire (*Ab. Zara.* 5 12)—was not allowed for the above-mentioned purpose; neither was the gridiron (אַסְכָּלָה, *Pes.* 7 2). The spit, we may suppose, rested on andirons[1] (*βάσεις, varæ*), on which it could be turned by the hand.

The passage of the treatise *Pesāḥīm* above referred to speaks further of roasting, or more exactly of broiling, on a gridiron placed apparently over the mouth of a *tannūr* or baking oven. The gridiron was perhaps used to prepare the piece of broiled fish (*ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος*) of Lk. 24 42. Not only flesh and fish but also eggs, onions, etc., were roasted by the Jews (*Shabb.* 1 10).

The favourite mode of roasting meat for ordinary household purposes at the present day in Syria is by means of skewers. The meat is cut into small pieces, which are stuck upon the skewers and roasted over a brazier. Meat thus prepared is termed *kebrib.*

With regard to the food-products of the vegetable kingdom (see FOOD), many vegetables were of course eaten raw (*ὠμός*, in Hebrew חַי, literally 'living,' a word applied not only to raw animal flesh [1 S. 2 15 Lev. 13 10 *ff.*], but also to fish [*Nedar.* 6 4], to vegetables [*ib.*], and even to unmixed wine). They were also cooked by being boiled, alone or mixed with various ingredients—such as oil and spices. The Hebrew housewives, we may be sure, were not behind their modern kinsfolk of the desert, of whom Doughty testifies that 'the Arab housewives make savoury messes of any grain, seething it and putting thereto only a little salt and *samn'* (*Ar. Des.* 2 130). Thus, of the cereals, the obscure *'ărīsāh* (עריסה, Nu. 15 20 *f.*) was probably a porridge of barley groats. (see, further, FOOD, § 1), whilst Jacob sod for himself a dish (נָזִיד, EV 'pottage') of lentils (Gen. 25 29 34); the same name is given to the vegetarian dish prepared for the sons of the prophets (2 K. 4 38 *ff.*; cp Hagg. 2 12). In NT times, at least, it was known that the pulses or pod-plants were improved by being soaked (MH שָׁרָה) before being boiled. Various kinds, such as beans and lentils, might be boiled together (*Orlah*, 1 7): they might also, like our French beans, be boiled in the pods (קְלִיפּוֹת). In the OT we find mention of the *maḥăbath* (מַחֲבַת, *τήγανον*, AV 'pan,' RV 'baking-pan,' mg. 'flat plate,' Lev. 25 6 21 [14], etc.) and the *marḥésheth* (מרחשת, EV 'frying pan,' Lev. 27 7 9). The *maḥăbath* certainly (see Ezek. 4 3), and the *marḥésheth* probably, was of iron; and, although both are used with reference only to the sacrificial cakes (see BAKEMEATS, BREAD), we may legitimately infer from the fact that the martyrs of 2 Macc. 7 were roasted alive on the *τήγανον* (*vv.* 35; cp late Heb. word טִינן) that both may have been used also in the preparation of meat.

7. Vegetable food.

To judge from the prepositions employed (עַל, 'on', and בְּ, 'in'), the *maḥăbath* was deeper than the *marḥésheth.* This inference is confirmed by the tradition, which we find in the Mishna, that the difference between the *marḥésheth* and the *maḥăbath* consisted in the former having a lid (כִּסּוּי) while the latter had none; to which another authority adds that the former is deep and its contents fluid, the latter flat and its contents firm (*Menaḥ.* 5 8). The *maḥăbath*, in short, was a stewpan, the *marhésheth* similar to a Scotch 'girdle,' a flat iron plate on which oatcakes are baked.

A striking illustration of Ezek. 4 3 is furnished by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 593), who describes an iron-plated door in the castle of Hāyil: 'the plates (in the indigence of their arts) are the shield-like iron pans (tannūr) upon which the town housewives hake their girdle-bread.'

Other utensils named or implied are (*a*) the sieve, *nāphāh* (נָפָה, Is. 30 28; *Shabb.* 8 2, *Aboth*, 5 15). for sifting the flour, and (*b*) the strainer, *mĕšammĕreth*, מְשַׁמֶּרֶת (*Shabb.* 20 1, *Ab.* 5 15 [especially for wine]; cp Is. 25 6, Mt. 23 24). An ordinary bowl, however, might be perforated so as to serve as a strainer, as we see from the pottery of Tell-el-Hesy (Bliss, *op. cit.* 85). To these may be added (*c*) one of the commonest of the post-biblical terms for a pot, קְדֵרָה; hence מַעֲשֵׂה קְדֵרָה came to signify 'cooked food' (*Nedar.* 6 1). For the vessels used for serving food, see MEALS, § 8.

The importance of oil in the Hebrew kitchen will be noticed under OIL (*q.v.*). In early times the custom, so popnlar among the modern Arabs, of boiling flesh in milk seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. The oldest legislation—confirmed by the Deuteronomic—limited this practice so far as to forbid (for reasons that are still obscure: cp FOOD, § 13, and see MAGIC, SACRIFICE) the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23 19 34 26 Dt. 14 21). In NT times this prohibition had been extended far beyond its original intention.

8. Condiments.

Thus we read in the Mishna: 'It is forbidden to seethe (בַּשֵּׁל) any sort of flesh in milk, except the flesh of fish and locusts; it is also forbidden to set flesh upon the table along with cheese' (with the same exceptions, *Khullin*, 8 1). It was still debated whether the prohibition applied to fowls and game or only to cattle, sheep, and goats (*ib.* 4). In the course of time, however, it became part of the Jewish dietary law, that two distinct sets of cooking utensils—one for meat alone, and another for dishes into the preparation of which milk or butter enters—are required in every orthodox Jewish kitchen (see on this law of בשר בחלב esp. Wiener, *Die jüd. Speisegesetze*, 41-120 ['95]). Extreme purists have gone the length of using three (*ib.* 115 *f.*) and even four such sets.

A. R. S. K.

COOS, or rather, as in RV and 1 Macc. 15 23 EV, **Cos** (ΚΩC; now *Stanchio—i.e.*, ἐς τὴν Κῶ), the least and most southerly of the four principal islands off the coast of Asia Minor. It lies at the entrance to a deep bay, on the two projecting promontories of which were Cnĭdus and Halicarnassus. It owed its fertility to its volcanic origin, and its commercial importance to its position. It lies on the high road of all maritime traffic between the Dardanelles and Cyprus: vessels coasting in either direction must pass within half a mile of the capital (also called Cos), which was on the E. extremity of the island, and had a good anchorage and a port sheltered from all winds except those from the SE. Lucan (*Phar.* 8 243) thus sketches the usual route of ships:—

Ephesonque relinquens
Radit saxa Sami; spirat de litore Coo
Aura fluens: Cnidon inde fugit, claramque relinquit
Sole Rhodon.

In precise agreement with this is the account of Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Palestine (Acts 21 1). His ship ran before the wind (*εὐθυδρομήσαντες*) from Milētus, about 40 m. to the N., down to Cos (*i.e.*, either the island or the capital: probably the latter is meant); next day it reached Rhodes.

In spite of its geographical advantages, Cos remained historically unimportant. Its inhabitants, apparently of deliberate choice, eschewed foreign relationships, and devoted themselves to the development of internal resources. No colonies were sent out; for long the capital was in the west of the island; the strategic and commercial importance of its present site was ignored until 366 B.C. When at last the Coans were compelled to emerge from their seclusion, it was only to echo the voice of Rhodes in all matters of foreign policy. The success of this concentration of energy is indicated by the fact that Cos ranked with Rhodes, Chios, Samos, and Lesbos as one of the *μακάρων νῆσοι* (Diod. Sic. 5 81 82), and by the existence of the saying 'He who cannot thrive in Cos will do no better in Egypt.'[1] Allied with this material prosperity was the development of liberal arts. Under the Ptolemies Cos became an important literary centre. With it are connected the names of Theocritus the poet, Bērōssus the historian, Apelles the painter, and, at an earlier date (5th cent. B.C.), Hippocrates the physician. Cos was one of the great centres of the worship of Æsculapius, and of the caste or medical school of Asclepiadæ. Claudius in 53 A.D. gave the island the privilege of immunity, mainly for its medical fame (Tac. *Ann.* 12 61).

[1] Some would give this or a similar sense to אסכלה. See Jastrow, *Dict. s.v.*

[1] ὃν οὐ θρέψει Κῶς ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτος.

Among the commercial products of the island were unguents, two kinds of wine, pottery (*amphoræ Coæ*, Pliny, *HN* 35 161), and **silk** for Roman ladies (*Coæ purpuræ*, Hor. *Od.* iv. 13 13 *vestes tenues*, Tibull. ii. 3 55). Cos is still an active port. Strabo (657) notes the fair aspect of the city *to* one entering the roads.

Interesting is the connection of Cōs with the Jews. **As** Mithridates seized 800 talents deposited in the island by the Jews of Asia (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), there must then have been a Jewish settlement there engaged in banking. In 1 Macc. 1523 Cōs is mentioned in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*circa* 139-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. In 86 B.C. Gaius Fannius wrote to the Coan authorities enclosing a *senatus consultum* to secure safe convoy for Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. The island was connected also with Herod the Great (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 11), and with his son Antipas (Boeclch, 2502).

Best authority, *Inscriptions of Cos*, by Paton and Hicks, 1891; an attempt at direct combination of epigraphy and history. W. J. W.

COPPER (נְחשֶׁת; χαλκος; cp **BRASS**). The compound of copper and zinc that we call brass appears to have been little known to the ancients; but we have abundant evidence that copper was early know-n, and that it was hardened by means of alloys into bronze. Seneferu, a conquering pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, worked the Sinaitic copper mines, and M. de Morgan has found some articles of copper in the tomb of Menes (traditionally regarded as the first king of Egypt), explored by him in 1897. M. Amélineau appears to have proved that copper was known at an even earlier date, and from his researches and those of Mr. Quibell at Kōm el-Aḥmar we may probably conclude that the Pharaonic Egyptians were from the first not ignorant of the use of gold and copper (*ḥmt*). Themines in the Sinaitic peninsula continued to be the chief source from which the Egyptians drew their copper (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 355, and cp SINAI); but in the fifteenth century they obtained it also from Alašia—*i.e.*, CYPRUS[1] (see Am. Tab., 25 and 27), where Cesnola has found both copper and bronze celts in Phcenician remains.

1. In Egypt.

The oldest Babylonian specimens of copper arc those found by M. de Sarzec at Tello (before 2500 B.C.); at Tell es-Sifr, in the same neighbourhood, Mr. Loftus has found even a large copper factory (1500 B.C.). In Babylonian graves, and also in what Dr. J. P. Peters calls a jeweller's shop (at Nippur), objects made of copper (belonging to *circa* 1300 B.C.) have been found. Hommel thinks, on philological grounds, that the Semitic Babylonians as metallurgists were pupils of the Sumerians, and dates their acquaintance with copper and iron very early.[2] The inscriptions make frequent mention of copper (*ṣiparu*) and bronze[3] (*erû*, also *ḳû*, and *urudû*; cp Lat. *raudus* = *æs infectum*). The ancient hymn (in Sumerian and Assyrian) to Gibil, the fire-god, extols him for his services in the mixing of copper and tin (cp Tubal-cain, and see CAINITES, § 10). The Assyrians used bronze axes as late as the ninth century. They derived their copper and bronze largely from the so-called Na'iri countries; ultimately, therefore, from Armenia; the copper in the tribute paid to Rammān-nirari III. by Damascus is mentioned elsewhere (IRON).[4]

2. In Babylonia.

The Canaanites, naturally enough, were well acquainted with copper. According to Ritter (*Erdk.* 17 1063 cited by Knobel), there are still traces of ancient copper-mines in the Lebanon;[5] his is confirmed by what seems to be an assertion of he fact in Dt. 8 9 and Zech. 61 (*see* below, § 5). On the E. of the Lebanon range copper must have been abundant in the 'land of Nuḫašši' (*Am. Tab.*), which Halévy ingeniously identifies with ZOBAH; and in later times there were copper mines in Edom at Phainon, or Phenon (cp PINON). The Phœnicians early employed bronze for works of art,[1] and the great mound of Tell el-Ḥesy, believed to be Lachish, proves that the Amorites who dwelt there had used their opportunities. 'In the remains of the Amorite city (perhaps 1500 B.C.) there are large rough weapons of war, made of copper without admixture of tin; above this, dating perhaps from 1250 to 800, appear bronze tools, but the bronze gradually becomes scarcer, its place being taken by iron'[2] (see IRON). Whatever, therefore, be the date of 1 S. 17 5 as a document, we may feel quite certain that the Philistine warriors had armour of bronze; indeed, their ancestors in Asia Minor doubtless had bronze weapons long before David's time.[3] Goliath, however, uses weapons of attack made of iron (the *kīdōn* [?] of bronze can hardly be a javelin; see GOLIATH).

3. In Canaan.

4. In Israel.

The statement in Josh. 624 (copper or bronze vessels found in Jericho) will be in the main correct; also that in 2 S. 8 8, in as far as it relates to the abundance of bronze in Syria. Whether the serpent of bronze called NEHUSHTAN [*q.v.*] was earlier than the temple of Solomon may, perhaps, be doubted. At any rate, the notice in Nu. 219 (JE) is as much of an anachronism as that in Ex. 38 2-8 (P). The Israelites in the wilderness had no workers in bronze. Nor could David find a competent bronze-worker in all Israel; the statements respecting Hiram the artificer in 1 K. 7 13 *ff.* arc no doubt historical." In the later regal period it was, of course, quite otherwise (cp Jer. 6 28 *f.* Ezek. 22 18 20). From 2 K. 25 13 *f.* Jer. 52 17 *f.* we learn that the Babylonians broke the sacred vessels of bronze and carried away the metal to Babylon; no doubt Rehoboam's shields of 'brass' (1 K. 14 27 2 Ch. 12 10) went there too; but the chief losses were probably repaired. The cymbals in the second temple were certainly of copper or bronze, as we may infer from 1 Ch. 15 19 Jos. *Ant.* vii. 123 (cp 1 Cor. 131). Gates of 'brass' arc mentioned in Ps. 10716 Is. 45 2 (cp Herod. 1179, and see Mr. Pinches' account of the bronze gates of Balawāt);[5] mining implements of 'brass' in Ecclus. 48 17 (Heb. Text).

That 'brass' (bronze) should be used to symbolise hardness and strength is natural. In time of drought, it seemed as if the heavens were bronze, so that no rain could pass through them (Dt. 28 23), or as if the earth were bronze, so that it could never be softened again (Lev. 26 19). A sufferer asks if his 'flesh' (*i.e.*, body) is of brass (Job 6 12), as the bones of Běhēmoth (Job 40 18) and the browofdisobedient Israel (Is. 48 4) are, by other writers, said to be. To be compared with brass is not, however, the highest distinction. It was the third empire in Nebuchadrezear's vision that was of 'brass' (Dan. 239 cp *v.* 32). On the other band, 'brass' in the obscure phrase 'mountains of brass' (Zech. 6 1) has no symbolic meaning: 'brass' (*i.e.*, copper) is merely mentioned to enable the reader to identify the mountains (cp Nuḫašši, the 'copperland'; see § 3).

5. OT usage.

Difficult as the passage is, we need not despair of explaining it. The 'mountains of brass' are parallel to the 'mountains

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1 Flinders Petrie also accepts Winckler's identification of Alašia in Am. Tab. with Cyprus (where copper was worked). See his argument, *Syria and Egypt*, 44 ('98).

2 *Die semit. Völker*, 1 410.

3 Cp Lenormant, *TSBA* 6 334 *ff.*

4 On iron and bronze among the Babylonians and Assyrians, cp Winckler, *AOF* 1 159 *ff.*

5 Cp the important descriptive phrase quoted in Del. *Par.* 333, Sad Ba'ali-ṣapûna sadû rabû ṣiparri 'the mountain Baal-ṣapun, great mountain of copper'; also Sargon, Ann. 23, where Ba'il-ṣapuna, 'the great mountain,' is spoken of as containing mines (copper?).

1 Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus.*

2 Dr. J. H. Gladstone, 'The Metals of Antiquity,' *Nature*, April 21, 1898, p. 596.

3 Schliemann's discovery of weapons of copper and bronze on the site of Troy is well known.

4 On the right reading of 1 K. 7 46. see ADAM, i.

5 The bronze ornaments of the palace gates from Balawàt (parts i.-iv.) published by *Soc. of Bibl. Archæol.*

(𝔊 τῶν ὀρέων) in the river-land' (בַּמְּצֻלָה; cp צוּלָה Is. 44 27)—*i.e.*, those visible from Babylonia—in Zech. 1 8, and must have been as well known as these to Zechariah's hearers or readers. The): were no doubt the 'hills out of which thou mayest dig copper' (Dt. 8 9)—*i.e.*, Lebanon and Hermon (*see* above, § 3), which formed the northern boundary of the Holy Land. It is the 'land of the north' (the seat of the empire of the Seleucidæ?) that chiefly occupied the thoughts of the speaker1 (6 8). See ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF. On נְחֹשֶׁת מֻצְהָב Ezra 8 27, cp COLOURS, § 7. T. K. C.

COR (כֹּר, perh. Ass. *kāru* [*v.* Muss-Arnolt, *s.v.*], or from √כרר; *see* No. *ZDMG* **40** 734 ['86]), **a** measure of capacity = an homer (10 ephahs or baths); of wheat and barley (1 K. **4** 22 [5 2]; EV 'measure,' mg. 'cor'; 2 Ch. 2 10 [9] 27 5; RVmg. 'cors'). As a liquid measure Ezek. 45 14. 2 K. 6 25 (emended text) speaks of ¼ cor of carobs (see HUSKS).

In 1 K. 5 11 [25] 'measures of oil' is wrong; read בַּת שֶׁמֶן 'baths of oil,' after 𝔊 and ‖ 2 Ch. 2 9. κόρος [BAL] a loan-word, which in 𝔊 represents both כֹּר and חֹמֶר, occurs once in NT (Lk. 16 7 RVmg. 'cors'; AVmg. says 'about 74 bushels and a pottle'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CORAL is EV's rendering in Job **28** 18 Ezek. 27 16 of ראמות, a word of unknown origin, which occurs also in Prov. **24** 7, where EV treats it as a derivative of רום, meaning 'too high.' Most commentators, however (Hitz., Siegfr.-Sta., etc.), suppose that there is a reference to a precious object called *rā'mōth*—as if the wise man meant, 'Wisdom is as much out of the fool's reach as coral.' Neither explanation is satisfactory.[2]

1. Rāmōth unidentified.

The word occurs only twice, and, since the Vss. shed an uncertain light on the meaning, we must be content to make the most of internal evidence.

Ezek. has λαμωθ [BQ], ραμμωθ [AI, *sericum*; Job has μετέωρα [BℵAC Theod.], ὑψηλά [Sym.], *excelsa*; Prov. has σοφία καὶ ἔννοια ἀγαθὴ ἐν πύλαις [BℵA] for ראמות לאויל חכמות בשער [Vg., *excelsa*].[3]

The context in Job (*rāmōth*, *gābīš*, *pĕnīnīm*) shows that some precious and ornamental substance is intended, and Dillmann infers from the language that *rāmōth* was regarded as less valuable than *pĕnīnīm* (see below). According to MT of Ezek. 27 16, *rāmōth*, with *nōphek*, *argāmān*, *riḳmah*, *būṣ*, and *kadhkōdh*, was brought into the Tyrian market by merchants of Syria; but probably (see Cornill, *ad loc.*) we should read for Aram (ארם) Edom (אדום);[4] as Cornill remarks, Edom was an important stage in the transport of merchandise westward from S. Arabia and India. This last indication of the provenance of *rāmōth* makes against the usual rabbinic rendering, 'coral'; for the red coral of commerce—the hard calcareous skeleton of the colonial Actinozoon, *Corallium nobile*, Pal. (*rubrum*, Da Costa), which is widely distributed in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic as far as the Cape Verd Islands. and is a considerable source of wealth in the Mediterranean basin—occurs in its natural state much less frequently S. and E. of Suez.

2. Pĕnīnīm perhaps coral.

2. In RVmg. 'corals' (Lam. 4 7), 'red coral,' and 'pearls' (Job 28 18 Prov. 3 15 8 11 20 15 31 10) are suggested as renderings alternative to 'rubies' (see RUBY, 1) for פְּנִינִים *pĕnīnīm*. Certainly 'rubies' is not a good rendering. The words, 'the catching' (מֶשֶׁךְ; EV, improbably, 'price') of wisdom is above that of rubies,' in Job 28 18, would seem to imply that a fishery was in the case,[1] and, if two of our best critics may be followed, the nobles of Jerusalem are described in Lam. **4** 7 as 'purer than snow, whiter than milk, more ruddy than branches of *pĕnīnīm*' *i.e.*, obviously, of coral).[2] Another reference to *pĕnīnīm*, of considerable interest, occurs in Ps. **45** 14 [13], where we should no doubt read פנינים for פנימה; the whole line should perhaps run, 'on her neck is a wreath of *pĕnīnīm*' (see Che. *Ps.*(2) *ad loc.*).

3. Coral-like stones.

In the somewhat obscure question as to identification of the substance or substances intended by *rāmōth* and *pĕnīnīm*, it ought not to be overlooked that certain stones valued by the ancients seem to have been named from their resemblance to cord. Pliny, before passing from the onyx and alabaster group, speaks of a valuable 'corallite stone' found in Asia, of a white hue, somewhat approaching that of ivory, and in some degree resembling it (*HN* 36 13); also of corallis, a native of India and Syene, resembling minium in appearance; and of coralloachates or coral-agate, commonly found in Crete, and there called the 'sacred' agate, similar to coral, and spotted all over, like the sapphire, with drops of gold (37 54 56). Cp MARBLE.

COR-ASHAN (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן), 1 S. 30 30. *See* BORASHAN.

CORBAN (κορβᾶν [Ti.], κορβάν [WH], Mk. 7 11†, transliteration of Heb. קָרְבָּן, an offering;[3] explained by δωρον, 'gift' (cp Mt. 15 5; similarly Jos. *Ant.* iv. 4 4: κορβᾶν), a kind of votive offering: an object devoted to the deity, and therefore tabooed.[4] Josephus (*l.c.*) uses the word in speaking of the Nazirites who were dedicated to God as a corban, and of the temple treasure, which was inviolable (*BJ* ii. 9 4; . . . τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς; cp Mt. 27 6 κορβανᾶς). Theophrastus, among foreign oaths, especially quotes the *corban* as one belonging to the Jews, which was forbidden to the Tyrians (cp Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22, § 167). It is easy to see that by interdicting himself by a vow a man was able to refrain from using or giving away any particular object, and might thus evade any troublesome obligation. Several abuses crept in (cp *Ned.* 5 6), and, in the passage cited (Mk. 7 11 cp Mt. 15 5), Jesus denounces a system which allowed a son, by pronouncing the word 'corban' [and thus vowing a thing to God), to relieve himself of the duty of helping a parent. Cp comm. on Mt. 15 5 Mk. 7 11, and especially L. Cappellus on Mt. 15 5; also *PRE*(2) 5 42.

CORBE (χορβε [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 12 AV = Ezra 2 9, ZACCAI.

CORD. There is no scarcity of Hebrew terms to denote cord of one kind or another.

Among the commonest words are חֶבֶל *ḥebel* (√to bind), and יֶתֶר *yether* (√to stretch), both used of cords or ropes for drawing, hauling (cp 2 S. 17 13 EV 'rope'),[5] of tent-ropes (Is. 33 20 Job 4 21),[6] and of ship's tackle; *see* SHIP, TENT, § 3. *Yether* (𝔊 in Judg. νευρά), which seems to denote rather 'gut,' and its derivative מֵיתָר, are used also specially of bowstrings (Ps. 11 2 21 12 [13]). Less frequent terms are: חוּט *ḥūṭ* (√to sew),

1 This interpretation is due to Grätz (*Jüd. Zt.* 1885, pp. 549 *f.*); it has been overlooked by even the most recent commentators. For other views, on the whole very improbable ones, see Wright, *Zechariah*, 124 *f.*; Now. and GASm. decline to offer any opinion.

2 Bickell: 'If thou hold thy peace (דֻּמּוֹתָ) before a fool, thou art wise.'

3 Targ. Job 28 16 has, for ראמות, סנדלכוי = σανδαρακη of Theophr., etc., viz., native realgar, or ruby sulphur (disulphide of arsenic). It is used to a limited extent as a pigment, but cannot be intended here (indication, however, of colour).

4 With Aq., Pesh., some Heb. MSS, and virtually 𝔊 (ἀνθρώπους = אדם). Sym. and Theod. support MT.

1 The text may, however, be corrupt; משך is a singular term. We might emend to ונחשבה, '(wisdom) is esteemed' (Che.).

2 The common rendering is '. . . more ruddy in body than *peninim*' (cp EV). But 'in body' (עצם) appears superfluous here: whereas if we transpose the preposition, and read מעצי instead of 'עצם מ, we get a good sense (see above). 𝔊 does not represent either עצי or עצם. See Bu. and Bickell, *ad loc.*

3 In P of the Hexateuch it is the Comprehensive term for all offerings presented to God, bloody or bloodless; see also Ezek. 20 28 40 43.

4 See Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.*, s.v. קוּרְבָּן, *NHWB*, *s.v.* קוֹנָם, קוֹנָם [mutilations of the formula, which are equally binding, *Nedarim*, 1 2, as will be explained under VOW, § 4], and also BAN, § 1, SACRIFICE, VOW.

5 For 1 K. 20 31 see TURBAN.

6 Job 4 21 RV 'tent-cord,' RVmg. AV 'excellency.' 𝔊, however, expresses נשף בהם ויבשו &, 'Surely when he blows upon them, they wither.' This is preferable (so Beer).

'thread' (Gen. 14 23 Judg. 16 12 Cant. 4 3; AV 'fillet,' RV 'line' in Jer. 52 21); נִקְפָּה *nikpāh* (√to encircle, go round), Is. 3 24 RV 'rope' (AV rent); עֲבֹת *'ăbhōth* (cp Ass. *abuttu*, 'fetter'), Judg. 15 13, etc.; פָּתִיל *pāthīl*, Nu. 15 38, etc., Judg. 16 9 (AV thread, RV string), (for Gen. 38 18 25 see RING, § 1); and קָו, תִּקְוָה: see LINE.

The materials available were strips of skin or hide (cp the legend of the Carthaginian *Byrsa*), or the intestines of animals, especially the goat or camel (cp יתר above), flax (Ezek. 40 3), and rushes. It is ropes of rushes that are meant by σχοινίον and σπαρτίον, 𝔊's equivalents for חבל and חוט respectively. Σχοινίον occurs twice in NT—Jn. 2 15 (a scourge of cords), Acts 27 32 (ropes of a ship).

The weaving together of two or more ropes for greater strength was customary: cp Eccles. 4 12, 'the threefold cord (הַחוּט הַמְשֻׁלָּשׁ) is not quickly broken.' יתרים לחים 'green withes' (EV), 'which had not been dried,' were employed in binding Samson (Judg. 16 8). Greater flexibility, for the purpose of tying, was thus ensured, and the knots were less liable to slip and the cord to split.

From the idea of 'line, cord,' etc., is readily obtained the meaning of 'measuring-line' (cp חבל 2 S. 8 2 Am. 7 17, חוט 1 K. 7 15, קו 1 K. 7 23, פתיל Ezek. 40 3);[1] hence, further, that of the part 'measured off,' the 'lot' or 'inheritance' (cp חבל Josh. 19 9, pl. in Ps. 16 6 [5]).

On the 'cords' (σχοινία) worn by the unchaste women of Babylon (Bar. 6 43), see Fritzsche *ad loc.*

CORE (ΚΟΡΕ [BℵA Ti. WH]), Ecclus. 45 18 Jude 11 AV, RV KORAH (*q.v.*).

CORIANDER (גַּד; ΚΟΡΙΟΝ [BAFL];[2] Ex. 16 31 Nu. 11 7†) is a plant indigenous to the Mediterranean area, *Coriandrum sativum*, L., as all agree. The Hebrew name, which Lagarde (*GA* 57) believes to be of Indo-European origin, seems identical with the γοίδ[3] which the scholiast on Dioscorides (3 64) affirms to be the Punic equivalent of κόριον; and the identity of the plant is thus assured. The manna which is likened to its seed is also said to be 'small, flaky,[4] small as hoar-frost upon the ground,' and is elsewhere said to resemble bdellium. These characters suit the so-called seed (really fruit) of the coriander, which is about the size of a peppercorn. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CORINTH (ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ). The secret of Corinthian history lies in the close relation of the city to the commerce of the Mediterranean. Even before the development of trade by sea the wealth of Corinth was inevitable owing to its position on the Isthmus, the 'bridge of the sea' (Pind. *Isth.* iii. 38, 'door of the Peloponnese,' Xen. *Ages.* 2). For navigation and far-reaching commercial enterprises no city was more favourably placed. Its territory was unsuited for agriculture (Strabo 382); the more distinct, therefore, was the vocation of its inhabitants for a seafaring life. The Phoenicians were early attracted by the advantages of the site. There are many traces of their presence at Corinth. At the foot of the Acrocorinthus, Melkarth, the god of Tyre (see PHŒNICIA), was adored by the Corinthians as the protector of navigation under the name Melicertes (Paus. ii. 1 3). The armed Aphrodite (Astarte), had a temple on the summit of the hill (Str. 379, ναΐδιον: Paus. ii. 4 6 *f.*, sharing it with the sun-god; *id.* ii. 5 1); to her in later times a thousand female votaries paid service with their bodies, adopting a custom well known in Syrian worship (Strabo, 378).

'The juxtaposition of the two Corinthian harbours (Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf, and Cenchrĕæ, with Schœnus, on the Saronic) made it easy to tranship cargoes; and, as the voyage round Cape Malĕa was difficult, the mariners of Asia and Italy found it desirable to land their goods at Corinth, so that the possessors of the Isthmus received dues from these as well as from whatever was brought from the Peloponnese by land' (Str. 378; cp Dio Chrys. *Or.* viii. 5, ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ ἐν τριόδῳ ἐκεῖτο). In consequence of her rapid commercial expansion, the arts also awakened in Corinth to a new life, especially those of metal-work and pottery, heirlooms of Phœnician influence (cp Paus. ii. 3 3; Pl. *HN.* 34 3). Trade became wholesale. The establishment of the Isthmian games in the sanctuary of Poseidon, near the bay of Schœnus, in 'the wooded gorge of the isthmus' (Pind.; Str. 380), elevated Corinth into a distinct centre of Hellenic life (Str. 378). So from the earliest times the epithet 'wealthy' was especially reserved for Corinth (ἀφνειός, Hom. *Il.* 2 570; ὀλβία, Pind. *Ol.* 13 4; Thuc. 1 13), and although the rise of Athens finally destroyed her dreams of naval empire she remained the first mercantile city of Greece.

This prosperity found a rude ending in 146 B.C. when the place was pillaged by the Roman consul, Lucius Mummius, and levelled with the ground; but the re-establishment of the city was inevitable. In 44 B.C. Julius Cæsar founded on the old site the *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. The nucleus of its population consisted of freedmen (Paus. ii. 1 2, Str. 381). Most of the names of Corinthian Christians indicate either a Roman or a servile origin (*e.g.*, Gaius, Crispus, 1 Cor. 1 14; Fortunatus, Achaicus, 1 Cor. 16 17; Tertius, Rom. 16 22; Quartus, Rom. 16 23; Justus, Acts 18 7). The New Corinth, by the mere force of geographical causes, became as of old the most prosperous city of Greece, and the chosen abode of luxury and 'abysmal profligacy' (Str. 378 382; Athen. 13 573; cp the saying, οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς). It was also the capital of the province, and the seat of the governor of Achaia (Acts 18 12).

For description, see Paus. ii. 1 *f.*; cp Frazer, *Paus.* 3 20-38. Pausanias distinguishes the Roman from the Greek remains; few vestiges are now found of either city, though the American archæologists have recently made important discoveries (see *JHS* 18 333 ['98]: among other inscriptions one 'of uncertain date, but as late as the imperial times,' reading συναγωγὴ Ἑβραίων').

Corinth, like Athens and Argos, naturally attracted a large Jewish population (Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 36; cp Justin, *Dial.* 1). The edict of Claudius, banishing the Jews from Rome, must have augmented the number of Hebrew families in Corinth (Acts 18 2; cp Suet. *Claud.* 25); see AQUILA. As in other cities (*e.g.*, Iconium, Acts 14 1, Thessalonica, Acts 17 4), a considerable number of gentiles had been attracted to the Jewish synagogue, and their conversion would be the first-fruits of Paul's work. His decisive breach with the Jews, and his adoption of the house of the Roman or Latin Titius Justus as his place of instruction (cp Acts 19 9), enabled Paul to reach the otherwise inaccessible gentile population (mostly of Italian origin: Acts 18 8, πολλοὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον). Aquila, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed his greatest success among the Jews (Acts 18 28), though the Corinthian church remained predominantly gentile in character.

In conformity with his principle of seeking the centres of commercial activity, Paul visited Corinth on his departure from Athens (Acts 18 1). For the importance of this step as regards the development of Paul's missionary designs, see PAUL. Converts were made chiefly among the gentiles, of the poorer class (Acts 18 8 1 Cor. 1 26 6 11 12 2), although some Jews believed (see CRISPUS); and some persons of importance (see ERASTUS, GAIUS, perhaps also CHLOE). The accession of Crispus and of Gaius was so important that Paul forsook his rule and baptized them with his own hand (1 Cor. 1 14-16). He lays special stress upon his claim to be regarded as sole founder of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 3 6 4 15). This claim is not contradicted by 2 Cor. 1 19 ('who was preached . . . by me and Silvanus and Timothy'), for

[1] Similarly σχοινίον and σπαρτίον.

[2] The Greek name, according to Flück. and Hanb. (293), is due to 'the offensive odour it exhales when handled, and which reminds one of bugs—in Greek, κόρις.'

[3] The Punic γοίδ appears again in Lat. *git* or *gith*, which is black cummin, *Nigella sativa*, L. See FITCH, 1.

[4] This, rather than 'round,' seems to be the meaning of מְחֻסְפָּס (Di. on Exod. 16 14).

2 Cor. is addressed to the Christians of Achaia generally as well as to the Corinthians, while 1 Cor. is written more especially to the church of Corinth.

The apostle spent eighteen months in Corinth on this occasion (Acts 18 11). On his next recorded visit he stayed three months (Acts 20 3). On a supposed intermediate visit to Corinth and on the correspondence that took place, see CORINTHIANS, §§ 9 *f.*, 13. On the character of Paul's teaching see below, and cp PAUL, APOLLOS.

As to the effect of Paul's letters and presence the NT gives no information; but the letter of Clement, written, perhaps, about 97 A.D., shows that the moral tone of the Corinthian church improved, though the friction between parties continued, as indeed we should expect from the social conditions obtaining in such a city. Hegesippus visited the church about 139 A.D., and was favourably impressed by the obedience and liberality of its members, and the activity of its bishop Dionysius (Eus. *HE* iv. 22).

The two epistles written to the Corinthians are remarkable for the variety of their local colouring. The illustrations are drawn chiefly from gentile life:—the wild-beast fight (1 Cor. 15 32); the stadium and boxing match (1 Cor. 9 24-27); the theatre (1 Cor. 4 9 7 31); the garland of Isthmian pine, the prize in the games (1 Cor. 9 25); the idol festivals (1 Cor. 8 10 10 20 *f.*); the syssitia, so common a feature of Greek social life (1 Cor. 10 27).

W. J. W.

CORINTHIANS, Epistles to the.[1] It will be unnecessary to repeat here the familiar story of the founding of the church at Corinth, which is elsewhere set in its place in the life of the apostle (see PAUL).

1. Relations with Corinth.

According to the scheme of chronology adopted in this article it would fall in the years 50-52 A.D. (48-50 Harnack, 52-54 Lightfoot, otherwise von Soden; see CHRONOLOGY, § 71). In the spring of the latter year Paul left Corinth. Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where they stayed behind while he went on to Jerusalem. This journey and the visit to the Galatian churches (Acts 18 23) would take up the whole of the later spring or summer of A.D. 52, and it would not be until the autumn of that year that the apostle returned to Ephesus.

In the meantime events had moved at Corinth. The Alexandrian Jew Apollos, by this time an instructed Christian, had gone thither and his preaching had a great effect. Other teachers were at work there in a spirit less friendly to Paul. Factions were formed, and, when Paul wrote his first extant letter to the Corinthians some two years later, had begun to make serious mischief. The apostle was now settled at Ephesus, which, on an average voyage, would not be more than a sail of a week or ten days from Corinth.[2]

2. Earlier correspondence.

News would thus pass easily to and fro: and Paul was evidently kept well informed of what passed at Corinth. At least one earlier letter of his has been lost to us (1 Cor. 5 9), unless, as some have thought, a fragment of it remains embedded in 2 Cor. 6 14-7 1 (on this view, which should probably on the whole be rejected, see below, § 18). The purport of the letter, which the Corinthian Christians somewhat misunderstood, was to warn them against intercourse with immoral heathen. When we remember the laxity of Corinthian morals we cannot be surprised that other and graver aberrations of this kind had taken place among them. The state of things disclosed by some of the apostle's visitors at Ephesus, notably by members of the *familia* of a lady called Chloe (1 Cor. 1 11), gave him so much

3. Extant Epistles.

[1] Πρὸς Κορινθίους [Ti.WH].

[2] It took Aristides four days to get from Corinth to Miletus (Friedlander, *Sittengesch.* 2 15); but Cicero and his brother Quintus were both about a fortnight on shipboard (*ad Attic.* 3 9, 6 8, 9: quoted by Heinrici (after Hug), *Das zweite Sendschreiben*, etc., 48).

anxiety that he took pen in hand to write our First Epistle. At the same time he replied to a series of questions put to him in a letter which he had received (perhaps through Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus: 1 Cor. 16 17) from the church at Corinth. These two things—the tidings which he had heard of disorders in the church, and certain definite inquiries put to him—account satisfactorily for the contents of the First Epistle (see below, §§ 14-16). So far all is clear, except perhaps as to the exact date at which the epistle was sent, though it may be placed provisionally about Easter of A.D. 55. There is also no doubt as to the general nature of the circumstances under which our Second Epistle was sent. The interval which separated it from the First Epistle cannot have been very long. It may be assigned to the late autumn (about November) of the same year.[1] From some cause or other, it is clear, the anxiety of the apostle had increased, and had indeed reached a pitch of great and painful tension. The return of Titus, whom he had sent to Corinth, relieved him of this, and he warmly expresses his satisfaction. Then he turns to the practical question of the collection which he was organising for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. Before the letter is concluded, however, he comes back (in the text as we have it) to his opponents and writes again with no little emotion about them. This letter was written on the way to Corinth, probably from Macedonia, and the apostle is about to pay to the church a visit which he repeatedly calls his third (2 Cor. 12 14 13 1).

This brief outline, however, evades a number of difficulties.

Considered quite broadly and generally, the course of events is clear enough; but, when we attempt to give them precision in detail, difficulties spring up at every step.

4. Difficulties in detail.

The questions which arise are also exceedingly intricate, so that to state them satisfactorily is no easy matter. They have nearly all been brought out by the research of the last five-and-twenty years; and we shall perhaps succeed best in threading our way through them by taking the several steps—logical if not exactly chronological—by which they may be supposed to have arisen.

The data which we take over from the First Epistle are: (1) the existence of an active opposition to Paul on the part not only of unbelieving Jews but also of certain sections of Judaising Christians at Corinth; and (2) the occurrence in the church there of a gross case of what we should describe as incest (1 Cor. 5 1). The main question which meets us is, how far does the Second Epistle deal with these same data, and how far have the circumstances altered? Before we can formulate an answer to this question, however, it is necessary first to decide whether or not we are to interpose a lost epistle between the two which have come down to us.

The Second Epistle is full of allusions to a previous letter, and the older commentators with one consent assumed that this was the First Epistle.

5. Intermediate letter.

Such an assumption was obvious and natural; but, when the language of the Second Epistle came to be closely examined, doubts began to arise as to whether that language could really be satisfied by the First Epistle as it has come down to us.

In particular it was asked whether the strong emotion under which it seemed that this previous letter had been written could apply to the First Epistle: 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears' (2 Cor. 2 4); and again, the severe heart-searchings described in 2 Cor. 7 7-11 did not seem to agree with the calm practical discussions of the First Epistle.

Since Klöpper (1874) an increasing number of scholars have replied to this decidedly in the negative. Perhaps somewhat too decidedly. Although it is perfectly true that a great part of the First Epistle is taken up with calm practical discussions, the whole epistle is not in this strain.

[1] On this reckoning ἀπὸ πέρυσι (2 Cor. 9 2) will mean not 'a year ago' but 'last year.' The Macedonian year, like the Jewish, began with October. See YEAR.

Many passages, especially in the earlier chapters, must have cost the writer no slight emotion. Such would be (*e.g.*) the scathing irony of 1 Cor. 4 8-13 (the Corinthians already enjoying the rich abundance of the Messianic reign while the poor apostles are maltreated like gladiators in the arena); the whole of the next section, 1 Cor. 4 14-21, which ends with a threat that the apostle will come to them with a rod; and then the section on the incestuous man in which he projects himself in spirit into the president's chair in their assembly and solemnly hands over the offender to Satan.

It is by no means incredible that passages like these would stand out in Paul's memory after he had despatched his letter, and that he should work himself up into a state of great and even feverish anxiety as to the way in which they would be received. The fact that a considerable fraction of the church should have made themselves, as it seems, in some sort accomplices with the offending person, might well make the apostle feel that the moment was extremely critical and that the result might be nothing less than the break-up of the church.

This leads us to the further question with which that just stated is bound up. Along with the allusions to a previous letter there are in the Second Epistle also allusions to what was evidently a great crisis in the history of the church. Was this crisis the same as that which is contemplated in the First Epistle, or was it wholly distinct?

6. Situation in 2 Cor.

The scholars who first maintained the view that there was a lost letter between the two extant epistles were content to acquiesce in the older view that the descriptions of 2 Cor 2 5-11 7 5-16 had reference to a state of things growing directly out of the situation presented in 1 Cor. 6. There too there is a single offender, who appears to have a backing in the church, and the apostle is aware that the position is full of danger: the machinations of Satan are not hidden (2 Cor. 2 11).

It must be confessed that the situation of 1 Cor. 5 fits on extremely well to that of 2 Cor. 2 5-11, except in one particular. That is, as the more recent writers on the epistles (Weizsacker, Pfleiderer, Krenkel [*Beiträge*], Schmiedel, Julicher) for the most part urge, that the treatment described in 2 Cor. 2 6, which is accepted as adequate to the occasion by Paul, seems inadequate to the very gross offence of 1 Cor. 5 1. There is also considerable difficulty in assigning the part of the injured person in 2 Cor. 7 12: 'So although I wrote unto you, [I wrote] not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest,' etc.

7. Partial agreement of 2 Cor. 2 5-11 and 1 Cor. 5.

If the offending person of 1 Cor. 5 was really let off with a comparatively slight punishment there must have been extenuating circumstances of which we are not told. Such circumstances might be that the 'father's wife' was not in the strict sense a wife but a concubine (the father being probably a heathen); and we might have supposed that the father was dead. In such a case Paul with his strong sympathy for human infirmity, and his readiness to make allowance for a convert brought up in the laxity of heathenism, might conceivably have accepted an expiation short of that which the circumstances would seem at first sight to demand. The supposition that the father was dead would fall through, however, if 'his cause that suffered the wrong' (τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος) referred to him; and it does not seem satisfactory that a sin of this kind should be regarded only in the light of personal injury to another.

Accordingly the tendency among those recent German writers who have gone into the question more fully than any others, has been to offer a wholly different explanation of the state of things implied in the Second Epistle. They, as a rule, take the offence on which the situation turns in this epistle to be some personal affront or insult put upon Paul (so Hilgenfeld, Mangold, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Schmiedel, Jülicher; Beyschlag gives the alternative that the insult may have been offered to Timothy), not in connection with the case of the incestuous man, but rather growing out of the revolt against his authority as an apostle. In keeping with this, most of them would explain τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος as an indirect reference to Paul himself.

8. Other explanations of 2 Cor. 2 5-11.

This, however, again seems strained and unnatural, and indeed inconsistent with the exegesis of the verse where Paul is mentioned (*v.* 12 'your earnest care for us'; τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν) in such a way as almost certainly to distinguish him from the injured person. Krenkel, it seems to us rightly, urges this and would take the passage as referring to some private quarrel between two members of the Corinthian church (*Beitr.* 304-307). We know from 1 Cor. 6 that such quarrels were rife at Corinth, and the interpretation thus suggested suits the choice of words (ἀδικήσας and ἀδικηθείς) better than any other. The objection would be that we have to draw largely upon the imagination to explain how a matter like this, which we should have thought might be settled calmly enough, became the cause of such acute tension between the apostle and a large section of the church.

We have then three hypotheses, each with some advantages and some counterbalancing drawbacks: (1) that the reference is to the incestuous man—which would greatly simplify the situation so far as the two epistles are concerned, but could be held only on the assumption of peculiar qualifying circumstances in the case which it is not easy for us to imagine; (2) that the reference is to some direct personal insult to Paul—a hypothesis which, by introducing an intermediate letter, enables us to construct one which will suit the allusions somewhat better than the extant First Epistle, but in our opinion forces ὁ ἀδικηθείς and makes the situation in the Second Epistle a tantalising duplicate of that in the First, besides (it might seem) inconveniently crowding events between the two epistles; (3) that the reference is neither to Paul nor to the incestuous man, but to a quarrel between two unknown persons—which satisfies ὁ ἀδικηθείς, but is open to some of the same objections as the last, and is not so helpful.

We shall see below that, in spite of its apparent attractiveness, the first of these hypotheses must be given up. There is a break between the two epistles: there must have been at least one intervening communication—and if one, probably two communications—between Paul and the church at Corinth; and the aspect of things has changed not simply once, but probably twice. The fact of the new situation, and the fact of the intermediate letter, thus seem to be assured; but in regard to particulars we have hardly data enough to enable us to judge. We cannot easily bring ourselves to think that the person directly injured is Paul: at the same time he appears to be someone closely connected with him. Timothy would meet the conditions better than any one we can think of; but neither the injured person nor the aggressor can be identified more precisely.

Along with the question as to an intermediate letter goes the further question as to an unrecorded visit paid by Paul to Corinth.

9. Unrecorded visit.

Unlike the letter, this visit is not purely hypothetical. In 2 Cor. 12 14 and 13 1 the apostle speaks expressly of his approaching visit as the third. This implies that we must insert another, not mentioned by the historian, somewhere between Acts 18 18 and 20 2—or rather, we may say, somewhere in the three years spent by Paul at Ephesus. We have seen that his communications with the church at Corinth were frequent; we have seen also that the voyage was easy. The silence of Acts (which dismisses two years in a verse: 19 10), therefore, is no real obstacle.

Is the visit to be placed before or after the First Epistle?

It is most tempting to go with the majority of recent critics and place it after. The conspicuous fact about this visit is that it was a painful one (ἐν λύπῃ: 2 Cor. 2 1). If so, what could be more natural than to connect it with the letter which was written 'with many tears?' Both alike, it might seem, should be placed on the line of strained relations which led up to the Second Epistle. The unrecorded visit would, in that case, precede the lost letter. We might imagine, in view of 2 Cor. 10 10, that Paul had been summoned over to Corinth hastily that there his malady had come on, that he had broken down physically and been obliged to return, leaving matters to all appearance worse than he found them; that he then wrote a letter to undo the effect of this disaster; that this letter was strongly worded, and, after it had been sent, caused him great anxiety; and that it was his relief from this anxiety on the coming of Titus that was the immediate occasion of the Second Epistle.

Such combinations are tempting; but they lead us on to the discussion of the next point which has a direct and perhaps a crucial bearing upon them.

10. Paul's plans.

In 1 Cor. 16 5 the apostle announces his intention of coming to Corinth by the longer land route through Macedonia. This, as a matter of fact, is the route that he was actually taking at the time when he wrote the Second Epistle. In the interval, however, he must have changed his mind, not

once but twice; or, rather, he must have changed it and afterwards reverted to his original plan. From 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.* we learn expressly that he had at one moment decided to go straight from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and then to return again to Corinth.

When he formed this decision he seems *to* have been well pleased with the Corinthians and they with him; his motive in that, twice over, both on going and returning, they may have the benefit of this presence (2 Cor. 1 15). He did not carry out this plan because. after it had heen formed, his relations to the Corinthians underwent a change. He tells us that he would not go to them because, if he had gone, it must have been 'in grief' (2 Cor. 2 1). None the less his change of plan was made one of the accusations against him, and was set down to fickleness of purpose (2 Cor. 1 17).

This being so, however, are we not precluded from interposing any visit between the conceiving of the intention described in 2 Cor. 115 (the short voyage and the double visit) and the writing of the Second Epistle?

It is not only, as Schmiedel argues (*HC* 53), that the feelings of the apostle when he made his plan and when he paid the supposed visit were different—in the one case satisfaction with the Corinthians, in the other case pain—but that a visit of any kind is inconsistent with the language used. If Paul had paid such a visit he would have kept to his intention (not broken it), and the charge of fickleness must at least have assumed another form.

We must therefore, with some reluctance, abandon the idea of bringing the painful visit and the painful letter into juxtaposition. The only other place for the former seems to be in the part of Paul's stay at Ephesus anterior to the First Epistle, and towards the middle or later part of it (*i.e.*, not far from, and probably before, the lost letter; 1 Cor. 69; cp Schmiedel, *op. cit.* 54). The supposition that the second visit was only contemplated, not paid, appears to be excluded by 2 Cor. 13 2.

We observe also, in passing, that the history of these changes of plan goes far to dispose of the arguments in favour of the supposition that there is no lost letter between the two epistles.

The only way *to* make the First Epistle referred *to* directly in the Second is to regard certain passages in it as haunting the apostle and causing him trouble as *to* its reception. At the time when he conceived the plan *set* down in 2 Cor. 115, however, his mind was free from trouble: the Corinthians and he were on the best of terms. This alone would sever the links which have seemed to hind the two letters together. They must be connected closely or not at all.

11. Movements of Timothy. When Paul wrote 1 Corinthians Timothy was not with him. We should infer from Acts 19 22 that before that date he had been already sent into Macedonia. This agrees perfectly with the turn of phrase in 1 Cor. 16 10: 'If Timothy come, *see* that he be with yon without fear.' Before the despatch of the Second Epistle he had rejoined Paul, as he is associated with him in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1 1). If the suggestion above holds, it was probably he who brought news of the events which led up *to* the second crisis. In any case the dealing with that crisis at its height was committed not to Timothy but to the stronger hands of Titus.

12. Of Titus. Assuming that there was an intermediate letter between 1 and 2 Cor. it is probable that Titus was the bearer of it (2 Cor. 12 18), as he was also the bearer of our Second Epistle (2 Cor. 8 16-24).

A small group of scholars, including Hausrath and Schmiedel, would assign to Titus yet another earlier visit, on the business of the collection, soon after the writing of the First Epistle: hut the hypothesis is invented *to* snit the theory that 2 Cor. 12 is not an integral part of our Second Epistle, and necessitates the invention of a number of other purely hypothetical occurrences (among them a fifth, or third lost letter), nearly all of them duplicates of others that are better attested. It may be rejected without hesitation.

The sequence of events, as far as we can ascertain it, seems to have been this:—[1]

13. Sequence of events. (i.) While Paul is absent at Jerusalem Apollos arrives at Corinth, where he preaches with success (Acts 18 27).

(ii.) Paul takes up his abode at Ephesus in the summer of A.D. 52, remaining there until the summer of A.D. 55.

(iii.) Early in this period Apollos quits Corinth and certain Judaising teachers arrive there. The beginnings are laid of differences which soon harden into parties.

(iv.) About, or somewhat after, the middle of the period Paul pays the church a brief disciplinary visit. ἐν λύπῃ (2 Cor. 2 1: see above, § 10). He also, after his return, writes the *lost letter* of 1 Cor. 5 9.

(v.) The household of Chloe bring news of an ominous development of the spirit of faction (1 Cor. 1 11), and a little later Stephanas Fortunatus, and Achaicus arrive at Ephesns (1 Cor 16 17), perhaps as bearers of a letter *to* the apostle from the church at Corinth seeking his advice on various matters.

(vi.) Partly in consequence of what he had heard, and partly in answer to that letter, Paul writes *First Corinthians* in the spring of A.D. 55, taking occasion to correct a wrong impression drawn from the lost letter (1 Cor. 6 9 *ff.*).

(vii.) The epistle thus written has the desired effect, and for the moment all goes well (2 Cor. 1 12-16). The apostle lets the Corinthians know his programme of 2 Cor. 1 15 *f.* Timothy arrives at Corinth and now, or at the time of chap. 8, returns to Ephesus.

(viii.) Another sharp controversy arises, beginning perhaps in some well-meant hut feeble action on the part of Timothy, and soon involving the whole question of the apostle's position and authority.

(ix.) On hearing of this from Timothy Paul writes a *secund lost letter*, the tone of which is severe and uncompromising. It is sent by Titus, who at the same time has instructions in regard to the collection.

(x.) After Titus has gone, Paul becomes more and more anxious as to the effect his last letter is likely to have on the Corinthians. He leaves Ephesus, having about this time heen in imminent peril there. He stops at Troas. Still no news.

(xi.) Titus at last returns to him in Macedonia and dispels his fears. The *Second Epistle* is written and is sent by Titus and two others (2 Cor. 8 18 22). Its main tenor is thankfulness; hut the collection is pressed, and the growth of one party (probably the Christ-party) leads *to* some emphatic strictures.

(xii.) Towards the end of December A.D. 55 Paul reaches Corinth. He stays there three mouths (Acts 20 3), during which he writes the Epistle to the Romans.

FIRST EPISTLE.—We have seen that the occasion of the First Epistle was two-fold: (1) certain tidings which had reached Paul as to various disorders existing in the church at Corinth: (2) certain questions put to him in an official letter from the church.

14. Occasion of 1 Cor. The disorders were: (i.) a number of factions which raised the flag of party spirit and used the names of prominent leaders to give colour to their own self-assertiveness. On these more will be said below (§ 16). The subject covers 1 10-4 21. (ii.) A bad case of immoral living which too much reflected a general laxity in the church (5 6 12-20). (iii.) Litigiousness,' which did not scruple to have recourse to heathen law-courts (6 1-11). (iv.) An indecorous freedom in worship, exemplified by the disuse of the female headdress (11 2-16). (v.) Still worse disorders at the *agapè* or love-feast, which was followed by the eucharist (11 17-34). And we may perhaps include under this head (vi.) the denial by some of the resurrection, dealt with in chap. 15.

The last three points may have been raised by the official letter. This certainly contained questions about marriage (answered in ch. 7); probably also about relations to heathen practices, such as the eating of meats offered to idols (ch. 8 continued in 9 1-11 1); and possibly some inquiry as to the relative value of spiritual gifts. Chap. 1 1-9 is introductory, and ch. 16 an epilogue of personal matter containing instructions as to the collection, and details as to Paul himself and his companions.

The only points that need perhaps to be more particularly drawn out are the connection of chaps. 1 10-4 21 and 8 1-11 1.

15. 1 Cor. 1 10-4 21 and 8 1-11 1. The first tracks out the spirit of faction to its origin in the conceit of a worldly-minded wisdom, which is contrasted with the simplicity of the Gospel—a simplicity, however, which does not exclude the higher wisdom that comes from God (1 17-2 16). Then, in 3 1-4 5, the true position of human teachers is stated. They are but stewards, whose duty is not to put forward anything of their own, but only to administer what is committed to them by God. The Christian has but one foundation and one judge, namely Christ. 4 6-21 applies these general truths *to* the circumstances of the case with biting irony, which, however, soon changes to affectionate entreaty, and that again *to* sharp admonition.

The sequence of the argument in 8 1-11 1 should not be lost sight of. In ch. 8 is laid down the principle which should guide conduct in such matters as the eating of meat that might have come from heathen sacrifices. This principle is the subordination of personal impulse *to* the good of others. In ch. 9 Paul points out the working of the principle in his own case; it is in deference *to it* that he waives his right to claim support from the Church, in deference to it that he exercises severe self-

[1] With the dates given here cp those in CHRONOLOGY, § 71.

control, like that of runners in a race. The history of Israel showed what an utter mistake it was for even the most highly-privileged to suppose themselves exempt from the necessity of such self-control (10 1-13). The very nature of the Christian Eucharist prescribed care in relation to heathen feasts (10 **14-22**). This leads to some practical suggestions and advice (10 **23**-**11** 1).

16. Parties. Of the subject matter of the epistle the points which most invite discussion are the nature of the parties, and the spiritual gifts. The latter are dealt with elsewhere (see GIFTS, SPIRITUAL).

As to the parties, we may remark (1) that the names 'Paul,' 'Apollos,' 'Cephas,' and 'Christ' represent real titles which the parties at Corinth gave themselves.

When Paul says in 4 6 'These things, brethren, have I transferred by a fiction' (to adopt Dr. Field's elegant translation, *Otium Norvic. ad loc.*) 'to myself and Apollos for your sakes,' the fiction consisted, not in using names which the Corinthians did not use, but in speaking as if he and Apollos had behaved like party-leaders, when they had not so behaved. The whole movement came not from them but from those who invoked their names against their will and without their consent.

(2) The nature of the Paul and the Apollos parties is clear: they were no doubt liberal in tendency, giving a free welcome to Gentile converts, and apt to deal too tenderly with the vices which these brought over with them. From this side would come such premature emancipation as that described in 11 2-16. The followers of Apollos probably also prided themselves on a kind of Alexandrian *Gnosis*, which is by inference condemned in chaps. 1 18-2 16. The Petrine and the 'Christ' parties were, on the other hand, Judaistic, claiming the authority of the apostles at Jerusalem. Both disparaged and attacked Paul. The Christ party, however, seems to have gone to the greater lengths.

The Christ party were Jews in the strictest sense, probably Jews of Palestine (2 Cor. **11** 22). They came with commendatory letters from Jerusalem (2 Cor. 3 1). They themselves bore the title of 'apostle,' in the wider acceptation (2 Cor. **11** 13 **12** 11). They claimed to have Christ for their Master in a sense in which others had not (2 Cor. 10 7). And in particular they insisted that Paul had not the full qualifications of an apostle, as these are laid down in Acts **1** 21 *f.*: he was not an eye-witness of the acts of Jesus, and did not belong to the select company which he had gathered around him (1 Cor. 9 1). Their teaching laid such stress on Jesus' Jewish Messiahship (conceived as the Jews conceived it) as to amount to preaching 'another Jesus' (2 Cor. **11** 4). Paul takes firm ground in his opposition to them. He will not bate one jot of his Gospel (*ibid.*); he will not allow that he is behind the most apostolic of the apostles (2 Cor. **11** 5); he had 'seen the Lord' as truly as they had (*i.e.*, on the road to Damascus, and in ecstatic vision, 1 Cor. 9 1 15 8 2 Cor. 12 1 *ff.*); he had better proof of his apostleship—in his miracles (2 Cor. 12 12), in his insight into Christian truth (2 Cor. **11** 6), in his labours (2 Cor. **11** 23 *ff.*), and especially in the success of his ministry among the Corinthians themselves (1 Cor. 9 1 *f.* 2 Cor. 3 2 *f.*).

There can be little doubt that Paul's masterly *Apologia* carried the day; the curtain drops for us with the close of the Second Epistle; but the subsequent history of the controversy shows that the worst part of the crisis was past, and the power of the Judaisers broken.

SECOND EPISTLE.—The Second Epistle is even more a direct product of the historical situation than the First.

17. 2 Cor.: contents. We may map out the main body of the epistle thus: (1) an outpouring of thanks for recent deliverance (1 3-11); (2) explanations in reference to the apostle's change of plan and the treatment of the offending person by the Corinthian church (1 12-2 17); (3) a deeper *Apologia* for his apostolic position and the distinctive character of his Gospel (3-5); (4) more personal explanations (6-7); (5) the collection (8 *f.*); (6) a warmer defence against Judaistic attacks (10-13 10).

The principal literary question affecting the epistle is as to its integrity.

18. Integrity. Putting aside mere wanton and extravagant theories, substantial arguments have been urged for maintaining that the short paragraph of six verses, 6 14-7 1, and the longer section 10-13 or 10 1-13 10, though the work of Paul, were not originally part of this epistle, but belonged to other epistles now lost: 6 14-7 1 to the missing letter alluded to in 1 Cor. 5 9, and the *Vierkapitelbrief* (as the Germans call it) to the intermediate letter which we have seen reason to assume between the two extant epistles.

We may admit at once that there is a real break in the Second Epistle at both the places noted.

The subject changes, and changes abruptly, both at 6 14 and at 10 1. The epistle would read continuously if we were to skip from 6 13 to 7 2, and the few concluding words 13 **11-14** would come as well at the end of chap. 9 as of chap. **13**.

We may admit further that the subject matter of the first passage resembles, though it is not identical with, that of the missing letter referred to in the First Epistle ('not to keep company with fornicators' was the keynote of the one, 'not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers' of the other); and the vehement polemic of the last four chapters would be not unlike what we should expect to find in the letter which we are led to postulate by the Second.

In spite of these favouring considerations, however, and in spite of the assent which it has met with from certain critics (Pfleiderer, Hausrath, Krenkel, Schmiedel), this latter hypothesis of the letter of four chapters must, we believe, be dismissed.

There was but one painful letter (2 Cor. 7 8, εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, cp 2 4); which is referred to in these chapters (10 10 *f.*), and therefore is not to be identified with them; if it were, then we should have to postulate a previous painful letter further back. When the apostle wrote his painful letter, he wrote in order to avoid the necessity of making a visit in person (1 23); but when he wrote these chapters he was on the point of paying a visit (12 14 **13** 1). Again, there are many coincidences of expression which connect the four chapters with the preceding: 7 6 = 10 1 (ταπεινός, of Paul himself); 5 6 8 7 16 = 10 1 *f.* (θαρρεῖν, not elsewhere in Epp. Paul.); 1 15 3 4 8 22 = 10 2 (πεποίθησις, only twice besides); κατὰ σάρκα three times = three times, always in reference to himself: 6 7 = 10 4 (ὅπλα); νόημα three times = twice, only once besides; 7 15 = 10 5 *f.* (ὑπακοή); 9 5 = 10 6 16 (ἕτοιμος, only once besides in Epp. Paul). These are samples from the first six verses alone. We cannot use the comparison of **12** 18 with **8** 17 *f.* 22 quite as it is used by Julicher (*Einl.* 65), because the two passages really refer to different occasions; **8** 24 is proof that the aorists which precede are epistolary and describe the circumstances connected with the sending of the present epistle, whereas in 12 18 the aorists are strict aorists and point back to a former visit of Titus and his companion. The parallelism of expression, however, is so great as to suggest strongly that both passages belong to the same letter. There is a parallelism equally marked between the use of πλεονεκτεῖν in 12 17 *f.* and in 7 2 (cp 2 11); the word occurs only once besides in NT (1 Thess. 4 6).

If the one hypothetical intrusion breaks down, the other should in all probability go with it.

Not one of the analogous cases to which Schmiedel appeals really holds good; for the balance of argument is also against detaching Rom. 16 from the epistle to the Romans (see the commentary on that epistle by the present writer and Mr. A. C. Headlam). The attestation of the NT text is so varied and so early that a displacement of this magnitude could hardly fail to leave traces of itself. At least, before it can be assumed, the major premise that such a displacement is possible needs to be more fully established.

In the cases which might be quoted from the OT the conditions are really different. It would, however, be well if the whole question of the editing and transmission of ancient Jewish and Christian books could be more systematically investigated. [For a discussion of 6 14-7 1 see *Class. Rev.*, 1890, pp. **12**, 150 *f.*, 317, 359; and the authorities mentioned in the last place.]

If the epistle has come down to us in its integrity, no doubt we must recognise the abruptness of Paul's manner of writing or dictation. In that, however, there is nothing very paradoxical. Besides the rapid fluctuations of feeling, which are so characteristic of this epistle, we must remember that a letter of this length could not all be written at a single sitting. 'It was probably written in the midst of interruptions ('the care of all the churches,' 11 28). Moreover, its author was one whose mind responded with singular quickness to every gust of passing emotion.

19. Apocryphal letters. APOCRYPHAL LETTERS.—In the Armenian version after 2 Corinthians there stand two short letters, from the Corinthians to Paul and from Paul to the Corinthians (cp APOCRYPHA, § 29 4), the substance of which is briefly as follows:—The Corinthians inform Paul that a certain Simon and Cleobius have come to Corinth teaching that the prophets are not to be believed, that the world, including man, is the work not of God but of angels, that there is no resurrection of the body, that Christ has not come in the flesh, and that he was not born of Mary. Paul replies asserting the orthodox doctrine on each of these heads.

Attention was first called to these apocrypha by Archbishop Ussher in **1644**. A complete text was published in the Armenian

Bible of Zohrab in 1805 (incomplete translations earlier); also, with a monograph by Rinck, in 1823. Just as interest in the subject was being revived by Theod. Zahn (*Gesch. d. Kanons*, 1 386 *f.* 2 592-611) and Dr. P. Vetter, professor in the Roman Catholic Faculty at Tubingen, a Latin version was discovered by M. Samuel Berger in a tenth-century MS. at Milan, and published by him in conjunction with Prof. A. Carrière (*La Correspondance Apocryphe de Saint Paul et des Corinthiens*, Paris, 1891). A second MS. (13th cent.), containing a different but probably not altogether independent version, was found at Laon, and published by Prof. Bratke in *TLZ*, 1892, col. 586 *f.* There is also extant, in Armenian, a commentary on the epistle by Ephrem Syrus. The texts are most conveniently collected by Dr. P. Vetter in a Tübingen programme (*Der apocryphe dritte Korintherbrief*; Vienna, 1894).

The facts at present ascertained in regard to the apocryphal letters are these :—

(1) They were from the first (*i.e.* from the 5th cent.) admitted into the Armenian version as part of the canon. (2) They also existed in Syriac and were accepted as canonical in the fourth century by Aphraates, Ephrem Syrus, and the Syriac *Didascalia*. [The quotation in Aphraates is recognised by both Harnack and Zahn, though questioned (as we think wrongly) by Carrière and Vetter.] (3) The letters were also known and had some small circulation in the West.

The problems which still await solution have reference to the question of origin.

(1) Zahn, and now also Vetter, think that the greater part of the letters was in the first instance incorporated in the apocryphal Acts of Paul. [Since this was written Zahn's hypothesis has been verified through the discovery, by Dr. C. Schmidt, of considerable portions of the Acts of Paul in Coptic ; cp *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1897, pp. 117-124, and Harnack in *TLZ*, 1897, col. 627.] In any case it seems probable that they gained their place in the Syriac version in connection with the controversy against Bardesanes early in the third century. Their composition can hardly be much later than 200 A.D. (2) It is coming to be generally agreed that the main body of the epistles existed first in Greek. Vetter and Zahn now think that the concluding portion was added in Syriac, and Zahn goes so far as to make the Latin versions translated not from the Greek but from the Syriac. In this he certainly has not proved his case ; but the age of these versions needs further investigating.

20. Literature. Besides the general commentaries (which still deserve mention) of Bengel, Wetstein, and Meyer (recent editions by Heinrici), we have, in English, in *The Speaker's Commentary*, that on *1 Cor.* by T. S. Evans (primarily exegetical and marked by fine scholarship), and that on *2 Cor.* by Dr. Joseph Waite (general), also the commentaries on *1 Cor.* by Dr. T. C. Edwards (exegetical and theological), and by Bishop Ellicott (grammatical and exegetical). Dean Stanley on both epistles is picturesque and interesting to the general reader, but has inevitably fallen behind the present position of inquiry, and was never exact in scholarship. In this element the later English editions are strongest : they are most deficient in historical criticism. The fullest recent commentary in German on the two epistles is by Heinrici (Berlin, 1880, 1887) : well meant, and with new illustrations from later Greek, but inclined to press Greek analogies too far. Perhaps the best on the whole is Schmiedel's in the *HC* ('91), which is searching and exact but inclined, as we think, to multiply entities beyond what is necessary. In this respect Jülicher's *Einl.* ('94) seem to us to be the most judicious. Godet published a commentary on 1 Cor. in 1886 ; and mention should be made of a monograph and commentary on 2 Cor. by Klopper ('69, '74), and of the discussions of special points in Krenkel's *Beiträge* ('90), and of the missing epistle and its identification with parts of 2 Cor. in the *Expositor* (1897 *b* 231 *ff.* 285 *ff.*, 1898 *a* 113 *ff.*).

On the apocryphal letters, besides the literature quoted above, a summary will be found in Harnack's *Gesch. d. altchr. Litt.* 1 37-39, and Zahn's last words on the subject in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1894, col. 123 *ff.* The important discussion in Zahn's *Einleitung*, 1 183-249, was too late for notice. W. S.

CORMORANT. 1. The cormorant of EV is the *šālākh*, שָׁלָךְ (Lev. 11 17 Dt. 14 17†),[1] a word connected with the common Hebrew verb for 'to throw down' (הִשְׁלִיךְ), and therefore denoting some bird that swoops or dives after its prey. 𝔊BAL in Lev. 11 17 rightly renders κατα[ρ]ράκτης, as this denotes a fish-eating bird which dives and remains under water for some time (Arist. *HA* 9 13). In Dt. 14 17 the order of 𝔊 is different from that of the MT. Vg. has *Mergulus*, the little Auk, and Targ. and Pesh. have *shālē nūnē*—*i.e.*, 'extrahens pisces.' Many writers, following Bochart, believe שָׁלָךְ to be *Sula bassana*, the 'gannet' or 'solan goose' ; but, although this bird is sometimes alleged to have been seen in the reed-marshes of Lower Egypt (Di. on Lev. 11 19), there is some reason for doubting whether it has so wide an E. range. A more likely bird, in view of its common occurrence on the coast of Palestine (Tristram, *NHB* 252), is the 'cormorant,' which likewise plunges after its prey.

Two species of cormorant are described from Palestine: the *Phalacrocorax carbo*, which frequents both the seashore and inland waters, and the pygmy cormorant, *P. pygmæus*, which is found in lakes and rivers. Canon Tristram states that the *P. carbo* is always to be seen near the mouth of the Jordan, watching for the fish, which seem on entering the Dead Sea to be stupefied by the saltness of its waters. Cormorants are fish-eaters and extremely voracious. Like the bittern and the pelican they are looked upon as inhabitants of solitary places.

2. For קָאַת (so Ba. ; Gi. קָאָת, *ḳā'ath*; Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14, AV text), see PELICAN (so AVmg., AV elsewhere, RV everywhere). N. M.—A. E. S.

[1] שלך is restored by Herz in Job 28 8*b* : לֹא־רָאָה עָלָיו שָׁלָךְ 'no cormorant darteth upon it.' Cp LION, OSSIFRAGE.]

CORN. On the cultivation of corn and its use as food, see AGRICULTURE, BREAD, FOOD, § 1, and the various cereals (on which see PALESTINE, § 14). On other points, see the articles cited in the references given in the following list of expressions :—

1. אָבִיב, *ibhibh*, the fresh young ears of corn, Lev. 2 14 ('green ears of corn,' RV 'corn in the ear') ; see also MONTH.

2. בְּלִיל, *bĕlīl*, Job 24 6 AV (mg. 'mingled corn or dredge'), properly 'fodder': see CATTLE, § 5.

3. בַּר, *bar*, Gen. 41 35 49, etc. (E), Am. 5 11 8 6 perhaps 'purified [cleansed] grain' ; cp Ar. *burrun*, 'wheat, grain of wheat,' and see FOOD, § 1.

4. גֹּרֶן, *gōren* (בֶּן־גָּרְנִי, Is. 21 10, EV 'corn of my floor'; cp Dt. 15 14 AV); properly 'threshing-floor'; see AGRICULTURE, § 8.

5. גֶּרֶשׂ, *gereś*, Lev. 2 14 'corn beaten out,' RV 'bruised corn'; cp *v.* 16.

6. דָּגָן, *dāgān*, Gen. 27 28 37, etc., grain (of cereals), used widely, along with תירוש 'must' (*see* WINE), of the products of Canaan (Dt. 33 28) ; see FOOD, § 1. Its connection with the god DAGON [*q.v.*] is uncertain.

7. כַּרְמֶל, *karmel*, 2 K. 4 42, EV 'ears of corn' (cp Lev. 23 14 'ears'), preferably 'fruit' or 'garden-growth'; cp CARMEL. See FOOD, § 1.

8. עָבוּר, *'ăbhūr*, Josh. 5 11 *f.*, EV 'old corn,' RVmg. 'produce, corn.'

9. עֲרֵמָה, *'ărēmāh*, Ruth 3 7, EV 'heap of corn' ; see AGRICULTURE, § 9 *f.*

10. קָלִי, *ḳālī*, 1 S. 17 17, etc., 'parched corn' ; see FOOD, § 1.

11. קָמָה, *ḳāmāh*, Judg. 15 5, etc., 'standing corn'; see AGRICULTURE, § 7.

12. רִיפוֹת, *rīphōth*, 2 S. 17 19 Prov. 27 22, 'bruised corn'; cp COOKING, § 2.

13. שֶׁבֶר, *šéber*, Gen. 42 1, etc., perhaps 'broken (corn),' but uncertain. As a denom. הִשְׁבִּיר, 'to sell corn' (Gen. 42 6 Am. 8 5 *f.*, etc.).

14. κόκκος, Jn. 12 24, 'a corn (RV grain).'

15. σῖτος, Mk. 4 28 etc., a general term like דָּגָן (above, *6*).

16. τὰ σπόριμα, cornfields, Mt. 12 1 Mk. 2 23.

17. στάχυς, Mt. 12 1 Mk. 2 23, 'ear of corn'; cp Heb. שִׁבֹּלֶת, Job 24 24.

CORNELIUS (ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟϹ [Ti. WH]), one of the centurions of the so-called Italian cohort (Acts 10 1).

1. The 'Italian' Cohort. In the regular army composed of Roman citizens distinctive names of this sort were not given to the separate cohorts ; only the legions were so designated (Ramsay, *St. Paul*(4), chap. 14, § 1, p. 314). In Acts 10, accordingly, what we have to do with is a cohort of the auxiliary troops which were raised in the provinces and not formed into legions.[1] As for the meaning of such names : 'cohors Gallorum Macedonica,' for example, would denote

[1] Legions were stationed only in the great provinces that were governed by the emperor through a *legatus Augusti pro prætore* ; the smaller provinces—those administered by an officer of lower rank (*procurator*), such as Egypt, or Judæa from 6-41 A.D., and again from 44 A.D. onwards—had only auxiliary troops. The old provinces, where war no longer threatened and the administration was in the hands of the senate, had no standing army properly so called.

that the cohort mentioned consisted of Gauls but had distinguished itself in Macedonia. If this interpretation were applicable, an Italian cohort would mean one which had fought in Italy. In Arrian, however (*Acies contra Alanos*, § 3, p. 99), the cohort which in § 13, p. 102, is called ἡ σπεῖρα ἡ Ἰταλική, the Italian cohort, figures simply as οἱ Ἰταλοί, the Italians, and with this agree all the other mentions (entirely in inscriptions) of a cohors Italics.

These are (1) *Coh*(ors) *I Italica civium Romanorum voluntariorum*; (2) *coh*(ors) *mil*(iaria)—*i.e.*, having 1000 instead of as usual 500 men) *Italic*(a) *volunt*(ariorum) *quæ est fit* Syria; (3) *coh. II. Italica;* (4) the epitaph of a subordinate officer found at Carnuntum in Pannonia and first published in the *Archæol.-epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* (1895, p. 218)—*optio coh*(ortis) *II Italic*(æ) *c*(ivium) *R*(omanorum centuria) *F*(aus)*tini ex vexil*(lariis) *sagit*(tariis) *exer*(citus) *Syriaci.*

Thus the σπεῖρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10 1 really consisted of Italians, probably of Italian volunteers.

Now, Schürer[1] has pointed out that according to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 87, § 176) the garrison of Cæsarea about 60 A.D. consisted mostly of Cæsareans and Sebastēni (Sebaste having, from 27 B.C., been the name of Samaria). As early, however, as 41-44 A.D. (at latest), when Czesarea was not under a Roman procurator but under a grandson of Herod the Great, King Herod Agrippa I. (whose death is recorded in Acts 12 20-23, and during whose reign, or shortly before it, the story of Cornelius will have to be placed), the garrison at Caesarea must, according to Schiirer, have been similarly composed. For in 44 A.D., the emperor Claudius desired to transfer the garrison—which, at that time, and according to Josephus (*BJ* iii. 42, § 66) also twenty-three years later, in 67 A.D., consisted of an *ala* (= ἴλη—*i.e.*, cavalry detachment of 500 men) of the Cæsareans and Sebasteni and five cohorts—to the province of Pontus, because, after the death of his friend King Agrippa I., they had publicly insulted the statues of his daughters; but there was no change of garrison until the time of Vespasian (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 9 1 *f.*, §§ 356-366). This led Schiirer to conjecture that a cohort of Italians may have come to Cæsarea (there was in Syria, as shown above, one such at least) under Vespasian, and that the author of Acts, or of the source from which he drew, may have transferred the circumstances of his own time to the time of Peter.

Ramsay, on the other side, adduces the iourth of the inscriptions given above. This inscription, however, does not say more than that in 69 A.D. there was a *cohors Italica* in Syria; and, although there may have heen such a cohort there as early as about 40-45 A.D., it is not said that there was one in Czesarea. It is especially improbable that that city was so garrisoned in the reign of Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.), for he was a relatively independent sovereign, not likely to have had Italians in his service; hut even for the period preceding 41 A.D. Schiirer argues for a probability that the garrison of Caesarea was the same as it was afterwards and that it was simply taken over by Agrippa at his accessio;. For the rest, Ramsay can only appeal to a possibility that Cornelius may have been temporarily at Cæsarea on some 'detached service.'

Oscar Holtzmann (*NTliche Zeitgesch.* § 11, 2, p. 108) thinks that perhaps the enrolment at some time or other of a considerable number of Italian volunteers may have sufficed to secure for such a cohort in perpetuity the honorary epithet of 'Italics.' All this, however, is mere conjccture.

Mommsen (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1895, pp. 501-3) seeks to deprive of its force the statement of Josephus on which Schiirer relies. Starting from the view that the troops of Agrippa must certainly have been drawn from the whole of his kingdom,—that is, from all Palestine—he maintains that Czesarea and Sebaste are singled out for special mention by Josephus merely as being the two chief towns in Agrippa's dominions. He lays emphasis on the fact that in *BJ* iii. 42, § 66 (see above) and *Ant.* xx. 61, § 122, it is said only of the *ala*—not of the cohors—that it was composed of Ccesareans and Sebastenes. At the same time he does not use this fact to establish the probability of a *cohors Italica* in Cæsarea. On the contrary, his conclusion is that 'We are unable to identify with any certainty either the *cohors Augusta* of Acts 27 1 or the σπεῖρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10 1.'

The special importance of Cornelius in Acts lies in the representation that his conversion by Peter brought the original Christian community of Jerusalem, in spite of violent recalcitrance at first (11 2 *f.*), to the conviction that the Gentiles also, without circumcision and without coming under any obligation to observe the law of Moses, were to be received into the Christian Church if they had faith in Christ (11 17 *f.*).

2. Narrative irreconcilable with Council of Jerusalem.

The historical truth of this representation has to be considered in connection with what we are told elsewhere concerning the Council of Jerusalem (see COUNCIL, ii. § 4; ACTS, § 4). That council could never have been necessary, and the Judaising Christians in it could never have stood out for the circumcision of the Gentiles or their obligation to observe the whole Mosaic law (Acts 15 1 5), if they had already come to see and acknowledge in the case of Cornelius that such demands were contrary to the divine will. In his controversy with Peter at Antioch also (Gal. 2 11-21), Paul could have used no more effective weapon than a simple reference to this event; but he betrays no knowledge of it. No one, it is to be presumed, will attempt to save the credibility of the narrative by the expedient of transferring it to some date subseqocnt to the Council of Jerusalem. As at that council (we are told) Peter himself expressly agreed that the Gentiles should have unimpeded entrance into the Christian Church, that circumcision and observance of the law should not be demanded of them, he did not, at a later date, require to be instructed on the matter by a divine revelation. Had the Cornelius incident been later than the Council the novelty would have lain simply in Peter's preaching the gospel and administering baptism to Cornelius and his household *in propria* persona. This, however, is precisely what would have been contrary to the principle adopted at the Council as laid down in Gal. 2 9, which settled that he should confine his missionary activity to born Jews. (On the importance of this principle, see COUNCIL, § 9.)

As the story of Cornelius must thus be retained, if anywhere, in its present place, before the Council of Jerusalem, its credibility can be allowed only on condition that it is acknowledged not to possess the important bearing on questions of principle which is claimed for it in Acts. 11 1-18.

3. Credibility of narrative as an incident.

(*a*) To meet this requirement, it is usually thought sufficient to say that the occurrence was an 'exceptional case' (so, for example, Ramsay also, *St. Paul*(4), chap. 3, p. 44). This may be true in the sense that Peter converted and baptized no more Gentiles; but, unless at the same time it is denied that in the case of Cornelius Peter's action proceeded on a divine revelation and command, the reference to the exceptional character of the case has no force. The conditions of missionary activity which God had revealed to Peter in the case of Cornelius must surely, when Paul also began to apply them, have been acknowledged by the original Church; and thus the controversy resulting in the Council of Jerusalem could never have arisen. On this ground alone, then, to begin with, Peter's vision at Joppa is unhistorical; and aversion from miracles has nothing to do with its rejection. The whole account seems to be influenced by reminiscences of the story of the summoning of Balaam by Balak (Nu. 22 5-39); see Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 193-9 ['94].

(*b*) It is further urged (so again Ramsay, *St. Paul*(4),

[1] *ZWT*, 7875, pp. 413-425; *GJV* 1 382-6 (ET i. 248-54; where, on p. 54, according to *Exp.* 1896, ii. 470 n. for 'in reference to a *later* period' should be read 'in reference to a *preceding* period'). In *Exp.* 1896, 2 469-472, Schürer replies to Ramsay *ib.* 194-201; Ramsay replies, 7897, 1 69-72.

ch. 3 § 1 and 16 § 3, pp. 42 *f.* and 375, and *Exp.*, 1896, 2 200 *f.*) that Cornelius according to Acts 10 2 22 35 was a semi-proselyte — i.e. gave a general adhesion to Judaism, without being circumcised or yielding definite obedience to the details of the Mosaic Law;[1] — but neither does this contention avail. The fact is, as stated in Acts 10 28 11 3, that Cornelius and his house, according to Jewish and Jewish-Christian ideas, were unclean; and if, notwithstanding this, God had commanded his admission within the pale of the Christian Church, the command had essentially no less significance than it would have had if he had previously been quite unattached to Judaism. Ramsay (43) says, it is true, that Peter 'laid it down as a condition of reception into the Church that the non-Jew must approach by way of the synagogue (10 35) and become "one that fears God."' But Peter does not say this until after he has been taught by God in a vision. Without this instruction it would have been incumbent on him to exact, as conditions precedent, acceptance of circumcision and submission to the entire law (10 14). As soon as the divine command is recognised as a historical fact the dispute at the Council of Jerusalem becomes, as already stated, an impossibility.

(*c*) On one assumption alone, then, will it be possible to recognise a kernel of historical truth in the story of Cornelius: the assumption, namely, that he was a full proselyte, — circumcised, that is to say, and pledged to observance of the entire Law. Such a supposition, however, is in direct contradiction of the text (10 28 11 3). It would be strange indeed if, in order to make the narrative credible, one had first to change it in so important a point. It would be necessary to depart still further from the text if it were desired to put faith in what is said in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20 13), according to which Peter did not convert Cornelius at Caesarea to Christianity at all, but merely freed him from a demon's possession. It is not intrinsically impossible that here we have a fragment of good tradition preserved from some ancient source (see SIMON MAGUS); but, on account of its combination with manifest fancies (see below, § 6), to trust it would be unsafe.

All the more urgent becomes the question whether the narrative in Acts is derived from a written source.

4. Sources. Of the scholars enumerated under Acts (§ 11) the majority assume that it is, and point out verses in ch. 10, the proper connections of which (they say) have been obliterated by the final redactor of the book.[2] They further emphasise the point that in the narrative by Peter (11 5-17) certain details are not given precisely as in ch. 10. Still, even the most serious of these differences — namely, that in ch. 11 the Holy Spirit fell upon Cornelius and his household at the very beginning of Peter's discourse (*v.* 15) — admits of explanation: 10 34-43 may have been supposed to represent only a comparatively small part of what Peter meant to say. Were it necessary to make a choice between ch. 10 and ch. 11, it would be the worst possible course to try to see in the latter the source from which the fuller narrative of ch. 10 was originally derived by amplification (so Wendt, *ZTK*, 1891, pp. 230-254, esp. 250-4). That principle-determining character which, as we have seen, can in no case have attached to the assumed event, is imparted precisely by the justification which in ch. 11 the event receives before the church of Jerusalem; and against this it is of no avail that Wendt chooses to attribute some of the strongest passages, such as 11 1 and 11 18, to the latest redactor of Acts.

More important than any of the indications hitherto dealt with is the clue supplied in 10 44-47 11 15, 17. The 'speaking with tongues' of Cornelius and his household is here placed on a level with that of the apostles at the first Pentecost after the resurrection, but is not yet (as it is in the other passage) described as a speaking in the languages of foreign nations: it is undoubtedly meant, as in 1 Cor. 12 14, to be taken simply as a speaking in ecstatic tones (see GIFTS). Certainly this representation of the matter does not seem as if it had been due to the latest redactor of the book as a whole.

In favour of the credibility of the narrative, however, nothing is gained by all this search for a written source. It is a great error, widely diffused, to suppose that one may *ipso facto* take as historical everything that can be shown to have stood in one of the written sources of the NT authors. As far as the source was in substance identical with what we now have in the canonical Acts, it is equally exposed to the criticisms already offered. There is one assumption which would escape the force of that criticism — the assumption, namely, that Cornelius was a full proselyte (§ 3*c*); — but it cannot possibly by any analysis of sources be made out to have been the original tradition.

All the more remarkable is the clearness with which the tendency of the narrative may be seen. The

5. Tendency. initiative in missions to the Gentiles, which historically belongs to Paul, is here set down to the credit of Peter (see ACTS, § 3 *f.*). According to the representation given in Acts, it was preceded by the conversion of the Samaritans (8 5-25), who, however, were akin to the Jews, and consequently not Gentiles (Schürer, *GJV* 2 5-7, *ET* 3 5-7). It had been preceded also by the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (8 26-39); but he had not thereby been made a member of any Christian church. The really difficult problem was this: In what manner ought Jewish Christians to live together in one and the same church with Gentile Christians, who did not hold by the Mosaic Law? This question is brought by Peter, in the case of Cornelius, on the basis of a divine revelation, exactly to the solution which in reality it was left to Paul to achieve after hard battle at a much later date (see COUNCIL, §§ 4, 7). With a certain reserve, which bears witness to right feeling for essential historical truth in spite of all unhistoricity in the narrative, the author attributes no more conversions of Gentiles to Peter; and even the conversion of Cornelius himself is in some measure toned down by the previous Jewish sympathies with which he is credited. There is thus a further step left. It is not till later, in Antioch, that the gospel is preached to Gentiles who had not previously stood in any close connection with Judaism, and the new step is taken (as in the case of the Samaritans) in the first instance by subordinate persons, and not sanctioned by the authorities at Jerusalem till after the event (11 19-24). None the less are mission to the Gentiles and the abolition of the distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians so essentially vindicated in the

[1] That this is the meaning of the phrase σεβόμενος [or φοβούμενος] τὸν θεόν is shown in Schürer *GJV*, ET 4 311 *ff.*; also *SBAW*, 1897, Heft 13, 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reich,' especially 19 *f.* = 218 *f.* of the volume: see also PROSELYTE.

[2] 10 36 *f.*, however, ought not to be reckoned among these: no redactor would have introduced such violent abnormalities into his text. The words from ἀρξάμενος ('beginning') down to Γαλιλαίας ('Galilee'), or, it may be, to Ἰωάννης (end of *v.* 37), are absolutely foreign to the Construction, and certainly ought to come between ὅς ('who') and διῆλθεν (EV 'went about') in *v.* 38, whether it be that they originally belonged to this place, or that they originally stood on the margin as a reminiscence by a very early reader from Lk. 23 5 or Acts 1 22. In 10 36 the reading of WH ('[He] sent the word unto . . . Lord of all. *Ye* know the word which': cp RVmg.) is unquestionably a copyist's attempt to remove the difficulties of the construction; but their marginal reading (τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν, etc.; 'The word which' as in EV) it is as difficult to make dependent on the οἴδατε (ye know) of *v.* 37 as it is to construe in apposition to the whole sentence in *v.* 35. If we refuse to suppose that before *v.* 36 some such words as 'you also hath he thought worthy to hear' have fallen out before τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλεν, etc. (the word which [he] sent), it will be necessary to take τὸν λόγον ὅν ('the word which') down to διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ('by Jesus Christ'), as a marginal explanation of τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ('the word which was throughout all Judæa'), where ῥῆμα (RV 'saying') is wrongly understood in the sense of 'word' instead of the Hebraising sense of 'event, occurrence' as in Lk. 2 15; and οὗτός ἐστιν πάντων κύριος ('he is lord of all') will be a further addition.

case of Cornelius that Peter has necessarily to be considered their real initiator as far as Acts is concerned. The narrative, accordingly, is incomplete contrast to Gal. 2 11-21. In Galatians the historical Peter, on account of Jewish Christian prejudice not yet fully-overcome, withdraws from table-fellowship which he had begun with Gentile Christians, and thereby exposes himself to the sharp censure of Paul (see COUNCIL, § 3); in Acts he has completely overcome those prejudices long before Paul begins his Christian activity. It is not necessary on this account to suppose that the author of Acts freely invented the whole story, including even the name of Cornelius; but, considering how niarkcdly he brings it into the service of his theory, we have little prospect of ultimately being able to retain more than a very small kernel as historical.

According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20 13; see above, § 3 c) and Recognitions (10 55) Cornelius took the side of Peter as against Paul. When Simon the Sorcerer (*i.e.*, Paul; see SIMON MAGUS) had stirred up all Antioch against Peter, Cornelius comes upon a mission from the Emperor and arrives at an understanding with the friends of Peter, at their request, to set abroad the rumour that his imperial commission has reference to the arrest of Simon. Thereupon Simon makes his escape to Judæa. Thus Cornelius here plays the part which in Acts 2133 2323-33 is assigned to Claudius Lysias.

6. Later traditions.

According to the 'ὑπόμνημα on the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul,' attributed to Symeon Metaphrantes, Cornelius is consecrated by Peter bishop of Ilium; according to the Greek *Menæa* (13th Sept.), he is sent by Peter to Skepsis on the Hellespont (Lipsius, *Apokryph. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 147, and 9 *f.*). According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (3 63-72) and Recognitions (3 65 *f.*), Zacchaeus was consecrated first bishop of Cæsarea by Peter; in *Ap. Const.* vii. 46 1 Zacchaeus is succeeded by Cornelius. P. W. S.

CORNER (פֵּאָה), Lev. 19 9 27 21 5: (1) of a field: cp CLEAN, § 6; (2) of the beard: see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 5, MOURNING CUSTOMS; (3) of a garment (כנף, κράσπεδον), Nu. 15 38 RV^mg.: see FRINGES.

CORNER, ASCENT OF THE (עֲלִיַּת הַפִּנָּה), Neh. 3 31 RV. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER GATE (שַׁעַר הַפִּנִּים), Zech. 14 10. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER-STONE (in Job אֶבֶן פִּנָּה; λίθος γωνιαῖος; in Is. פִּנָּה, λ. ἀκρογωνιαῖος, and so in NT; in Ps. זָוִית κεκαλλωπισμέναι; Aq. ἐπιγωνία, Sym. γωνίαι?), (*a*) Job 38 6; (*b*) Is. 28 16 1 Pet. 2 6 Eph. 2 20 (without λίθος); (*c*) Ps. 144 12.

In (*a*) the phrase '*pinnah*-stone,' EV's 'corner-stone,' is parallel to אֲדָנֶיהָ, 'its foundations' (or bases), just as in Jer. 51 26 'a stone for a *pinnah*' (אֶבֶן לְפִנָּה) is parallel to 'a stone forfoundations' (אֶבֶן לְמוֹסָדוֹת). In (*b*) we find the same connection between פִּנָּה, *pinnah*, and the foundation-stone. Clearly, therefore, the traditional rendering 'corner-stone' for אבן פנה is unsuitable. Indeed, the word פִּנָּה elsewhere only in some cases means 'corner' (see Ex. 27 2 4 Ezek. 43 20 45 19 Job 1 19 Prov. 7 8). Besides this, the architectural term ראשׁ פִּנָּה in Ps. 118 22 (λ. ἀκρογωνιαῖος in 1 Pet. 2 6 cp Eph. 2 20; but not in Mt. 21 42 and parallel passages, Acts 4 11 1 Pet. 2 7) evidently means, not 'corner-stone,' but 'top-stone of the battlement,' and 'battlement' is RV's rendering of פִּנָּה in 2 Ch. 26 15 Zeph. 1 16 3 6.

In spite of tradition, therefore, it would seem that אֶבֶן פִּנָּה means, not a corner-stone, but a principal stone (cp פָּנִים, Ass. *pānu*, 'front'), one selected for its solidity and beauty to fill an important place in a building, whether in the foundation or in the battlement. Hence the metaphorical sense of פִּנֹּת, 'principal men,' Is. 19 13 (*so* point), 1 S. 14 38 Judg. 20 2. (*c*) The third EV passage (Ps. 144 12) with the word 'corner' is extremely obscure in MT. That Jewish maidens could be likened either to 'corner-stones' (EV, Del.) or to 'corner-pillars' (Baethg., We. in *SBOT*, comparing the Caryatides) puts a severe strain on the imagination. The student may consult the three critics named. Zech. 9 15 ('corners of the altar') by no means justifies either of the above interpretations of זָוִית. The parallel passage, Ps. 128 3, indicates the sort of figure required; the text needs emendation. See further Che. *Ps.*[2]

In Is. 28 16 the stone described as a pinnnh-stone symbolises, not the theocracy or the Davidic dynasty, nor yet the (Jewish) Messiah, but the revealed relation or Yahwè to Israel, which Yahwè was establishing ever more and more by the words of his prophets and the solemn acts of his regal sway. That it should be *applied* to their divine Messiah by Christians is intelligible; and, since they read the Psalter as a book with a living power of self-adaptation to their own changing needs, it was natural that Christian disciples should find the words of Ps. 118 22, which originally referred to the Jewish people, verified in their Master. In Eph. 2 20 there is no absolute need to interpret ἀκρογωνιαίου otherwise than אבן פנה; but in 1 Pet. 2 6 we seem to require the traditional sense 'corner-stone' (see *v.* 7).

CORNET. For Dan. 3 5 *ff.* (קֶרֶן) and 1 Ch. 15 28, etc. (שׁוֹפָר) see MUSIC, § 5*a*. For 2 S. 6 5† (מְנַעַנְעִים), *see* MUSIC, § 3 (3).

CORONATION. ANOINTING [*q.v.*, § 3] was by itself an efficient mode of investiture with royal functions (1 S. 10 1 1 K. 1 34).[1] It is only in the case of Joash that coronation is mentioned as accompanying—indeed, it is mentioned as preceding—the anointing (2 K. 11 12). Perhaps 2 S. 1 10 refers to an older custom of transferring to the successor the personal adornments of the dead king; see CROWN. Perhaps too the anointing occurred near or on a particular *maṣṣēbah* or upright stone, as in the case of Abimelech, for we can hardly doubt that EV's rendering the 'pillar that was in Shechem' (Judg. 9 6) is correct, though the final letter of מצבה has been lost or removed (see Moore, *ad loc.*). Joash too is said to have stood 'by the pillar as the manner was' (2 K. 11 14); but here the word for 'pillar' is different (עמוד), and we should perhaps follow RV^mg. and Klostermann in rendering 'platform' (cp 2 K. 23 3 RV^mg.).[2]

After the anointing the people greeted the new king with a flourish of trumpets (1 K. 1 34 39 2 K. 9 13 תקע בשפר, 2 K. 11 14 בחצצרות). In the case of Jehu and Absaloiii (2 S. 15 10) the trumpet sounds were the signal of accession, though they may have been simply an element in the popular expressions of joy (1 S. 11 15 1 K. 1 40), which included hand-clapping (הִכָּה, תָּקַע כַּף 2 K. 11 12 Ps. 47 1 [2]) and the exclamation 'Live the king' (יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ; 1 S. 10 24 2 S. 16 16 1 K. 1 34 39 2 K. 11 12). Sometimes there was a procession with music; the new king rode on the royal mule (1 K. 1 33 38) and finally took his seat on the throne.

It is possible that 'to-day' in Ps. 2 7 refers not to the birth but to the coronation of the king. See Baethg., Che. *ad loc.* The latter illustrates from the sculptures representing the coronation of the Egyptian queen Ḥat-shepsut,[3] Naville, *Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, III., 1899, pp. 1-9). See Weinel's essay on משח in *ZATW* 18 1-92 ['98] and Diehl, *Erkl. von Ps.* xlvii., Giessen, 1894. I. A.

CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF (הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית), 2 K. 23 13, RV^mg. 'mount of destruction.' See DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF.

COS (Κῶς [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 15 23. See COOS.

COSAM (Κωσάμ [Ti. WH]), fifth from Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3 28). See GENEALOGIES, ii., § 3.

1 According to Rabbinic views, not all kings were anointed; but the term מְשִׁיחַ יהוה seems the generic designation of a king. On the association of crowning with anointing see Is. 61 3 (cp *SBOT ad loc.*).

2 L. Oliphant (*Haifa*, 147) conjectures that the (artificial) footprints in the rocks in different parts of Palestine (*e.g.*, at Hebron and at the Neby Shaib near Ḥaṭṭîn) indicate very ancient coronation-stones.

3 Ḥa't-šepsut, formerly wrongly written Hatasu (see EGYPT, § 53).

COSTUS (קְדָּה; ιρις [BAFL]; *casia*), Ex. 30 24 RVmg. [in Ezek. 27 19 Vg. *stacte*, EV CASSIA 𝔊 καὶ τροχιας 'and drugs?']. See **CASSIA**, INCENSE, § 6.

COTTAGE. 1. For Is. 1 8 (סֻכָּה) and 24 20 (מְלוּנָה) see HUT.
2. In Zeph. 2 6 (EV 'cottages' RVmg. 'caves') the ἀπ. λεγ. כְּרֹת is probably a dittograph of נְוֹת 'dwellings' (Bohme, *ZATW* 7 212 ['87]; Rothstein in Kau. *HS*; and Schwally, *ZATW* 10 186 ['90]), under the influence of כְּרֵתִים in *v.* 5; or, transposing the two words, we may adopt with We. the reading of 𝔊 ἔσται Κρήτη νομή, with the meaning 'Philistia shall become dwellings for,' etc.

COTTON[1] or Fine Cloth (RVmg.), or GREEN (hangings), EV (כַּרְפַּס, *karpas*; καρπασινα [Bℵ*ALα?]: Esth. 1 6†). The Heb. word, which appears also in Arab., Arm., Gr., and Lat., is derived from Pers. *kirpās* and ultimately from Sans. *karpāsa*, 'the cotton plant.'[2] As a derived word it means, in the various languages, primarily 'muslin,' the fine cotton cloth which came from India, and also such stuffs as are named 'calico.' The nature and home of the cotton plant were known to the Greeks as early as Herodotus (3 106); but it was the expedition of Alexander that first made them familiar with the use of cotton fabrics. The earliest known occurrence of κάρπασος = *carbasus* in Greek or Latin is in a line of Cscilius (219-166? B.C.)—'carbasina, molochina, ampelina'—which appears *to* be a transliteration of a line in a Greek play. Strabo (15 1, § 71) and the author of the *Peripl. Maris Erythr.* (chap. 11), Lucan (3 239), and Quintus Curtius (8 9, § 21) used the word in special connection with India; but other references in classical writers show that the word obtained a wider sense, particularly in the poets. Thus it is used of fine Spanish linen or cambric (Pliny 19 1, § 2), of the awnings of theatres[3] (Lucr. 6 109), often of sails (*Æn.* 3 357 4 417, etc.) and of robes of fine material (*ib.* 8 34 11 776, etc.: see these and other passages discussed in Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, 1 338 *ff.*). We cannot, therefore, be certain as to the material called *karpas* in the particular case of Esth. 1 6, since according to the later usage any light material might be so called; but in view of the undoubted meaning of the original word in Sans., the presumption is in favour of cotton-muslin. *Karpas* certainly denotes a material, not a colour (the latter is **a** Jewish idea, found in Vg.).

Asiatic cotton in ancient times (like most modern cotton) was derived from the cotton *plant, Gossypium herbaceum*, L.—perennial in the tropics, but elsewhere annual—which had its first home in India, but by the time of Alexander had spread to Bactriana (De Candolle, *Origine*, 323 *ff.*). The cotton *shrub* (*Gossypium arboreum*, L.), on the other hand, which, though little known to the ancients, is described in one place by Pliny,[4] had its first home, according to modern investigation, in 'Upper Guinea, Abyssinia, Sennār, and Higher Egypt' (*ib.* **325** *ff.*). This, brought down from the Soudān was probably the earliest cotton cultivated in Lower Egypt. Prosper Alpinus saw it in Egypt in the sixteenth century (*ib.*, 327). It was afterwards displaced by the Indian G. *herbaceum*.

For Gen. **41** 42 Ex. 25 4, RVmg. (שֵׁשׁ, *šēš*; EV FINE LINEN, AVmg. SILK [cp Pr. 31 22, AV]), see LINEN (7); for Is. 19 9† RVmg. (חוּרִי, *ḥōrai*), see LINEN (8). N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

COUCH (מִטָּה), Amos. 3 12. See BED, § *2*.

COULTER (אֵת; σκευος [BAL]), **1 S.** 13 20 *f.*, elsewhere rendered 'plowshare' (αροτρον [BAQ]), Is. 2 4 Joel 3 10 [4 10] Mic. **4** 3. *See* AGRICULTURE, § **3**.

COUNCIL.

1. רִגְמָתָם, *rigmāthām*, Ps. **68** 27 [28] (EVmg. 'their company': prop. 'heap *of* stones'; 𝔊Bℵc.aR ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν) is surely corrupt., Che., *ZATW* 19 1-6 ['99] reads [ה]תמימים, 'the blameless ones. See also Hupf., Baethg.

2. מִשְׁמַעַת, *mišma'ath*, 2 S. 23 23 (ἀκοή [BA], φυλακή [L]) = 1 Ch. 11 25 (πατριά [BNAL] EVmg., EV 'guard'), the bodyguard of David, at the head of which was BENAIAH (1); cp 1 S. 22 14 (RV 'council,' AV 'bidding,' ἄρχων . . . παραγγέλματος [BAL]) and see Dr. *ad loc.*[1]

3. סוֹד, *sōd* (doubtless to be connected with Syr. *sewādā* 'talk,' *stawwad* 'to speak'; cp Hommel, *ZDMG* **46** 529, who similarly explains the Sab. מסור as 'speaker, or place of oracle') is used, not only of a council or meeting (cp Jer. 6 11 15 17 Ezek. 13 9, etc.; see ASSEMBLY [4]), but also of its deliberations and their result ('secret,' 'counsel'; Am. 3 7 Pr. 11 13 Ps. 83 3 [4], etc.; cp esp. Ps. 55 14 [15]).

4. συμβούλιον in Acts 25 12 **is** the jury or board of assessors who aided the procurators and governors of **a** province; cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 16 1.

5. συνέδριον, the supreme council, Mt. 5 22 Jn. **11** 47 Acts 5 21 etc. συνέδρια in pl. (Mt. 10 17 = Mk. **13** 9) are the smaller local tribunals; cp κρίσις (EV 'judgement') Mt. 5 21 *f.*, and see GOVERNMENT, § 31 end; cp SYNEDRIUM.

COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM. This council, if not the most important occurrence of the apostolic age, is the one that bears the most official character. The more contradictory the accounts of it which we seem to possess in Gal. 2 and Acts 15, the more necessary is it to adopt a careful method for its investigation. The first question that arises is whether both accounts really relate to the same occurrence. In order to answer this, it is needful to determine the times of Paul's journeys to Jerusalem after his conversion.

1. Paul's Journeys to Jerusalem in Gal. and Acts.

In Gal. 1 18 2 1 he protests, very solemnly (1 20), that he visited Jerusalem for the first time three years after his conversion, and for the second time fourteen years after his first visit (or, less probably, after his conversion). Unless we deny the genuineness of the epistle to the Galatians we cannot but give unqualified acceptance to this statement.

Paul was endeavouring to show how little he was dependent in his apostleship upon the original apostles. He was, therefore, bound in the interests of truth to mention all the occasions on which he had come into contact with them. Moreover, to pass over any such occasion would have been highly imprudent; for his opponents naturally were aware of all of them, and would have promptly exposed the falsehood to the Galatians.

Now, the journey mentioned in Acts 9 26 must unhesitatingly be identified with that in Gal. 1 18, even though the narrative of Acts contains not the smallest hint that it was not made until three years after Paul's conversion, and had been preceded by a sojourn in Arabia and a second sojourn in Damascus.

a. It would seem, then, that the second journey recorded in Galatians (2 1) must coincide with the one in Acts 11 30, which, according *to* Acts 12 25, did extend to Jerusalem.

The famine during the reign of Claudius (by which the journey was occasioned) occurred in Palestine[2] before 48, at the earliest in 44—*i.e.*, as the narrative of Acts appears to imply (12 23), at the time of the death of Herod Agrippa I.—and, if the conversion of Paul occurred shortly after the death of Jesus, and this last not much more than a year after the appearance of the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (*i.e.*, *28-29* A.D.; Lk. 3 1), there remains the interval of seventeen (or, at least, fourteen) years demanded by Gal. 1 18-2 1 between Paul's conversion and the famine, cp CHRONOLOGY, § 74 *ff.* Thus the account of the journey in Acts requires correction only in one point: the alms were sent not before but after the beginning of the famine.

Still, since it mentions no object for the journey besides the sending of alms, the narrative of Acts may be charged with having passed over in complete silence the conference mentioned in Gal. 2 1-10.

This is no trifling matter. It is remarkable that a conference upon the same subject should follow in Acts 15, for **a** repetition of the discussion within the next few years is not conceivable; observe, too, that no reference is made in Acts 15 to an earlier decision. The journey mentioned in Acts 11 *f.*—at all events, as far as Paul is concerned—may, on other grounds, be considered open to the suspicion of having been detached from the circumstances recorded in Acts 20 3 21 17 (cp 1 Cor. 16 4

[1] According to Klostermann's conjectural emendation of 1 S. 2 19 (כתנת or כתן for קטן), the word 'cotton' is itself a Hebrew word, though it has come to **us** through the Arabic *Kuṭn*, cp TUNIC), and apparently it meant 'linen' not 'cotton'; χεθομένη [כתנת] μὲν καλεῖται, λίνεον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει. χέθον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7 2. Cp LINEN.

[2] The adjectival form *kārpāsa* means 'cotton stuff.'

[3] These may possibly have been of calico.

[4] xix. 1 2; 'superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem quem aliqui gossypion vocant, plures xylon et ideo lina inde facta xylina.' Cp Oliver, *FL. Trop. Africa*, 1 211.

[1] The word is used in **a** concrete sense ('obedient ones') in Is. 11 14: cp MI *28*, כל ריבן משמעת, 'all Daibon was obedient.'

[2] That it extended over the whole world (οἰκουμένη) is **an** error of Acts.

Rom. 15 25 *f.*), and of having been transferred, whether hy mistake or purposely, to a far too early position in the narrative (see SIMON MAGUS).

b. In order to avoid recognising the contradiction between Gal. 2 and Acts 15, a whole class of writers have assigned the Council of Jerusalem to the journey recorded in Acts 18 22. They ignore the objection that on this view Paul in Galatians suppresses important facts so far as to pass over two journeys to Jerusalem without mention.

c. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Acts 18 22 does not imply a visit to Jerusalem at all.

Although ἀναβάς *might* signify the journey **up** from the shore to the town of Cæsarea, a man could not possibly be said to go down (κατέβη) from a seaport town to an inland city like Antioch. Thus we are hound to supply 'to Jerusalem' in *v.* 22 a—as is done hy many interpreters even when denying the historical actuality of the journey. On this last point, however we cannot in fairness appeal to the negative evidence of Galatians. True it is silent as to this journey; but its historical review never reaches the point at which mention of it would have come in; instead of continuing such a review, after describing the occurrence at Antioch (2 11-21) the writer passes on to dogmatic and thence to practical questions, entirely losing sight of his original purpose, which was to enumerate all his personal encounters with the original apostles. It may, indeed, be thought remarkable that Jerusalem, if intended, is not mentioned in Acts 18 22: but this does not warrant the assumption now to be mentioned.'

d. Some critics have assumed that the Council of Jerusalem was really held on this occasion (Acts 18 22), and not earlier—the author, having purposely transposed it to an earlier date, would express himself as briefly and obscurely **as** possible when he came to the point at which it really occurred.

This assumption has the advantage of bringing not only the first (Acts 13 *f.*) but also the second (16 1-18 22) missionary journey within the first seventeen years after Paul's conversion, thus providing material to fill **up** a period otherwise inexplicably barren of events. It cannot, however, be urged in its favour that Barnabas was personally known to the Galatians and the Corinthians, and that he cannot have been separated from Paul (Acts 15 35-40) until after the second missionary journey, during which the communities in Galatia—*i.e.*, Old Galatia (see GALATIA)—and in Corinth were established; for the passages Gal. 2 1 9 13 1 Cor. 9 6 are perfectly intelligible on the assumption that Barnahas was known to the readers by report alone.

The assumption of such a transposition is entirely wanting in probability.

The motive prompting the writer to transpose the Council of Jerusalem to an earlier date is supposed to have been the desire to bring the whole of Paul's missionary work from its beginning within the scope of the decree of the apostles (Acts 15 28 *f.*); hut, had this really been the writer's intention, he would have introduced the council not before Acts 16, but before Acts 13. What should have hindered him from *so* doing, if it be assumed that he allowed himself to make free with his materials in this way at all, is not apparent.

e. Others actually transpose the journey described in Acts 13 *f.* so as to make it come between the Council of Jerusalem and the separation of Barnabas from Paul, and therefore after Acts 15 34.

The strongest reason is the fact that Paul mentions only Syria and Cilicia as his places of residence up to the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 1 21). This is hardly conclusive, for, although Paul was pledged to enumerate all his meetings with the original apostles, he was not bound to mention all the provinces in which he had resided without meeting them. In any case, even if the transposition of Acts 13 *f.* and Acts 15 1-34 be accepted, this gives no support to the assumption mentioned under *d*, since for that assumption the writer of Acts has put the two sections exactly in the wrong order: his supposed purpose, **as** well **as** the motive of historical accuracy, would have led him to put 15 1-34 before 13 1-14 28.

f. It is only by very bold treatment of the different sources of Acts, by which the accounts of Paul's journeys in Acts 11 *f.* 15 38 become merely the result of an erroneous combination of the writer's authorities, that Clement (*Chronol. d. Paulin. Br.* **1893**) contrives to identify Gal. 2 with Acts 21, and Joh. Weiss (*St. u. Kr.*, **1893**, pp. 480-540; **1895**, pp. **252-269**), on the contrary, with Acts 9 and (at the same time) with Acts 15 1-4 12. It is, in fact, quite impossible to deny the identity of the events related in Gal. 2 and in Acts 15. See CHRONOLOGY, § 74.

In view, however, of the doubts cast upon Acts, it is an error of method to make that book the basis for an investigation of the present question. It might even seem well to begin by laying aside Acts altogether and ascertaining the facts from Galatians alone. That method, however, would prevent certain questions from receiving adequate consideration, and no harm need be apprehended in treating both accounts, circumspectly, together. It is, however, of unqualified importance to take Gal. 2 11-21 as the starting-point, because that passage alone throws any really clear light upon the circumstances.

2. Gal. 2 11-21 the primary passage.

Peter was no uncompromising Judaiser. Before the dispute at Antioch recorded in Gal. 2 11-21 he had eaten with Gentile Christians. If he abandoned this practice after the arrival of the followers of James, he could not, accustomed as he was to adopt the attitude of a loader, have been influenced in the least by the fear of the representatives of circumcision—his alleged motive—had he not himself recognised their position as the right one. He must in his inmost heart have still been continuing to attach some importance to the Mosaic laws relating to food. Thus, he could not yet have attained to that liberty in principle which belonged to Paul. This freedom Paul conceivably assumed to be present in Peter, as it was in himself; in which case he could attribute Peter's antagonism only to hypocrisy. Critics have softened the charge of hypocrisy into a charge of inconsistency, such as is very frequently to be observed at times of transition in natures that have no very firm grasp of principles.

3. The dispute at Antioch.

Different from Peter's position was that of James. Whether the 'certain' (τινές) were expressly sent by him in order to recall Peter to the Law, or whether they attempted to do this on their own account without his commission ('from James,' ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου, in NT Greek does not go necessarily with 'came,' ἐλθεῖν, and it may equally well be taken with 'certain,' τινές), is immaterial. Peter, the leader of the apostles, would certainly never have submitted to their commands if they had not had behind them the authority of James. Now, the position of James as distinct from that of Peter can only have been that a man born a Jew was still under religious obligation even as **a** Christian to observe the whole of the Mosaic Law. It cannot be supposed that he upheld this obligation only as convenient for the time, or even merely as a beautiful custom; a motive of the most serious kind must have been actually held out to Peter, if he was to submit to be driven to so absolute a renunciation of brotherly intercourse with the Gentile Christians.

As we are not informed of any answer from Peter to Paul's reprimand in Gal. 2 14-21, it is commonly (though very rashly) assumed that Peter admitted his error. That Paul should record an exculpatory answer from Peter, however, was hardly to be expected, if only for the reason that he must have thought it inconclusive. Still, even if Peter was thought to have yielded, the others who shared his opinion did not yield. Otherwise, why is the scene at Antioch followed so quickly by the entrance of the Judaising party into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia and Corinth, in complete contravention of the agreement in Gal. 2 9, and by the nearly successful attempt to induce the Galatians to adopt circumcision (Gal. 5 2 *f.* 6 12 *f.* 4 10) and to alienate the Corinthians from Paul altogether (2 Cor. 11 4 12 16 4 3-5 5 12 *f.* 7 5-16)? How could so important and persistent a movement—it had already been encountered by Paul on two separate occasions, both in Galatia and in Corinth (Gal. 1 9 5 3 1 Cor. 9 1 2 Cor. 11 4)—have been carried on if it had been opposed by the first apostles? Whence came the letters of recommendation which, according to 2 Cor. 3 1, these emissaries brought with them? As they formed the ground upon which the suspicion against Paul as one who had never known Jesus (1 Cor. 9 1) proceeded, what weightier credentials could they have contained

than the statement that their bearers represented immediate disciples of Jesus? Would the sceptical Corinthians have been satisfied if the authentication had come (let us say) from Ephesns, or from some other town outside Palestine?

How comes it, again, that even at the end of the second century the pseudo-Clementine homilies (17 19) represent Peter as reproaching Simon-under whose name Paul is there attacked (see SIMON MAGUS)—for having called him a κατεγνωσμένος (Gal. 2 11; RV 'stood condemned ')? This shows how deep a wound was inflicted on Judaising Christianity by Paul's bold attack on Peter. For this reason, not a word is said in Acts about the scene; though it is quite inconceivable that the author had no knowledge of it (see ACTS, § 6). Further, in the place in Acts where this scene ought to have been mentioned there is recorded a similar dispute (παροξυσμός; Acts 15 39) between Paul and Barnabas (see BARNABAS), who, according to Gal. 2 13, had gone over to the side of Peter. This dispute, however, does not turn on any question of principle. It was merely a personal matter (Acts 15 36-40). The conjecture is a tempting one that this scene, if not an invention, is at least an interpolation, based on some written source, introduced for the purpose of effacing the memory of the more important quarrels.

We are now in a position to investigate the Council of Terusalem itself. It was occasioned. on the part of

4. Occasion of the council.

Judaistic Christianity, by the appearance of the 'false brethren,' who had made their wav unauthorised into the Pauline and other churches, seeking to spy out and to suppress the freedom from the Mosaic Law that had there been attained (Gal. 2 4). As this cannot have been in Jerusalem, we may accept the statement of Acts (15 1, cp 14 26) that it was to Antioch they came. Up to that time no such intrusion had occurred, although the circumstances at Antioch cannot have long remained unknown to the leaders at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, not improbable that the new and sudden aggressive movement proceeded from recently converted Pharisees, even though the statement to this effect in Acts 15 5 is made without reference to 15 1, and therefore appears to come from another source. Paul was prompted to go to the council of the apostles by a revelation (Gal. *2 2*). Probably it came to him not as a bolt from the blue, but only after the question to be decided by the council had already stirred his soul to its depths. No less than his entire life-work—that of bringing the heathen to Christianity without binding them by the Mosaic Law—was at stake. According to Acts (15 2), he and Barnabas were deputed to go to Jerusalem by the church at Antioch in consequence of a fruitless discussion there. This motive for the journey is not, of course, absolutely incompatible with the revelation mentioned by Paul; but it is in any case significant that Paul speaks only of the revelation and Acts only of the-delegation. Whatever the motive, what is it that Paul can have gone to Jerusalem in search of? A tribunal to whose verdict he would voluntarily submit, whatever its tenor? By no means. He had from .a higher authority his gospel of freedom from the Law, and cared very little for the original apostles (Gal. 1 16-9 15-17 2 5 *f.*). Or did he expect to find among them assistance Against the 'false brethren'? We think that he did not; if he did, his expectation was not justified by the event (see below, §§ 7, 8). The purpose with which he went to Jerusalem was to discover the source from which the 'false brethren' drew their support. He intended to take that support away from under them, and, in order to do so, it was necessary that he should appear in person. 'Lest by any means I should be running or had run in vain' (Gal. 2 2; *μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*) is not an interrogative; Paul would never have made the justification of his work dependent on the judgment of the original apostles.

5. Public or private discussions?

Were the conferences at Jerusalem public, or were they private? No clear picture of them is presented in Acts—perhaps because the account is compiled from various sources.

A general assembly is set before us in Acts 15 4. We may suppose the private assembly mentioned in 15 6 to have been on another day (though the author says nothing as to this). Suddenly however, in 15 12, 'all the multitude' (πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος) is present); and it reappears in 15 22 as responsible for the final decision, although in 15 23 this is attrihuted to the apostles and elders only. Paul, on the other hand, in the words κατ' ἰδίαν, 'privately' (Gal. 2 2), passes from a public to a private conference, as also probably in 2 6—for the discussion about the circumcision of Titus (2 3-5) can most easily he supposed to have occurred in a public assembly in which expression was also given to the position which the' original apostles did not themselves finally adopt.

So far there is no inconsistency between Galatians and Acts: both know of meetings of both kinds. The crucial question, however, is, Was any final decision arrived at in a public assembly?

If the decision was not in Paul's favour, the claims of truth and of prudence alike must have led him to mention it. Much, however, of what is recorded in Acts—*e.g.*, the speech of Peter (15 7-11)—points very clearly to a decision in Paul's favour; and to pass this over in silence would have been folly.

The picture presented in Acts, therefore, of a decisive public assembly is entirely incorrect.

The case is similar with what is said, or implied, as to Paul's attitude towards the original apostles. According

6. Paul's attitude to the original apostles.

to Acts, he holds quite a subordinate position. He is allowed to state his case, but not to take part in the debate: he has simply to submit to the decision. According to Galatians, he debates as with his equals. Indeed, he even refers to the original apostles ironically as 'of repute,' 'reputed to be pillars,' 'to be somewhat' (*οἱ δοκοῦντες* [*στῦλοι εἶναι* or *εἶναί τι*]; *2 2 9 6*).

Even if it be granted that the title, 'pillars' (οἱ στῦλοι) may have been originally applied to them by their adherents as a term of honour, the phrase 'reputed' (οἱ δοκοῦντες) cannot have been so used. It is explicitly derogatory. The most that can be done to soften the force of Paul's irony is to conjecture that he did not invent the expression until the incident at Antioch had diminished his respect for them.

Paul took Titus as his companion of set purpose. The uncircumcised assistant of his missionary labours

7. Question of circumcision of Titus.

would serve as an 'object-lesson' in support of his fundamental principle. An attempt was made to procure his circumcision; but, owing to the opposition of Paul and Barnahas, it had to be abandoned.

This is clearly the meaning of Gal. 2 3-5, and only the most violent feats of critical ingenuity can find any other explanation of the passage. One interpretation is that no attempt whatever was made (οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη) to procure the circumcision of Titus. If *so*, why the opposition of Paul and Barnabas? Again, the attempt was made, yet not on grounds of principle, but in the interest of Paul. to save him from dailv defilement. How did he avoid defilement from other Gentile-converts, with many of whom he associated daily? Perhaps, on account of the 'false brethren,' Paul did, after all, of his own accord, allow Titus to be circumcised. Did he hope thereby to maintain the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2 *5*) that no man need be circumcised? It has even been proposed to follow the Greek text and the Latin version of D with Irenæus, Tertullian. and other Western fathers. in omitting the negative (οὐδέ) in Gal. 2 5 (whether 'to whom,' οἷς, also be omitted is of less importance), as if Paul could have been so blind as to consider compliance at the most critical moment to be harmless, because only temporary (πρὸς ὥραν). It is, on the contrary, prohable that after 2 5, to complete the sentence beginning with 2 4, we ought to supply not 'we did not give place' (οὐκ εἴξαμεν), as if, had the false brethren not appeared, Paul would have been prepared to comply, but '(on account of the false brethren) it was all the more necessary to offer a strenuous opposition.' For at the outset they had demanded the circumcision of all Gentile converts even. As this is expressly stated in Acts 15 1 5, it is the more certain that it is necessarily presupposed by the negative (οὐδέ) of Gal. 2 3; nothing worse occurred, and not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised. The worst thing that might have occurred would, according to 2 a, have been that Paul should have run in vain (*εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμεν*)—*i.e.*, that a decree should have been passed **prohibiting** the admission of Gentiles into Christianity without circumcision.

Thus the demand for the circumcision of Titus appears

as a compromise proposed for the first time when the original proposal for the circumcision of all Gentile converts met with insuperable opposition from Paul and Barnabas. The very circumstantiality of a conference that passed through so many aspects is enough to show that these proposals could not possibly have been made without at least the moral support of the original apostles. Had the latter been on Paul's side from the first (it has been held that they are to be included in the subject of 'gave place,' *εἴξαμεν*), any attempt of the kind must have been instantly frustrated by their authority.

It is, therefore, useless to construe Gal. 2 4 as a reason subsequently introduced to explain 2 3, as though the circumcision of Titus was refused by all parties alike, for the reason that it was demanded by the 'false brethren' alone. Considerations of language also render inadmissible the other interpretation, which supplements so as to read 'and indeed on behalf of the "false brethren" . . . it was said that he ought to he compelled to he circumcised (*ἠναγκάσθη* without *οὐκ*). The importance attached to the memory of the case of Titus is best shown in Acts ; his name is never mentioned at all, those who accompanied Paul to the conference being 'Barnahas and certain others' (*τινες ἄλλοι*, Acts 15 2 ; see ACTS, § 9). It is not going too far, therefore, to say that the original apostles were at the outset undecided in their attitude ; indeed, if we may judge by what occurred soon afterwards at Antioch, this understates the case.

In harmony with this attitude was that which they adopted towards the subsequent mission to the Gentiles.

8. The apostles and the mission to the Gentiles.

Paul's practice of admitting Gentiles as members of the Christian Church without circumcision cannot have obtained the sanction of the other apostles at the outset. Assent was wrung from them with difficulty. Indeed, they did not give way on any ground of principle; otherwise their behaviour in the dispute at Antioch would have been impossible. They gave way only because of the divine verdict as shown by the event (*ἰδόντες . . . γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν* ***pot***, Gal. 2 7 9 ; cp Acts 15 4 12), to which they submitted perforce, though without recognising its underlying justification. Peter and James, therefore, cannot have expressed themselves, even approximately, as in Acts 15 7-21 they are said to have spoken. Had what Peter (15 7 *f.*) enjoins in regard to Cornelius really occurred, there would have been no Council of Jerusalem at a11 (ACTS, § **4**).

Peter is further said (15 9) to have declared that God had removed the difference between Jews and Gentiles by purifying the hearts of the Gentiles—as though in the eyes of a Jew the impurity of the Gentiles were impurity of the heart alone. He is, moreover, represented as saying (15 11) that his hope of salvation was through the grace of God alone, whereas at Antioch he maintained that the observance of the Law was necessary to salvation. Finally (15 10), he calls the Law **a** yoke intolerahle even to the Jews ; yet at Antioch he again submitted himself to it. He calls it **a** tempting of God to put the yoke on the Gentiles also; yet at Antioch he broke with the Gentiles because they did not take it on themselves, thus putting moral pressure upon them to Judaise' (*ἰουδαΐζειν* : Gal. 2 14). In short the speech of Peter **is** so eminently Pauline that Weizsacker 'found' it possible to believe that the author of Acts took the speech of **Paul** against Peter in Gal. 2 14-21 as the foundation for its composition.

There is evidence on the other side that the author did to some extent correctly estimate the positions of the speakers—in the fact that the speech of James is considerably more reserved. The reference to Cornelius in 15 **14**, however, is just as unhistorical as that in 15 7 *f.* James cannot possibly have employed the quotation from Amos unless it be maintained that the discussion was carried on in the language of the hated foreigners; for in the original it is not said that the residue of men and all nations to whom Gad's name had been made known should seek the Lord —it is only said that the Israelites should again attain to political dominion over Edom and the other nations that had at any time been under the dominion of God (*i.e.*, of Israel).[1] And James pays his tribute to Paulinism if he implies that the imposition of the whole Mosaic **Law** upon the Gentiles is a burden to them from which as being such, they ought to he relieved (15 19). Furthermore, he did not make the positive proposal of 15 20. See below, § 10.

The result of the conference, according to Galatians, was a 'fellowship' (*κοινωνία*) (29). What the precise extent of this *κοινωνία* was can be learned only by inference from the incidental facts.

9. Result of Council according to Gal.

A division of missionary districts was arranged. The reason why the original apostles desired to carry on their work only among the Jews can be gathered with absolute certainty from the situation of affairs which had been brought about. The separation of the missionary districts had been the result of the conference concerning the circumcision of the Gentile converts. Had the circumcision of these converts been decided on, the original apostles need have felt as little cause to shrink from missions to the Gentiles as a Jew had to shrink from the work of winning proselytes. As the sequel at Antioch shows, what they found intolerable was the idea of that intimate daily association with uncircumcised brethren which would have become unavoidable if missionary work had been engaged in by them without circumcision of the Gentiles. That was the reason why they abandoned this part of the work to Paul and Barnabas. To look for the reason of the separation of missionary districts in differences of aptitude for winning either Gentiles or natural Jews is to misapprehend the causes that were really at work. Such consideration; as those mentioned may have had some concurrent influence; but how could the scene at Antioch have been possible if difference of aptitudes had been the sole or even the chief cause of the separation? Not a word is there said about Peter's missionary work : the only question is whether he is prepared to eat at the same table with Gentile converts.

It is equally certain that the separation of districts was intended in an ethnographical, not in a geographical, sense. Had the original apostles undertaken to labour for the conversion of the Gentiles as well as for that of the Jews in Palestine without insisting upon circumcision, they would immediately there have found themselves face to face with all the difficulties which had caused them to avoid the Gentile countries and confine their efforts to the land of their fathers. The separation had no purpose unless missions to natural Jews were to be assigned to them as their province. Conversely, Paul and Barnabas were, of course, to go only to men of Gentile birth : Jews seeking salvation whom they met in Gentile countries they were bound to turn away, referring them for guidance to itinerant Jewish-Christian missionaries. This might have led to the further consequence that in one and the same town there would have arisen two Christian communities, one of Jews and one of Gentiles. Association at meals, as well as at the Lord's Supper, would have been impossible between them. This intolerable state of affairs, however, was exactly what the Pauline churches had long ago contrived to avert ; and this success was regarded by Paul **as** the highest triumph of the view of Christianity which he advocated. It is very reasonable to ask how he could have had any share in an arrangement by which, in the churches he had founded, the wall of separation between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which it had cost so much labour to destroy, was again raised up. To fall back on the view that the separation was intended to be geographical would, however, be wrong. A separation on such a basis the apostles, as has already been shown, could not possibly have accepted. It would be necessary to draw the conclusion that the statement of Galatians must be pronounced unhistorical, and the epistle itself non-Pauline, were there really no other way out of the difficulty. Before taking this step, however, we shall do well to remember that men have often enough agreed upon a compromise without having formed any adequately clear conception of its consequences. The Christian church would speedily have fallen asunder into two separate communities, the one of Jewish and the other of Gentile Christians, had

[1] It was the LXX that first read ידרשו instead of יירשו, pointing אָדָם 'instead of אֱדֹם, and making שארית אדם, etc., subject instead of ohject ; and only *a* few MSS of the LXX have gone so far as to supply the now lacking ohject, without any support from the original, by interpolating *τὸν κύριον*.

no agreement been reached. Neither of the parties was able to abandon its view: each felt itself under a strict religious obligation to maintain its own principles. There must, therefore, have been the greatest eagerness to grasp at any formula that presented itself as a solution. 'We to the Jews, you to the Gentiles,' appeared to be a formula of the kind, and joy in the renewed sense of brotherhood may have blinded men's eyes to the. impracticability of the proposal. This would happen all the more readily if the formula was so loose that each party could understand it in a different sense. In the absence of more precise definition, the geographical interpretation must have seemed to Paul as obviously the correct one as the ethnographical interpretation appeared to the other apostles — to Paul, who became not merely to the Gentiles a Gentile, but also to the Jews a Jew, that he might by all means win some, and, in order to save those belonging to his own race, would willingly have been accursed from Christ (1 Cor. 9 20 *f.* Rom. 9 3; cp BAN, § 1). In the scene at Antioch the misunderstanding revealed itself only too clearly; hut this does not prove that there was no misunderstanding at Jerusalem. Even in the aspect under which the matter had to be presented at the conference at Jerusalem, the unity sought for was limited. The 'right hand of fellowship' (δεξιὰ κοινωνίας) which they held out to each other was at the same time a parting handshake. According to their fundamental principles, the Jewish Christians neither would nor could have any very intimate communion, any really brotherly intercourse, with the Gentile Christians. It is worthy of notice that the support of the poor is represented in Gal. 2 10 less as being the only demand made upon the Pauline churches than as being the only bond by which the two halves of Christendom were to he kept together.

There is, however, no necessity for assuming that these alms from the Gentile Christians were like temple dues, or intended to express a position of inferiority as compared with that of Jewish Christians. In view of the notorious poverty of the church at Jerusalem (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5). it would have been unreasonable to require reciprocity, and doubtless Paul was glad to evince his goodwill on such neutral ground. For the rest, it was quite impossible that the Gentiles should be treated by the Jews as having equal rights and full citizenship in the kingdom of God. The OT promises applied only to the chosen race and to those who had been received into it by circumcision. The Jewish Christians had made the concession — from their point of view a concession of real magnitude — of sanctioning the mission to the Gentiles without circumcision; but it was not to be supposed that this could be granted except on the basis that this class of converts was to hold somewhat the same position as that of the semi-proselytes (σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν) among the Jews; they figured only as a 'younger branch in the kingdom of God.' In no case could the original apostles have set the same value on the conversion of these Christians of the second class through the agency of Paul as on their own missionary activity. It is remarkable that Gal. 2 8*b* does not run, on the analogy of 2 8*a*, 'unto the apostleship of the Gentiles' (εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν). Freedom of construction is, of course, a characteristic of Paul's style, and thus 'unto the Gentiles' (εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) also may be explained as a case of brachylogy. Still, it is noteworthy that — *e.g.*, in 1 Cor. 9 1 — he does not base any appeal on the fact that apostleship (ἀποστολή) had been conceded to him by the original apostles. How effective — if open to him — this appeal would have been against the Judaizers at Corinth who called his apostleship in question, and set up those very apostles as the supreme authority! The truth is that he does not appear to have received any such recognition. Thus he would seem to have been recognised only as a fellow-worker, in the Christian field, not as a fully accredited apostle.

According to Acts, the result of the Council was the decree in 15 23-29. Nevertheless, as long as the words

10. The decree in Acts.

'imparted nothing to me' (ἐμοὶ . . . οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο), in Gal. 2 6, are allowed to stand. we shall be precluded from accepting this finding as a formal decree. Whether the words mean 'The δοκοῦντες imparted nothing further to me' (so according to 1 16), or that 'They made no further rejoinder to my communication' (so according to 2 2), is immaterial. Their meaning is made clear by 'contrariwise' (τοὐναντίον) in 2 7: 'Not only did they say nothing unfavourable to me, but also they pledged themselves to fellowship with me.' We cannot better convince ourselves of the certainty of this conclusion than by examining the attempts that have been made to avoid it.

Theologians have done their utmost to maintain that Paul was justified in using the words ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, instead of mentioning the decree of the apostles, because the decree was known to the Galatians already, or because he did not want to put a weapon into the hand of his opponents, or because the decree was only temporary—perhaps, not binding at all, but merely having reference to a custom, the object of which has been even discovered to be the protection of the Gentiles against trichinosis. In the last of these methods of evading the interpretation stated above, all idea of a formal decree having been promulgated is given up; hut even if the agreement on the substance of the decision had been only verbal, Paul could not have said, ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο.

Apart from this, the dispute at Antioch conclusively disproves the historicity of the decision, whether in the form of a regular decree or not. It is clear that any such arrangement, had it been come to, would have had the effect of rendering it possible for Jewish and Gentile Christians to associate with one another at meals. If (as is stated in Acts 16 4) Paul and Silas continued to enforce the decree during their next journey, we are bound all the more to suppose that it came into force at Antioch immediately after its promulgation there. In that case, James and his followers had no reason for taking offence at Peter's eating with Gentile converts.

If, then, we are forced to admit that no arrangement of this nature was made at the Council at all, there are many who would like to retain the opinion that Paul was substantially in favour of such an arrangement. This. however is a mistake. The four prohibitions are

11. Its prohibitions.

taken, either from the seven 'Noachic precepts' (as they are called in the Talmud), by means of which a *modus vivendi* is said to have been arrived at between the Jews and the 'sons of Noah' (the Gentiles), or directly from the original ordinances on which those are based (Lev. 17 10-18 30), which likewise were promulgated, not for the Israelites alone, but also for the foreigners in their midst. The latter source is the more probable, for the Talmud prohibits actual unchastity; but it cannot be doubted that, had such a prohibition appeared to be at all necessary in Acts 15, the prohibition of murder and of theft would also have been adopted from the Talmud. In its association with ordinances so far from being common to all mankind, so peculiarly Jewish, as the prohibition of blood, of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, and of the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols, it is much more likely that the interdict upon what is here called πορνεία refers to marriages within the degrees of affinity forbidden in Lev. 18 6-18 (cp BASTARD). Moreover, as the passage in Leviticus lies at the foundation of Acts 15, in a general way only, it is possible that marriages with Gentiles also may have been included; these were prohibited by Ex. 34 16 Dt. 7 3 Ezra 9 2, and would have made it quite impossible for a Jewish Christian to enter the house of a Gentile who had contracted such a marriage.

Now, as to Paul's view in regard to eating things sacrificed to idols, we have full and exact information. As a general rule (1 Cor. 8 10 23-33 Rom. 14 14) he allows it: it is to be avoided only in cases where it might cause offence to a weak Christian who mistakenly thinks that the Levitical prohibition of it is of perpetual obligation.

Paul does recognise, it is true, one exception, which he mentions in 1 Cor. 10 14-22, though, curiously, not in the exactly similar case in 8 10 (cp DEMONS, § 8); but even this passage contains no prohibition of the practice excepting at a religious ceremony of this kind. In the decree of Acts, on the contrary, the eating of things offered to idols is, it need hardly be said, forbidden in all circumstances, just as to partake of blood, or of the flesh of animals that have died or been strangled, is forbidden. Here the prohibition turns on the nature of the thing itself (cp ἀλίσγημα, Acts 15 20) : the soul was thought to reside in the blood (Lev. 17 11 14), and to eat the soul would have been an abomination. Now, as Paul does not concur in the decree of the apostles on the question of eating animals sacrificed to idols, it would not be wise to assume his agreement in regard to the prohibition of blood and of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, about which we have no expression of opinion by him. As to the question of marriage, he carried on an uncompromising warfare against unchastity of every kind (1 Cor. 5 6 12-20) ; but unchastity does not appear to have been what was intended in the decree of the apostles. Marriages with unbelievers, on the contrary, he did, it is true, advise against (1 Cor. 7 39), but in no case on grounds of principle. Otherwise he could not have enjoined that a Christian married to an unbelieving spouse should continue the relation if the other consented ; nor could he have declared that the unbelieving spouse was sanctified by marriage with a Christian, and that even the children of a mixed marriage were holy (1 Cor. 7 12-14). The children were not baptised ; if they had been, their sanctity would have been a consequence of their baptism, and not deducible from their connection with their parents simply. Accordingly, if Paul discourages marriages with unbelievers for the future (7 39), his reason cannot have been that they were in themselves wrong, but only that they were incompatible with the deeper spiritual sympathy of true spouses. On these grounds we are obviously still less entitled to assume that Paul would have pronounced to be wrong all marriages within the degrees of affinity, down to that with a sister-in-law, forbidden in Lev. 18 6-18, except in those cases which are manifestly contrary to nature, as, *e.g.*, that given in 1 Cor. 5 1-8. On no single point, therefore, does Paul even express substantial agreement with the restrictions imposed by the decree of the apostles.[1]

The last attempt to rescue some remnants of credibility for Acts connects itself with 21 25. Here Paul is acquainted with the decree of the apostles as if it were something new. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile this with the representation of Acts 15; but it is suggested that, if the latter has to be abandoned on account of Galatians, it may be possible to retain at least what is said in Acts 21. On this view the apostles issued the decree simply on their own responsibility, without consulting Paul ; and this version of the matter was derived by the author from one of his sources. Unfortunately, the source of this passage (at least, according to all attempts hitherto made to distinguish the sources of Acts) is made out to be the same as that of Acts 15 20, or of 15 28 *f.*, or of both those passages. To avoid this conspicuous failure in the argument, J. Weiss deletes from the account in 15 5-11 13-33 (for 15 1-4 12, see above, § 1 div. *f.*) all references to Paul and Barnabas (15 22 25) as editorial additions, and assumes that in the original source 15 5-11 13-33 related only to the conference of the original apostles among themselves, which is then called to mind in 21 25. Apart from the extreme boldness of this assumption, it is to be remarlied that this particular source is considered by Weiss himself, as well as by all other critics of the sources of Acts, to be untrustworthy. In particular, the verse in question (21 25) has been actually taken to be an interpolation, and in fact is so little necessary to the context that if it were wanting its absence would not be noticed. Read with the context, it causes no difficulty; but the context itself is not historical (see ACTS, § 7). In any conceivable view, therefore, suspicion is thrown on the verse by a critical examination of the sources. In the absence of any confirmation, it certainly does not possess enough of internal probability to justify its acceptance.

In fine, it appears that the Tubingen school is not without justification n maintaining that the decree of the apostles is a fiction invented by the author for the purpose of promoting a union of Jewish and Gentile Christians. Only, in the second century it would have been little calculated to secure this object. The assumption is that these regulations were new at the time of writing. Now, they contain very stringent restrictions upon the freedom of the Gentile Christians in the interests of the Jewish; but the Gentiles were at that time so largely in the majority and so full of the consciousness of their title to membership in the Church, that they would hardly have acquiesced in such restrictions then. Resides, the regulations contained in the decree of the apostles must, in their essence, have been actually in force at the time of the composition of Acts (see ACTS, § 16), however little they may have been so in the first century.

The Epistle of Barnabas (36 46) betrays traces of this in the complaint that Christians believed themselves bound to observe the Mosaic Law, and from the middle of the second century there is evidence of this on all hands (*Did.* 6 3; Justin, *Dial.* 35; Luc. *de mort. Peregr.* 16; *Epistle from Lugdunum of the year* 177, in Eus. *HE* v. 1 26 : Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 6 2 [ch. 1, § 12]); Tertullian, *Apol.* chap. 7 9 ; Min. Felix, *Octav.* 30; *Clem. Hom.* 7 3 *f.* 8, and *Recog.* 4 36; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii. 25 (ii. 8 *f.*, *Strom.* 499, ed. Sylburg, 62, 98, 219 *f.*); Origen, *c. Cels.* 8 (24) 30 ; Orac. *Sibyll.* 2 96).

Possibly the first traces of such a custom or of an attempt to introduce it are to be found in Rev. 2 14 20-25, where the writer speaks only of meat offered to idols and of πορνεία.

The solution of the question would thus seem to be that the author of Acts, finding this custom in his own day, assumed in simple faith that it must date back to the time of the apostles, and (by a bold process of combination) represented its establishment as being the settlement of the dispute which he knew to have raged in those early times. His reverence for the apostles and the assumption (to him a matter of course) that complete harmony had prevailed among them supplied colours for the picture which differs so widely from the truth. In any case, the gradual rise of the custom itself finds its explanation in the effort to establish a *modus vivendi* between Jewish and Gentile Christians.' Only, it was due not to the demands of the strict Jewish Christians of the Council of Jerusalem—men who could not have been satisfied by the observance of so small a portion of the Law—but rather to the demands of the Jewish Christians of the Dispersion, who had on their own side long ago emancipated themselves from strict obedience to the Law, yet could not overcome their repugnance to certain extreme deviations from it.

12. Conclusion. In conclusion, we learn from our investigation of the subject that the Council of Terusalem did not possess the importance which its comparatively official character appears to claim for it. It had far less influence upon the history of primitive

[1] Some scholars have upheld the modified view that these restrictions were at all events customarily observed at the time among the Gentile Christian;, many of whom had previously been semi-proselytes to Judaism and would therefore have naturally continued to obey these ordinances as Christians ; and these would have been followed by the other Gentile converts. The only church, however, concerning which we have any information in this connection proves the contrary. In Corinth Paul had to contend with the very worst modes of unchastity, and with practices in regard to things offered to idols that went too far even for him ; and mixed marriages were quite usual. It is hardly possible to believe that things could have been so completely different elsewhere, even if Corinth was exceptionally bad in these respects.

Christianity than the dispute at Antioch, which speedily undid everything that the Council of Jerusalem had achieved. The discussion of the question has led to elucidations of the highest value for a knowledge of the position of parties among the early Christians. These were not, as the Tübingen School assumed, only two. They were at least four—the parties (or, as they should rather be termed, the 'schools') of Paul, of Peter, of James, and of the 'false brethren.' Thus, even from the earliest period, there were the intermediate positions between extreme parties, which, according to the Tiibingen School, only arose from compromises in the second century. Primitive Christianity presents a picture far more rich in detail and in colonr than that view supposes. Its critics must be prepared to take into account the finest distinctions of shade.

13. Literature. The critical discussion of the subject **was** initiated by the Tübingen school: Baur (*Paulus*, 1845); Schwegler (*Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 1846); Zeller (*Apostelgesch.* 1854). The later phases of the critical position are represented by Lipsius (Schenkel's *Bib. Lex. s.v.* 'Apostelconvent,' and *Handcomm.* 2 2); Weizsäcker (*JDT*, 1873, pp. 191-246, and *Ap. Zeitalt.*); Pfleiderer (*JPT*, 1883, pp. 78-104, 241-262, and *Paulinismus*); Holtzmann (*ZWT*, 1882, pp. 436-464, and 1883, pp. 159-165); Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, in various articles, the latest in 1899, pp. 138-149, with a new edition of the text). Of an apologetical character are the contributions of J. Ch. K. v. Hofmann, *Die heil. Schr. NT* 1 122-140, 2nd ed. 126-145); Carl Schmidt (*De apostolorum decreti sententia*, 1874, and in *PRE*(3), *s.v.* 'Apostelkonvent'); Zimmer (*Galaterbr. u. Apostelgesch.* **1882**); Franke (*St. Kr.* 1890, pp. 659-687). Of the 'mediating' school; Keim (*Urchrist.* i. 64-89 ['78]); Grimm (*St. Kr.* 1880, pp. 405-432). Cp M. W. Jacobus (*Presbyt. and Ref. Review*, 1897, pp. 509-528. **P. W. S.**

COUNSELLOR, EV twice COUNCILLOR (4, below). Frequent in EV in a general sense, without any official meaning, or, more specifically, of the king's personal adviser or advisers, for which the technical term is מַזְכִּיר (EV RECORDER); see GOVERNMENT, § 21.

The following terms come into consideration:—

1. יוֹעֵץ, *yō'ēṣ*, as a title, applied to Ahithophel (2 S. 15 12 1 Ch. 27 33), and Jonathan (1 Ch. 27 32 ‖ איש מבין וסופר). Why Zechariah [*q.v.*, 5] is styled 'wise counsellor' (יוֹעֵץ שֶׂכֶל) in 1 Ch. 26 14 is hard to say; the text is probably faulty. יוֹעֵץ may mean 'giver of oracles' (see context); similarly in Is. 41 28 (cp 44 26) 2 Ch. 25 16. It is otherwise used generally; cp **Is.** 19 11 Pr. 11 14 Joh 3 14, etc. 𝔊BNA renders by βουλευτής io Job 3 14 12 17; but more commonly σύμβουλος. In 2 S. 8 18 𝔊BAL incorrectly applies the term σύμβουλος to BENAIAH (1), apparently reading יועץ for יהוידע; in 𝔊BL's addition to 1 K. 2 46 *h*) on the other hand, ὁ σύμβουλος referring to καχουρ (HP **93**, ζα[κ]χουρ) υἱὸς Ναθαν may rest upon old tradition. He can he no other than Zahud (ζαχουρ [L], HP 93 ζακχουρ) h. Nathan who is mentioned in 1 K. 4 5 as the 'king's friend' (so MT; see ZABUD, 1). The Aram. equivalent יָעֲטוֹהִי (pl. with suff.) in Ezra 7 14 *f.* is used in reference to the seven counsellors of the Persian king; cp the seven princes of Media and Persia in Esth. 1 13.

2. דְּתָבְרַיָּא, *dethāberayyā*, **pl.** Dan. 3 2 3, the Pers. *dâta-bara*, law-giver, hence a judicial authority.

3. הַדָּבְרַיָּא, *haddāberayyā*, pl. Dan. 3 24 27 4 36 [33] 6 7 [8], an unknown Aram. official title. No doubt **a** compound of the Pers. *bara* (cp above): the first part of the name is perhaps corrupt. The context plainly shows that the personal attendants of the king are intended. For 2 and 3, see Comm. *ad loc.*, and cp E. Meyer, *Entst.* **23**.

4. βουλευτής,[1] Mk. 15 43 Lk. 23 50, RV 'councillor,' applied to Joseph of Arimathæa (JOSEPH, 15), see GOVERNMENT, § 31.

5. σύμβουλος, used generally, Rom. 11 34 (quoting Is. 40 13). σύμβουλος occurs also in the Apoc., cp Ecclus. 6 6 37 7 *f.*, and 42 21 (where Heb. מבין).

COURT (חָצֵר, αὐλή), 'an open enclosure,' used commonly in EV with reference to the TEMPLE [*q.v.*] (Ex. 27 9 Ezek. 8 16 and often) also of the court of a house (2 S. 17 18), or palace (1 K. 7 8); see HOUSE, § 2. For the 'court of the guard' (RV, AV '. . . of the prison'), חֲצַר מַטָּרָה, Jer. 32 2, etc., see JERUSALEM.

'Court' in Is. 34 13 EV, 35 7 EVmg., is used indefinitely of an abode. The MT has the corrupt form חָצִיר (αὐλή in 34 13 [BℵAQΓ]). In 2 K. 20 4 the AVmg. RV 'city' follows the Kt עִי, for which the Kr. correctly presents חָצֵר 'court' (of the citadel; see AV, RVmg.). Finally, 'court' in Am. 7 13 AV is used in a different sense, with reference to the royal 'palace' (cp RV).

A later designation of the temple court is עֲזָרָה, *'ăzārāh* 2 Ch. 4 9, along with חָצֵר, and 6 13†; αὐλή), a word of uncertain origin common in MH, not to be confused with the equally obscure עֲזָרָה, EV 'settle,' RVmg. 'letter, 'ledge,' viz. of the altar (Ezek. 43 14-20 45 19†).

In NT αὐλή is applied to the sheepfold (Jn. 10 1 16), and the temple enclosure (Rev. 11 2). Elsewhere (in the Gospels) RV regularly reads 'court' for AV 'palace' (*e.g.*, Mt. 26 3 69 Mk. 14 54 66) or 'hall' (Mk. 15 16 Lk. 22 55), and nowhere recognises (with Meyer, etc.) the classical usage of αὐλή, to denote a house or building.

The 'fore-court' (Mk. 14 68 RVmg., προαύλιον) is the first of the two (or more) courts which the larger buildings contained: see HOUSE.

COUSIN (ἀνεψιός; Col. 4 10 RV, AV 'sister's son'), in classical Greek a 'first cousin' or 'cousin' generally; also 'nephew,' 'niece.' In Nu. 36 11 it renders בֶּן דּוֹד. Tobit is called the ἀνεψιός of Raguel (Tob. 7 2; also 9 6 [K]).

In Lk. 1 36 58 the word (συγγενής, συγγενίς) is quite general; RV in NT rightly always 'kinsman,' 'kinswoman,' pl. 'kinsfolk.' In 1 Esd. 3 7 4 42 1 Macc. 11 31 (RV 'kinsman') it is **a** title given by **a** king to one whom he desired to honour.

COUTHA, RV CUTHA (κουθα [A], om. BL), a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 8) 1 Esd. 5 32 [A]—unmentioned in Ezra 2 52 Neh. 7 54—whose name may possibly be connected with CUTHAH (2 K. 17 24).

COVENANT. The word בְּרִית (*bĕrīth*) probably occurred about 285 times in the original OT. Its

1. Terms. constant rendering in 𝔊 is διαθήκη (συνθήκη Dan. 11 6; ἐντολαί [B] or προστάγματα **[A]**, 1 K. 11 11). Διαθήκη is used in a few instances for a kindred term. Yet it is safe to assume that in the original Hebrew texts of Ecclesiasticus, 1 Maccabees, Psalter of Solomon, Assumption of Moses, Jubilees, Judith, the Apocalypse of Ezra, and Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, ברית was used at least seventy times where our versions give διαθήκη, συνθήκη, or an equivalent.

Aquila and Symmachiis usually, Theodotion frequently, rendered the word συνθήκη. Both words are found in Wisdom of Solomon and 2 Maccabees. The NT writers, following the Alexandrian version, used exclusively διαθήκη, and this determined the usage in early Christian literature. The Targums translated invariably קְיָם; the Pesh. **of** the **OT** gives ܩܝܡܐ, hut in Mal. 2 4 Zech. 9 11 transliterates διαθήκη, the method adopted also by the Edessene versions *of* the NT. In Enoch 60 6, Ethiopic *maḥala* probably represents διαθήκη, originally קְיָם.

It is significant that the Assyrio-Babylonian is the only cognate language in which the word has been found.

2. Early history of word 'bĕrīth.' *Birītu* means: (1) fetter; (2) alliance, covenant; (3) firmness, solidity. Fetters were placed upon the culprit, the vanquished enemy, the representative of a conquered city or country, to hold him and to signify power over him; in chains he received his own sentence or the decree tonching his home and people (Sennacherib, ii. 71; 5 R. 2, 109 etc.). A fettered rival might be put under obligations and macle an ally, and such an enforced subordination might, by a simple metaphor, be designated 'enchainment.' This term was then extended to every alliance, even where the parties were in a position to decide upon a mutually binding decree, as in the case of Kara-indaš and Ašur-bēl-nišišu, 2 R 65 (K. 4406). As equals did not actually lay shackles upon each other, this is evidently a figurative use of the word; and as the thought of mutual obligation cannot have been immediately suggested by the imposition of fetters, it is as clearly secondary. The royal word of judgment or assurance, particularly when strengthened by an oath, was the fetter that could not be broken. A 'fettered' house

[1] In Palm. בילוטא.

was one firmly built, a 'fettered' place one surrounded by solid walls, 2 R 38, 15-17 (cp *bîrtu;* fortress, fortified town, from the same root, Shalm. ob. 34, and see Del. *Ass. HWB*, 185).

3. Primary meaning in Heb.

From the Amarna correspondence we know that some time before the Hebrew invasion a Babylonian dialect was written, and undoubtedly also to some extent spoken, in Palestine. The Israelites may therefore have become acquainted with this term through the Amorites. In the nomadic state, the priestly oracle by the casting of lots, the תורה, probably sufficed. Agricultural and city life called for increased civil authority. It is possible that ברית in the sense of 'binding ordinance,' 'sentence,' was adopted to supply the need of a corresponding word to designate the judicial decision of a ruler.

In the Elohistic narratives the denominative ברה occurs with the significance 'to appoint' (1 S. 17 8). The noun was still used by the author of Ecclesiasticus to denote the sentence pronounced by a judge (38 33). The fact that the dominant idea attached to the word at all times was that of a binding decree is better accounted for by this Babylonian derivation than by recourse to the Arabic *barā* 'to sever.' It also yields a satisfactory explanation of the early appearance of ברית in the sense of 'alliance,' and its occurrence with the signification of 'community,' 'nation.' On the other hand, the sometimes-observed ceremony of passing between the severed pieces of an animal in making a solemn pledge may have been an inheritance from the nomadic period. In the phrase כרת ברית, possibly testifying to this rite, the verb throws no more light upon the noun than in the Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν; whilst the secondary meaning of כרת, 'to decree' (cp the gloss to Hag. 2 5), bears witness to the primary and persistent significance of ברית.

The classical distinction between διαθήκη (*diathēkē*, will) and συνθήκη (*synthēkē*, agreement) was not entirely lost in Hellenistic Greek.

συνθήκη is exclusively used of a political alliance in 1 and 2 Macc. Aquila's preference for συνθήκη cannot he explained by prejudice; its use by Symmachus was evidently dictated by considerations of style; even Theodotion's conservatism did not prevent him from abandoning at times the uniform rendering of the oldest Greek version. In view of this, the deliberate choice of διαθήκη by the Alexandrian translators can scarcely have been due to anything else than a consciousness of the fundamental meaning of ברית. This likewise applies to the independent rendering of the word by קים in the Targums.

4. Specialised significations.

(i.) *Civil.*—In civil life the Hebrews seem to have employed the word to denote sentence, decree, ordinance, statute, law, pledge, testament, alliance, covenant, community, nation. A successful leader against the enemy was in early Israel designated a judge (שופט), because the foe was regarded as a transgressor, the victory as a judgment, and the valorous chief as the natural arbiter in internal feuds (cp GOVERNMENT, § 17). Even the king was a judge as well as a warrior, 1 K. 3 16 *ff.* [J], 1 S. 8 20 [E]. When this unity of the judicial and administrative functions ceased, the old term designating the decision of a ruler remained in legal phraseology. A collection of judicial decisions (משפטים) was called a bĕrīth-book, Ex. 24 7 [E], the sentence was termed a bĕrīth (Ecclus. 38 33). But it also continued to denote the victor's decree affecting the condition of a city that capitulates (*e.g.*, Jabesh, 1 S. 11 1 [J]), a territory that is ceded (*e.g.*, Ishbaal's, represented by Abner, 2 S. 3 12 *f.* 21 [J]), a rival kingdom that is forced to come to terms (*e.g.*, Benhadad's, 1 K. 20 34 [E]) or a kingdom reduced to a state of dependence (*e.g.*, Zedekiah's, Ez. 17 13-19); and it was applied to the ordinance, statute, law, or constitution imposed by a king upon his own people, as David's (2 S. 5 3 [J]), Josiah's (2 K. 23 3), Zedekiah's (Jer. 34 8 *ff.*), Antiochus's (Dan. 9 27: 'he shall impose severe regulations on the many during one week'). Such a royal declaration was considered inviolable; a king would not go beyond his word in severity, nor fail to fulfil his promise. The Jabeshites regarded their lives as safe, if Nahash would solemnly declare his willingness to rule over them as his servants. Antiochus Eupator is severely censured (Is. 33 8) for himself violating the constitutional rights he had granted (1 Macc. 6 59 *ff.*; 2 Macc. 13 22 *ff.*). Thus the word assumed the meaning of 'pledge.'. The captains pledged themselves to obey Jehoiada (2 K. 11 4), the nobles of Jerusalem to set their slaves free (Jer. 34 8 *ff.*), Zechariah and other citizens to drive away their wives (Ezra 10 3).

(ii.) *Domestic.*—Applied to domestic relations the bĕrīth was at first simply 'the law of the husband' (Rom. 7 2). Since a wife was captured, bought, or given in marriage, her absolute subjection to a man's authority was properly characterised as 'enchainment.' Social development, however, without introducing the idea of equality, tended to emphasise the obligations that go with power. The husbands bĕrīth became a solemn pledge given before witnesses (Ez. 16 8 Mal. 2 14). In this sense the word could be used also of the wife. In Prov. 2 17 ברית אלהיה seems to mean 'the promise by her God'; the same pledge of faithfulness is alluded to in Ez. 16 61 ('not for the sake of thy promise'), and possibly also in 4 Esdr. 2 5. A father's decision was binding upon his children. Especially the last paternal decree, the testament, was irrevocable. Whether it was a disposition of property or a dispensation of blessings and curses, deemed effectual in antiquity, it was termed a bĕrīth (Gal. 3 15 Heb. 9 16 *f.*; *Test. xii. patr.* passim), and had the nature of a promise.

(iii.) *International.*—Between nations equal in power a favour conferred or promised calls for a gift in return. To perpetuate mutually advantageous relations, pledges are exchanged. In this way political alliances may arise with mutual obligations. The best example of such a covenant is that between Solomon and Hiram (provided the Deuteronomistic note, 1 K. 5 26 [12], can be relied upon). Of this nature were probably also the agreements between Hezion and Abijah, Benhadad and Asa, and Benhadad and Baasha, referred to in 1 K. 15 19 [J]. The bĕrīth with Assyria, Hos. 12 2 [1], was originally intended as an alliance of this kind, though Hosea had reason to complain that out of such alliances there grew only new rights, *i.e.*, demands (10 4). Simon's league with Rome was of the same character (1 Macc. 14 24 26 40; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 3).[1]

(iv.) *Fictions.*—Since the relations of nations were thus frequently regulated by a bĕrīth, it is not strange that such a basis should sometimes have been assumed without sufficient foundation. When the once peaceful Arabic neighbours began to push the Edomites out of Mount Seir, Obadiah looked upon this as a breach of covenant on the part of allies (*v.* 7). The simultaneous attack of several peoples on the Jewish commonwealth described in 1 Macc. 5 1 *ff.*, seemed to the author of Ps. 83 6 to be the result of an alliance against Yahwè—*i.e.*, Israel. If Amos 1 9 6 is in its right place (see AMOS, § 9 *a*), Tyre is charged with forgetting the 'covenant of brothers' with some other city or people, probably Phoenician; kinship is the basis of the assumption. Zech. 11 10 *f.* probably describes a change in the policy of the reigning pontiff as regards the Gentiles, rather than actual alliances with neighbouring states, as the consequent internal feud suggests. It is also natural that recourse should be had to the same fiction to justify or to condemn present conditions and demands. In the Negeb, tribes of Israelitish and Idumæan extraction assured themselves of their rights, against the Philistines, to certain wells and oases, by virtue of a solemn pledge given by Abimelech of Gerar to their *heros eponymus*, Isaac (Gen. 26 28 [J] 21 27 *ff.* [E]). Similarly, the border lines between Aramæan and Israelitish territory in Gilead were regarded as fixed by an agreement between Laban and Jacob, securing also the rights of certain Aramæan enclaves on Israelitish soil (Gen. 13 44 [J]). Certain remarkable facts in the history of the Gibeonites (see GIBEON), gave rise to the story told in Josh. 9 6 *f.* 15 *f.* [J] 9 11 [E]—a story which shows how unobjectionable snch alliances with the natives were considered in earlier times. When pro-

[1] 1 Macc. 8 17 2 Macc. 4 11 are scarcely historical.

phetic teaching had led to a recognition of the baneful influences upon the life of Israel of Canaanitish modes of thought and worship, the warning took the form of a prohibition of alliances projected into the period previous to the invasion (Dt.72 Jud. 22 [Dt.] Ex. 2332 [E] Ex. 341215 [J]). Gen. 1413, though found in a late Midrash, may reflect the memory of a long dominant Canaanitish majority in Hebron, since, with all the glorification of Abram, the three chiefs Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are designated as בעלי הברית, 'holders of the pledge.' To legitimatise the Davidic dynasty, Jonathan was represented as having abdicated the throne in favour of David, while Saul was still alive, on condition of remaining next to the king in rank (1 S. 2317 *f.* [E]). Such an action on his part was then accounted for by the story of a still earlier Yahwè-běrīth of friendship (1 S. 183 [EA), referred to again in 1 S. 20816 [R]. The friendship itself is sufficient to explain David's kindness to Jonathan's family; but the passage testifies to the custom of pledging friendship by an oath and a solemn ceremony.

(v.) *Běrīth* = 'nation.' — In Dan. 1122 נגיד ברית is the title given to Onias III. This probably means prince or ruler of the nation. The ברית קדש, Dan. 112830, is the holy nation against which Antiochus Epiphanes directed his attention and his fury; and עזבי ברית קדש are the apostates who abandoned the holy nation and lived like the Gentiles (cp 1 Macc. 115, also Judith913 1 Macc. 163). These renegades are called מרשיעי ברית, Dan. 1132; 'those that bring condemnation upon the nation,' are responsible for its misfortunes. This significance should probably also be given to the word in Ps. 7420 (Hitz., Che.). The מלאך ברית, Mal. 31, may be the angelic representative of the nation. At a somewhat earlier period in some inserted passages in II. Is. (see ISAIAH, ii. § 16, Che. *SBOT*) ברית seems already to occur in this sense. The context indicates that ברית עם, Is. 426 498, is meant to designate Israel as an independent organised community (lit. 'a commonwealth of a people').[1] Until Israel had regained its status of independence it could not rebuild the ruined cities, or restore the land to its former glory. This meaning may possibly be traced still further hack; BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*), as the Elohist designates the god of Shechem, may mean 'god of the community.' The word used of the city-kingdom of Shechem in the seventh century (cp Ass. *birtu*, √ברה, fortified town) may well have been applied to the ardently desired kingdom of Zion at the end of the sixth.

(vi.) *Metaphorical.* — Metaphorically ברית is used in Job311 of the law that Job has imposed upon his eyes that they shall not look upon a virgin; in 4028 [414] of the pledge which Leviathan is not likely to give, that he will allow himself to be captured and become a slave; and in 523 of Job's agreement with the stones of the field that they shall not prevent the cultivation of his land.

5. Religious sanction.

No important transaction was done in antiquity without religious sanction. The oath and the curse were extensively used in judicial proceedings, legislative enactments, and political treaties. Before passing sentence, the judge pronounced a curse or adjuration to arouse the conscience and elicit a confession (1 K. 831 [D] Nu. 521 [P] Lev. 51 [P] Prov.2924 Mt.2663). A pledge or promise was made more binding by a curse (אלה, Ez. 1716 Deut. 2911 [12] 20 [21]). To set forth symbolically this curse, animals were cut into pieces, and the person giving the pledge passed between the severed parts, signifying his readiness to be thus destroyed himself, if he should fail to keep his promise. It is to be observed that in the only passages where this ceremony is referred to (Gen. 15 and Jer. 3418 *f.*), there is no question of an alliance, and only one party passed between the pieces (cp Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeris belli Trojani*, i. 15). Whether this custom was observed also in the conclusion of treaties, as was the case in Babylonia, if Ephrem was correctly informed (*Comment.* to Gen. 15), is uncertain, and there seems to be no justification for connecting this rite in particular with an agreement between two parties, or for supposing ברית to have been the name of a ceremony of which it was an essential part. In most instances no doubt the oath sufficed. Sometimes the right hand was given in addition (Ez. 1718, 2 Macc. 1322), or a handshake took the place of the oath (Ezra1019 Prov. 61 1718 2226). It is possible that during the oath salt was sometimes thrown into the fire to intensify by the crackling sound the terror-inspiring character of the act, originally to render more audible the voice of the deity in the fire, hence the salt-běrīth (Lev. 213 [P] Nu. 1819 [P] 2 Ch. 135). As vows were taken and agreements made at some shrine, the numen dwelling in the sacred stone or structure was the chief witness (Gen. 3148 [J] 52 [E] Josh. 2427 [E] 2 K. 114 233), and a sacrificial meal preceded or followed the act (Gen. 2630 [J] 3146 [J] Ex. 2411 [J] 2 S. 320 [J]). The sprinkling of sacrificial blood upon the worshipper, a survival of the custom of sharing it with the deity, appears to have disappeared early from the cult. But it may have continued longest in the case of persons taking a solemn pledge, as is suggested by its use in the installation of priests (Ex. 2920 [P] Lev. 823 [P]). This would account for the term běrīth-blood (Ex. 248 [E]). Where an alliance was desired presents were offered by the party taking the initiative (Gen. 2127 [E]: probably the sacrificial animals; Hos. 122 [1] 6).

6. Divine 'běrīth.'

Since a decree, pledge, or compact was thus, as a rule, ratified by some sacred rite at a sanctuary, the word ברית readily assumed a religious significance, and was applied to a solemn declaration of the deity.

(i.) *In J, E, and early Prophets.* — In the earliest Judæan narrative Yahwk gives to Abram a promise that his descendants shall possess Palestine and symbolically invokes upon himself a curse, if he shall fail to keep it (Gen. 1518 [J]; cp Gen. 247 [J]). When Moses is reluctant to leave the mountain-home of his god and pleads for an assurance that Yahwè shall go with him, a solemn promise is given him (Ex. 3410 *a* [J]; add, with 𝔊^BFL, לך). The original context can scarcely have been anything else than a declaration that Yahwk will accompapy his servant, probably in 'the messenger,' the מלאך יהוה. This promise was no doubt also referred to by the Elohist, though the importance of the ark in his narrative (cp Nu. 1033 *f.* [E]) renders it probable that Yahwè's presence was here connected with this palladium. After the subjugation of the Canaanites by the first kings of Israel the question arose as to the justice of this deed. Israel's right to the land was then established by the fiction of a promise given to the mythical ancestor. A religious problem of grave importance was how Yahwè, whose home was on Sinai, or Horeb, could manifest himself at the Palestinian sanctuaries. The solution was that he had pledged himself to go with Moses in 'the messenger.' The story of Elijah's visit to Horeb was probably written early in the eighth century; in it ברית occurs in the sense of commandment (1 K. 1914). This is also the meaning of the term in Dt. 3396 (the Blessing of Moses), as the parallel אמרתך shows, and in Josh. 711 [E]. Hosea uses the word to denote an injunction of Yahwk upon the beasts of the field not to harm Israel (220 [18]), and a commandment of Yahwè in general (81; possibly also 67). It is noticeable that this prophet, who through a sad domestic 'experience learned to apply the figure of a marriage to YahwB's relation to Israel, never employs běrīth in the sense of a covenant. The ברית האיש was probably still simply the law of the husband, and the idea of a covenant with

[1] Cp פֶּרֶא אָדָם 'a wild ass of a man,' *i.e.*, a wild man, Gen. 1612. So in the main Duhm, though his conception of ברית is different. Di., Kraetzschmar (*Die Bundesvorstellung*, 169), and Kosters explain 'a covenant with the people'—*i.e.*, one in or through whom my covenant with the people is realised.

Yahwk had not yet been formed. The covenant with death, the compact with Shĕōl (Is. 2815 18), appears to be an alliance with the powers of the nether world, implying mutual stipulations. Men who preached the destruction of Israel and YahwB's independence of the people, would not be likely to characterize the existing relation by a term current in necromancy.

(ii.) *Deuteronomist.*—Even the transformation of the Yahwistic and Elohistic narratives of the Horeb-bĕrīth, in the reign of Manasseh, by which the promise given to Moses became a solemnly imposed law (the Decalogue of J, Ex. 34 15-26, and that of E, Ex. 20 1-17), and the judicial decisions of the bĕrīth book, Ex. 20 23-23 33, became divine injunctions, does not contemplate au alliance. In the law promulgated by Josiah in 621 (not likely to be found outside of Dt. 12-26; but see DEUTERONOMY, § 5 *f.*) the word does not occur. But this law was designated at the outset as a bhith-book (2 K. 23 2 21). It seems to have been intended to take the place of Ex. 20 23 *ff.* The promise to Abraham is strongly emphasised by the Deuteronomistic writers and enlarged to one given to Isaac and Jacob as well (Dt. 431 7 12 8 18 2 K. 13 23 [Dt.]; cp also Dt. 18 35 6101623 78 81 etc.). At a time when Juclah was in imminent danger of losing its heritage, faith took refuge in this divine assurance, manifesting Yahwè's love, and justified by the obedience of the patriarchs (Dt. 4 31 10 15 Gen. 26 4 *ff.* [Dt.]). One writer of this school declares that Yahwb announced on Horeb his bĕrīth consisting of the ten words (Dt. 4 13 5 2 *ff.*), and that this bhith was written on tablets of stone (99) and placed in the ark (see ARK, § 1 *f.*, 3, 9). Another author made the Josianic code the basis of a covenant concluded in the fields of Moab (Dt. 29 9 12 14 21 [8 11 etc.] 26 17-19; cp the later gloss 29 1 [28 69]). Here the idea of a compact between Yahwè and Israel involving mutual rights and obligations is fully developed. Yahwb pledges himself to make Israel his own people, distinct from, honoured above all others; Israel declares that it will make Yahwb its god and obey his commandments. This conception was subsequently transferred also to the Horeb-bĕrīth; cp Judg. 2 1 *ff.* [Dt.].

(iii.) *Jeremiah and* Ezekiel.—Jeremiahdoes not seem to have participated in this development. He used bhith only to designate Josiah's law, which he regarded as having been given through Moses at the time when Yahwb brought Israel out of Egypt (11 2 *f.* 6810 34 13). It is evident from the context that הפר ברית (11 10) indicates not the disannulment of a covmant, but the breaking of a law by disobedience, the law still remaining in force. Ezekiel, on the other hand, not only employs ברית in the sense of 'law' (20 37: 'the fetter of the law,' 44 7), but also applies it for the first time to the conjugal relation of Yahwb and Israel (1685960). Marriage is here basedonmutual pledges: it is a covenant. According to Ezekiel's view of history, Yahwb had entered into such an alliance with Israel in Egypt, but the people had by a long career of unfaithfulness forced its dissolution (1659). Yet he hopes that in the future Yahwb will renew his intimate relations with Israel. There will be no covenant, however (for Israel's pledge cannot be trusted; 16 61), but a gracious dispensation of Yahwb (16 62), everlasting (37 26), and full of prosperity (34 25), ushered in by the restoration of the Davidic rule and the temple-service (37 25 26).

(iv.) Exilic times.—How ardently the next generation expected that the fallen tent of David would be raised up again, may be seen in the appendix to Amos (9 11 *ff.*) and in the more pregnant form given to the promise 2 S. 7 16 [E2] in 2 S. 23 5 (ברית עולם). Such hopes may have been awakened by the honour shown to Jehoiachin by Amil Marduk in 561, and may have attached themselves to his son SHESHBAZZAR (*q.v.*). They were naturally encouraged by the sympathetic tone of Deutero-Isaiah's message (Is. 40-48). even though this writer himself knows no other Messiah than Cyrus. With the freer intercourse between the holy city and the Jews of the dispersion, possible after the Persian conquest (cp Zech. 6 10), and the appointment of Sheshbazzar, and after him of Zerubbabel, as governor, the Second Isaiah's evangel was brought to Palestine and changed the comfortless lamentations of the native population (Lam. 3) into songs of redemptive suffering (Is. 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 12), or of future restoration (the Zion songs in Is. 49-55). It was felt that by the accession of a king of the old dynasty, a living witness would appear of Yahwè's faithfulness to David (Is. 55 4 *a*), a restorer of the territory once possessed (Is. 55 4 *b* Mic. 4 8 13 5 1), a surety of the promised dispensation of everlasting peace (Is. 54 10 55 3), and that Zion would thus become again an organised community (oy ברית), able to build up what had fallen into ruins, to attract the exiles to their spiritual home, and to teach the nations the manner in which Yahwb should be worshipped (Is. 426 496).

(v.) *Haggai, Zechariah, etc.*—The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah bear witness to the strength of the royalist sentiment at Jerusalem. The hopes of the Jews proved illusory; but in the midst of disappointment the belief in Yahwè's promises lived on. 'Malachi' felt assured that Yahwb would return, and accounted for his delay by the sins of the degenerate priestly descendants of the faithful and reverent Levi, to whom Yahwe's promise (ברית) of life and prosperity was given (2 1-9), and of those who, fascinated by foreign women, had forgotten the pledge (ברית) given to the wives of their youth (2 14). The author or authors of Is. 56-66 also deplored the marriages with aliens and the survival of forbidden forms of worship, but saw the remedy in the law: the keeping of Yahwè's commandments (ברית) would render the very eunuch fit for membership in Israel (56 4); the distinction of Israel lay in that gracious arrangement (ברית) by which YahwB's law, proclaimed by men of the spirit and repeated by a mindful people, would be its perpetual possession (59 21), a divine dispensation involving prosperity as a reward of obedience (618). The author of Jer. 30 *f.*, however, rises to a far greater height. He looks forward to a new regime based solely on YahwB's love, which will take the place of the old and less permanent relation (Jer. 31 31 *ff.*). This work may perhaps be assigned to the time of the Græco-Persian war, when the writer confidently looked for extraordinary proofs of Yahwe's pardoning grace (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7 [iii.] 8 [ii.]).

(vi.) *P.*—The conception of the bhith as a gracious act on the part of God, by which he binds himself to a certain course of action in reference to Israel and the world, implying the bestowal of blessings and the revelation of his will, becomes dominant in the Priestly Code. The bĕrīth or engagement is here carried back to Abraham and Noah. Beside the Noah-bĕrīth (Gen. 9 1-17) there is no room for an Adam-bĕrīth; beside the Abrahamic (Gen. 17; cp Ex. 2 24 6 4), no need of a Sinaitic. The Noah-bhith secures the stability of earth's conditions and of man's life, and the accompanying law of blood is but a beneficent provision for the preservations of the race: the Abrahamic guarantees to Israel the land of Palestine and a large population, and the command of circumcision implies only a distinction conferred upon this people from which all further favours flow. The sign in the sky and the sign in the body are constant reminders to the deity of these merciful engagements. By the use of נתן ב׳ and הקים ב׳ ('establish,' occasionally 'maintain') instead of כרת ב׳ the nature of the bĕrīth as a gift, a divine institution, is emphasised. Though the word has thus become a religions terminus *technicus* in this code, it still occurs with the sense simply of commandment, Ex. 3116 (the law of the sabbath), Lev. 24 8 (the ordinance of the shew-bread), Lev. 213 (the injunction concerning salt), or of promise, Nu. 25 12 *f.* (the assurance to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood in his line).

(vii.) *Later writers.*—The author of Jer. **50** *f.* (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7, 8 [iii.]) refers to the Abrahamic dispensation in the spirit of the Priestly Writer (see that vividly expressed passage on the return of the men of Israel and Judah, Jer. 50 5) ;[1] and Jer. 14 21 reflects the same conception. Ps. **89** 29 105 8 10 106 45 111 5 also show the influence of this idea.

On the other hand, in Ps. **25** 10 14 132 12, ברית is only a synonym of עדות, and in 44 18 50 16 78 10 of תורה. In Ps. 50 5, כרתי בריתי על זבח, 'those who pledge their troth to me by sacrifice,' are graciously told that Yahwè will not demand excessive offerings,[2] and in 78 10 the men of the Mosaic period are charged with not being faithful to the pledge given to Yahwè. Besides the Abrahamic dispensation (1 Ch. 16 15 2 Ch. 6 14 Neh. 1 5 9 8 32), the Chronicler particularly emphasises the engagement made with David (2 Ch. 13 5 21 7), but also uses bĕrīth of a pledge in general (2 Ch. 29 10 34 32 Neh. 13 29). The Prayer of Jeremiah (Jer. 32 16-44) is quite after the fashion of the Chronicler; in 32 40 the author has in mind **31** *33*, but interprets the bĕrīth vaguely as a promise that Yahwè will not cease to show mercy to Israel.

The author of Ecclesiasticus (*circa 200*) introduces for the first time an Adam-bĕrīth as an everlasting dispensation (17 12), is led by his biographical interest to mention severally the divine promises to Noah (44 18), Abraham (*v.* 19 *f.*), Isaac (*v.* 22), Jacob (*v.* 23), Aaron (**45** 7 15), Phinehas (*v.* 23 *f.*), and David (*v.* 25 47 11), and employs the term in the sense of law (24 23 45 5). and of covenant (14 12, based on Is. **28** 15, hut שאול understood figuratively; cp Wisd. 1 16). The thought of Ecclus. **45** 15 (ἐν ἡμέραις οὐρανοῦ, כימי שמים) 25, is further developed in Jer. 33 14-26 (wanting in 𝔊BNA, hut translated by Theodot.; see JEREMIAH, § 11); the divine arrangements as respects the house of Levi and the house of David are as inviolable as the divine arrangements in nature, the laws of day and night, of heaven and earth. Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9-14—after 198 B.C.; see ZECHARIAH, ii. § 5) promises deliverance to the Jews of the dispersion on the ground of the faithful observance of the sacrificial cult at the sanctuary by which Israel continually pledges its troth to Yahwè (בדם בריתך, 'because of thy pledge-blood'; 9 11 : cp Ps. 50 5). Dan. 9 4 (164 B.C.) refers to God's merciful promise to bless his people. The ברית עולם, Is. 24 5 (*c.* 128 B.C.[3]) is most naturally understood in the light of Ecclus. 17 12, where the Adam-bĕrīth also involves the revelation of God's laws and judgments. In 1 Macc. 2 50 ברית אבותיכם may he a designation of the holy nation, the theocracy, whilst **4** 10 probably refers to the promise to the patriarchs, as 2 54 does to that to Phinehas. In Ps. Sol. 10 5, the law appears as a testimony of the eternal dispensation established with the Fathers (9 19). The author of *Jubilees* quotes (6 16) from Gen. 9 12 *f.* and (15 19) from Gen. **17** 7, but in his independent use of the term shows no trace of the conception prevailing in the Priestly Code. He introduces the Noah-bĕrīth as a pledge given by the patriarch (the original seems to have read כרת ברית עולם לפני י״), 6 10, which is renewed by the people every year through observance of the feast of weeks (6 17), and the Sinai-bĕrīth as a pledge which Moses takes from the people (6 11); he employs the word as a synonym of 'law,' 'statute' (1 10 15 34 24 11 **30** 21), and possibly uses it also in the sense of 'theocracy' (6 35), where the feasts of the Jewish community are contrasted with those of the Gentiles. 'Arbiter testamenti illius' (τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτης), *Assumption of Moses* [Charles] 1 14, seems to be a translation of מוֹכִיחַ בְּרִיתוֹ (cp Job 9 33), and represents Moses, not as a third party effecting an agreement between God and his people, but as the preacher proclaiming his law (cp Amos 5 10 Prov. 25 12 etc.). This is to be inferred already from the suffix —it is God's bĕrīth—and it is distinctly stated in 3 11; 'the commandments in respect of which he was to us a nediator'—*i.e.*, which he was the means of revealing to is (cp 2 7). The Abraham-bĕrīth is mentioned in 1 2 3 10 4 12 *f.* Enoch 60 6 is a fragment of a lost Apocalypse of Noah; it presents the Noah-bĕrīth as the all-sufficient blessing of the elect.

7. NT.

(i.) *Gospels.*—Lk. **1** 72, which refers to God's promise to Abraham, would seem to have belonged originally to a Jewish Apocalypse of Zechariah current among the Baptist's disciples. Jesus himself does not seem to have used the term in any sense. The thought of a new dispensation, so attractive to his disciples, may not have been foreign to his own mind. If it is not found even where it might most naturally be expected, as in Mt. **21** 43, the reason may he that his favourite expression, the kingdom of God, was intended to convey a similar idea. His words at the paschal table have evidently undergone successive modifications and expansions; and it is difficult not to trace Pauline influences. At any rate the declaration, 'This is the new διαθήκη in my blood' (1 Cor. 11 25 Lk. 22 20), seems to be an expansion of the earlier, 'This is my blood of the διαθήκη' (Mt. 26 28 Mk. 14 24). It is not inconceivable that Jesus actually said הרין דם קימי, meaning thereby 'This is the blood in which I pledge my loyalty' (cp Ps. 50 5 Zech. 9 11). But the Greek translation suggests an Aram. הרין דמי קימא, in which the last word is likely to be an explanatory addition by a later hand, the original utterance being simply 'This (is) my blood.'

(ii.) *Paul.*—In Gal. 3 15 *ff.* Paul compares God's assurance to Abraham with a man's testament (διαθήκη), which cannot lose its validity by any arrangement subsequent to his death, and in addition seeks a proof of the inferiority of the law in the fact that it was given not directly by God himself, but through angels and a human agent (μεσίτης, used as in *Assump. Mos.* 1 14 3 12). In 4 24 he contrasts the present Jewish commonwealth (ἡ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ), deriving its existence as a theocracy (διαθήκη) from the legislation on Sinai with the heavenly society (ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ) from which by spirit-birth the new theocracy derives its life (cp Heb. **12** 22). The new form of government (διαθήκη), according to Paul, was possible only through the death of Jesus abolishing the authority of the Law (hence the change to ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι, 'through my blood,' 1 Cor. 11 25), and, as opposed to the maintenance of social order by enforced obedience to external statutes, consisted in a free, love-prompted surrender of life to the divine spirit's guidance (2 Cor. **3** 6). The idea of a special arrangement (διαθήκη), still in the future, by which all Israel is to be saved (Rom. 11 26 *f.*), does not introduce a foreign element into Paul's conception of the spiritual theocracy (for it implies only deliverance from sin), but is a concession to particularism, out of harmony with his general attitude, and due to his patriotic feelings (Rom. 9 *ff.*). Paul also uses the word as a designation of the OT (2 Cor. 3 14).

(iii.) *Other writers.*—In the epistle to the Hebrews, the Abrahamic dispensation yields to that of Melchizedek. Abraham is introduced only as an example of patient reliance upon God's promises (6 15), and as a representative of a priestly order inferior to that of Melchizedek (7 4 *ff.*); Jer. **31** 31 *ff.* is recognised as a description of the often promised new constitution (διαθήκη 8 8 *ff.* 10 16); but it is argued that, as a man's testament (διαθήκη) is not valid until after his death (9 16 *f.*), and as consequently the Mosaic constitution possessed no validity until a death had taken place (that of the sacrificial animal), so the better Christian dispensation could not be ushered in except by the death of Jesus (9 15 18 *ff.*); this departure of Jesus is, besides, regarded as necessary in order that he might be a

1 Read with Co., וְנִלְוֶה and insert כי before בְּרִית, 'Come let us join ourselves (anew) to Yahwè, for a lasting *bĕrīth* cannot be forgotten.'

2 Cheyne, however, takes Ps. 50 to have been written as an expression of non-sacrificial religion.

3 Following Duhm. But cp ISAIAH, ii., § 13.

priest—as he could not be on earth (7 13 *f.*)—in the celestial temple (620 9 11), and as such bear the responsibility for the new arrangement (*ἔγγυος* 7 22), and on God's behalf make it operative (*μεσίτης* 86 9 15 12 24) by sprinkling the blood on men's consciences, thus pledging and devoting them to the new priestly service (10 19, cp Ex. 29 20 [P] Lev. 8 23 [P]). The 'ark of the law' (*διαθήκη*) is mentioned in Heb. 9 4 (cp Rev. 11 19). In Eph. 2 12 the one great promise is considered as renewed by a series of solemn assurances (*αἱ διαθῆκαι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας*). Peter's contemporaries are represented in Acts 3 25 as 'sons'—*i.e.*, heirs, who might enter into possession of the promise (*διαθήκη*) to Abraham, whilst in 7 8 the word *διαθήκη* is used to designate the ordinance of circumcision.[1]

The most recent inquiry into the historical meaning of *bĕrīth* is Kraetzschmar's *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament* ('96). See also Valeton, *ZATW* 12 1-22 224-260 13 245-279 ['92 *f.*]; Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. Juden zu d. Fremden*, 46, 87 *f.* 176, 214 ['96]; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 269 *ff.* 312 *ff.* 479 *ff.*, *Kin.* 46 *ff.*; W. M. Ramsay, 'Covenant' in the *Expositor*, Nov. '98, pp. 321-336. N. S.

COVERLET (מַכְבֵּר), 2 K. 8 15† RV. See BED, § 3

COVERS (קְשָׂוֹת), Ex. 37 16, etc.; see CUP, 6.

COW (פָּרָה), Is. 11 7. See CATTLE, § 2.

COZ, RV strangely HAKKOZ (קוֹץ; κωε [B*b?A], θεκωε [θε superscr.] [B a?vid.], κως [L]) of JUDAH (1 Ch. 4 8). The name is probably not connected with Hakkoz. As it occurs nowhere else, perhaps we should read TEKOA (תְּקוֹעַ, Θεκωε; cp 𝔊BA). See HAKKOZ, TEKOA.

COZBI (כָּזְבִּי, 'deceitful,' § 79; cp Ass. *kuzbu*, 'lasciviousness,' Haupt, *SBOT* on Gen. 38 5), daughter of Zur (Nu. 25 15 18), a Midianite, who was slain by Phinehas at Shittim (Nu. 25 6-18, P; χασβ[ε]ι [BAFL], χοσβια [Jos. Ant. iv. 6 10 12]).

COZEBA, AV CHOZEBA (כֹּזֵבָה), 1 Ch. 4 22†. See ACHZIB, 1.

CRACKNELS (נִקֻּדִים), 1 K. 14 3. See BAKEMEATS, § 2.

CRAFTSMEN, VALLEY OF (גֵּי הַחֲרָשִׁים), Neh. 11 35 EV See CHARASHIM.

CRANE (עָגוּר; στρουθια [BKAQ]), Is. 38 14 Jer. 8 7† RV, AV by an error [see below] 'swallow.' In Is. 38 14 there is no 'or' between the first two names in MT, and 𝔊BNAQΓ omits *'āgūr* altogether, rendering the other word (סוס) correctly χελιδών (see SWALLOW, 2); in the second passage where in MT the same two words occur (Jer. 8 7) the connective particle is again omitted, this time by 𝔊. Hence it has been suggested that in neither place should both words occur (Klostermann, Duhm, etc., omit עגור in Is.); this receives some countenance from the fact that the MT order of the words is reversed in Targ. and Pesh. in Jer. 8 7. The transposition misled most Jewish authorities as to the real meaning of the two words respectively, and our translators followed them. That סוס (or rather סִיס: see SWALLOW, 2) means 'swallow' or 'swift' there can he no doubt, and so the words 'crane' and 'swallow' should at least change places (as in RV).

What *'āgūr* means is somewhat uncertain:[2] probably *Grus communis* or cinerea, which is the crane of Palestine. Once it bred in England. The passage in Isaiah refers to its 'chattering';[3] and its powers of giving utterance to loud and trumpet-like sounds both when in flight and when at rest are well known.

Cranes are migratory birds, spending the summer in N. latitudes and the winter as a rule in Central Africa and S. Asia; but some pass the cold season in the plains of S. Judæa. While travelling they fly in great flocks, and at times come to rest on the borders of some stream or lake. They appear to have fixed roosting-places to which they return at night in large numhers. Jeremiah notices the regularity of their seasonal migrations. N. M.—A. E. S.

[1] On the meaning of *διαθήκη*, see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, p. 47.

[2] Lagarde suggested that it means 'bird of passage' (عجر = عكر 'to turn back, return,' *Uebers.* 59).

[3] 'The Heh. (צִפְצֵף) properly signifies a shrill penetrating sound, and is therefore more applicable to the stridulous cry of the swift than to the deep, trumpet-like blast of the crane.' See the rest of Che.'s note in *Proph. Is., ad loc.*

CRATES (κρατης [A], -ησας [V]), the name of a former viceroy 'in Cyprus' (*Παλτῶν Κυπρίων*), who was left in charge of the citadel (of Jerusalem) by SOSTRATUS in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes: 2 Macc. 4 29.

CREATION. 1. *Accounts*[1] *of* Creation.—It may be regarded as an axiom of modern study that the descriptions of creation contained in the biblical records, and especially in Gen. 1 1-2 4*a*,[2] are permanently valuable only in so far as they express certain religious truths which are still recognised as such (see below, § 25). To seek for even a kernel of historical fact in such cosmogonies is inconsistent with a scientific point of view. We can no longer state the critical problem thus: How can the biblical cosmogony he reconciled with the results of natural science? The question to be answered is rather this: From what source have the cosmogonic ideas expressed in the OT been derived? Are they ideas which belonged to the Hebrews from the first, or were they borrowed by the Hebrews from another people?

1. Critical standpoint.

This question has passed into a new phase since the most complete form of the Creation-story of the Babylonians has become known to us in its cuneiform original. True, the story given in the tablets lies before us in a very fragmentary condition. The exact nnmber of tablets is uncertain. Considerable *lacunæ*, however, have been recently filled up by the discovery of missing passages, and there is good hope that further excavations will one day enable us to complete the entire record. At any rate we are now able to arrange all the extant fragments in their right order—which was not the case a few years ago—and so to recover at least the main features of the connection of the cuneiform narrative. Only a brief sketch of the contents can he given here.[3]

2. Babylonian epic.

The 'Creation-epic' begins by telling us that in the beginning, before heaven and earth were made, there was only the primaeval ocean-flood. This is personified as a male and a female being (Apsû and Tiâmat).

Long since when above | the heaven had not been named,
when the earth beneath | (still) bore no name,
when Apsû the primæval,—the generator of them,
the originator (?) Tiâmat,[4] | who brought them both forth
their waters in one | together mingled,
when fields were (still) unformed, | reeds (still) nowhere seen—

[1] On *conceptions* of creation, see below, §§ 25-29; on words, see § 30.

[2] It may be observed here that Gen. 2 4*a* was, originally, the superscription, not the subscription. Schr., in his reproduction of the two narratives of the primitive story, rightly restores it as the heading (*Studien zur Kritik der Urgesch.*, 1863, p. 172). In that case the priestly narrator can hardly have continued with Gen. 1 1. Restore therefore with Di. (*Genesis*, 17, 39), 'This is the birth-story of heaven and earth when Elōhīm created them' (בְּבָרְאָם אֱלֹהִים). Then continue, 'Now the earth,' etc. (*v.* 2). 'Then God said, Let light he; and light was.' See Kautzsch's translation (Kau. *HS*).

[3] Cp Del. *Das Bab. Weltschöpfungsepos* ('97); Jensen, *Kosmol.* 268-300; Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 401-417; and Ball, *Light from the East*, 1-21 ('99). The metrical divisions are well marked. The epic is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, and in each line there is a cæsura.

[4] [Ass. *Mummu Tiāmat.* In line 17 of this first tablet we meet (most probably) with a god called Mummu. The name corresponds to the Μωϋμις of Darnascius (see below, § 15 end), and is rendered hy Frd. Del. in *l.* 4, 'the roaring.' This' is by no means certainly right; for the grounds see Del. 119. Pinches renders, Lady Tiāmat (*Exp. Times*, 3 166). But Jensen warns us that there is another *mummu*. At any rate, the supposed connection with הוּם must he abandoned.]

long since, when of the gods | not one had arisen,
when no name had been named, | no lot [been determined],
then were made | the gods, [. . .].

Thus the world of gods came into being. Its harmony, however, was not long maintained. Tiāmat, the mother of the gods, was discontented with things as they were, and from hatred (it would seem) to the newly produced Light, rebelled against the supreme gods, and drew some of the gods to her side. She also for her own behoof produced monstrous beings to help her in her fight. This falling away of Tiāmat called for divine vengeance. To reply to the call, however, required a courage which none of the upper gods possessed, till at last Marduk (Merodach) offered himself, on condition that, after he had conquered Tiamat, the regal sway over heaven and earth should be his. In a solemn divine assembly this was assured to him. He then equipped himself for the fight, and rode on the war-chariot to meet Tiāmat and her crew. The victory fell to Marduk, who slew Tiāmat, and threw her abettors into chains.

This is followed by the account of the creation of the world by Marduk: The process is imagined thus. Marduk cuts in two the carcase of Tiāmat[1] (the personified ocean-flood), and out of the one part produces heaven, out of the other earth.[2]

He smote her as a . . . | into two parts,
one half he took, | he made it heaven's arch,
pushed bars before it, | stationed watchmen
not to let out its waters | he gave them as a charge.

Thus the upper waters of Tiāmat, held back by bars, form heaven, just as in Gen. 1 the first step to the creation of heaven and earth consists in the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the firmament. Then follows a detailed description of the making of the heavenly bodies ('stations for the great gods').

After this most unfortunately comes a great *lacuna*. We can venture, however, to state so much as this—that the missing passage must have related the creation of the dry land, of plants, of animals, and of men. In support of this we can appeal (1) to separate small fragments, (2) to the account of Bērōssus, (3) to the recapitulation of the separate creative acts of Marduk in a hymn to that god at the close of the epic, and (4) to the description of the creative activity of Marduk in a second cuneiform recension of the Creation-story lately discovered (on the various Babylonian Creation-stories, see also below, § 13 *ff.*).

What then is the relation between this Babylonian and the chief biblical cosmogony? We have no right to assume without investigation that the Hebrew myth of Creation appears in its original form in Gen. 1_1-2_{4a}. The present writer is entirely at one with Hermann Gunkel, whose work entitled *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*[3] ('95) contains the fullest collection of the relevant evidence, that this myth has passed through a long development within the domain of Hebraism prior to the composition of Gen. 1_1-2_{4a}. Only with a clear perception of this does critical method allow us to compare the latter document directly with the Babylonian Creation-epic. Then, however, our surprise is all the greater that in spite of the preceding development there is still in the main points, a far-reaching coincidence between the myths. For instance, both stories place water and darkness alone at the beginning of things, and personify the primæval flood by the same name (Tiamat = Tĕhōm). In both the appearance of light forms the beginning of the new order. Whether the production of light in

3. Relation to Gen. 1_1-2_{4a}.

[1] Jensen denies that Tiāmat is anywhere in the Creation-epic represented as a dragon, she is always, he thinks, a woman. It is, however not probable that the popular view of Tiamat as a serpent had no effect on the poet of the Creation-epic. See DRAGON, § 4 *ff.*

[2] [Possibly the head of Tiāmat is referred to at a later point of the story by Bērōssus. See below, § 15.]

[3] The sub-title of this work, which will be referred to again, is '*Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. i. und Ap. Joh. xii.* Mit Beitragen von Heinrich Zimmern.'

the Babylonian account was specified as a separate creative act or not (a point on which complete certainty cannot as yet be obtained), Marduk is at any rate the god of light κατ' ἐξοχήν, and, consequently, his battle with Tiāmat is essentially a battle between light and darkness. In both accounts the creation of heaven is effected through the divine creator's division of the waters of the primaeval flood, so that the upper waters form the heaven. In the Babylonian epic this division of the waters of the flood is in the closest relation to the battle with Tiāmat; nor can we doubt that a parallel description once existed in the Hebrew myth of creation, though it is but faintly echoed in Gen. 1 6 *f.* The list of the several creative acts runs thus in the two accounts:—

BABYLONIAN.	GEN. 1, IN PRESENT ORDER.[1]
1. Heaven.	1. Heaven.
2. Heavenly bodies.	2. Earth.
3. Earth.	3. Plants.
4. Plants.	4. Heavenly bodies.
5. Animals.	5. Animals.
6. Men.	6. Men.

There is much, however, to be said for the view that the present position of the heavenly bodies after the plants is secondary,[2] and that originally the creation of the heavenly bodies was related directly after that of heaven; the order will then be the same in both accounts. Further coincidences can be traced in points of detail: *e.g.*, the stress laid, in both accounts of the creation of the heavenly bodies, on their being destined to serve for the division of time (see also below, § 6). Can we doubt that, between accounts which have so many coincidences, there is a real historical connection?

4. Distinctively Babylonian background.

We must now inquire how this connection is to be represented. There are two ways which are historically conceivable. Either the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts are independent developments of a primitive Semitic myth, or the Hebrew is borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian. Dillmann proposes the former view in connection with a remark that the Hebrew story cannot have been simply borrowed from the Babylonians on account of the patent differences between the two narratives. 'There is no doubt a common basis; but this basis comes from very early times, and its data have been developed and turned to account in different ways by the Israelites and the Babylonians.'[3] In reply we may concede to Dillmann that the cosmogony in Gen. 1 cannot have been simply taken over from the Babylonians, and that there are strong *a priori* reasons for admitting the existence of a common stock of primitive Semitic myths. Still, that the Hebrew myth, which is still visible in Gen. 1, was borrowed at a later time from the Babylonians, is the only theory which accounts for the phenomena before us. There are features of the utmost importance to the story which cannot be satisfactorily explained except from the Babylonian point of view.

At the very outset, for instance, why, from a specifically Hebrew point of view, should the waters of the *tĕhōm* be placed at the beginning of all things? Or we may put our objection to Di.'s theory thus the question to be answered by a cosmogony is this, 'How did the visible heaven and earth first come into existence?' The answer given in Gen. 1 is unintelligible in the mouth of an early Israelite, for it implies a mental picture which is characteristically Babylonian. As the world still arises anew every year and every day, so, thought the Babylonian, must it originally have been produced. During the long winter the Babylonian plain looks like the sea (which in Babylonian is *tiāmtu*, *tiāmat*), owing to the heavy rains. Then comes the spring, when the god of the vernal sun (Marduk) brings forth the land anew, and by his potent rays divides the waters of

[1] Most critics, however, reckon eight or seven creative acts. Cp Wellh. *CH* 187 *ff.*; Bu. *Urgesch.* 488 *ff.*; Di. *Gen.* 16, 37.

[2] See Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 14; 'this unnatural arrangement may be explained by supposing that when the framework of the seven days was introduced, the plants, for which no special day remained, were combined with the earth, and so came to stand before the stars.'

[3] Di. *Gen.* ('92), p. 11; cp his *Ueber die Herkunft der urgeschichtl. Sagen* (Berlin Acad. 1882), p. 427 *ff.*, and Ryle, *Early Narratives of Gen.*, 12 *f.*

Tiamat which previously, as it were, formed a whole, and sends them partly upward as clouds, partly downward to the rivers and canals. So must it have been in the first spring, at the first New Year, when, after a tight between Marduk and Tiamat, the organised world came into being.[1] Or (for Marduk is also the god of the early morning sun), just as the sun crosses and conquers the cosmic sea (Tiāmat) every morning, and out of the chaos of night causes to appear first the heaven and then the earth, so must heaven and earth have arisen for the first time on the first morning of creation. To imagine a similar origin of the myth from a Hebrew point of view, would be hopeless. The picture requires as its scene an alluvial land, which Babylonia is, and Palestine or the Syro-Arabian desert is not, and it requires further a special god of the spring sun, or of the early morning sun, such as Marduk is and Yahwè is not.[2]

In short, rightly to understand the Babylonian account as, in its origin, a mythic description of one of the most familiar natural phenomena of Babylonia gives the key to the problem before us. The Israelitish cosmogony must have been borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian (cp also §§ 5 and 11). H. Z.

5. Mythical basis of Gen. 1 1-2 4a.

The preceding sections contain (1) an account of the great Babylonian creation epic (§ 2), (2) a comparison of this with the chief Hebrew cosmogony, and a criticism of Dillmann's theory (§ 3), and (3) an explanation of the Babylonian myth and of its pale Jewish copy (§ 4). Of these § 3 and § 4 relate to snbjects on which it is not unbecoming for the present writer to speak.[3] That there is more than one Hebrew cosmogony, will be shown presently; we will begin with that in Gen. 1 1-2 4a. It is a very unfortunate statement of Wellhausen[4] that the only detail in this section derived from mythology is that of chaos in *v.* 2, the rest being, he thinks, due to reflection and systematic construction. Reflection, no doubt, is not absent—*e.g.*, the framework of days is certainly late—bnt the basis of the story is mythical. Nor can we content ourselves with comparing the data of Gen. 1 with any single mythology, such as the Babylonian. Circumstanced as the Israelites were, we must allow for the possibility of Phcenician, Egyptian, and Persian, as well as Babylonian influences, and we must not refuse to take a passing glance at cosmogonies of less civilised peoples. For some elements in the Jewish Creation-story are so primitive that we can best understand them from the wide point of view of an anthropologist.

6. Parallelisms: Babylonian.

The Babylonian parallelisms may be summed up briefly (cp above, § 3). The points of contact are—(1) the primzval flood (תְּהוֹם=Tiāmat), (2) the primæval light (Marduk was a god of light before the luminaries were created), (3) the production of heaven by the division of the primzval flood, (4) the appointment of the heavenly bodies to regulate times and seasons, (5) the order of the creative acts (the parallelism, however, in the present form of Gen. 1 is imperfect), (6) the divine admonitions addressed to men after their creation.[5] To these may be added (7) creation by a word (see below, § 27), an idea which was doubtless prominent in the full Babylonian epic, and (8) the creation of man in the divine image, and the participation of inferior divine beings in the work.[1]

7. Phœnician.

Phcenician mythology is an embarrassing combination of Babylonian and Egyptian (possibly we should add Jewish[2]) elements, and is, moreover, known to us only from fragments of older works cited by Philo of Byblus and Damascius.[3] Still, distorted and discoloured as the myths presented to us may be, the main features of them have a very primitive appearance. The source of all things is described in the first of Philo's cosmogonies[4] as a chaos turbid and black as Erebns, which was acted upon by a wind (the רוּחַ of Gen. 1 2 [cp below, col. 944, n. 2]) which became enamoured[5] of its own elements (ἀρχαί). These ἀρχαί are the two sides or aspects of the divine being referred to[6]—the male and female principle, the latter of which in another of the Byblian cosmogonies (Muller, *op. cit.* iii. 500 *f.*) is called *Baau*. We may perhaps compare this *Baau* with Bōhū[7] in the Hebrew phrase *tōhu wā-bōhu* (wasteness and wideness = chaos) in Gen. 1 2. Some would also connect it with the Babylonian *Ba'u*, the 'great mother.' True, this goddess was held to be the consort of Ninib, the god of the rising sun, whereas *Baau* is the spouse of ἄνεμος κολπίας and her name is said to mean 'night' (= chaos ?). The connection of Ba'u with Ninib, however, may perhaps be of later origin. The result of the union of the two divine ἀρχαί was the birth of Μωτ—*i.e.*, according to Halévy,[8] τὸ Μωτ = תְּהֹמוֹת (cp Prov. 8 24, בְּאֵין־תְּהֹמוֹת). Μωτ, we are told, was egg-shaped. Here one may detect Egyptian influence, for Egyptian mythology knows of a world-egg, which emerged out of the watery mass (the god Nun). This is confirmed by a reference in the cosmogony of Mochus (in Damascius, 385) to Χουσωρ 'the opener,' whom it is tempting to connect with Ptah, the divine deminrge of Memphis; the name of Ptah may have been explained in Phcenician as the 'opener (פתח),' viz. of the cosmic egg. To the same cosmogony (Philo gives a different account) we owe the statement that this Χουσωρ split the egg in two,[9] upon which one of the pieces became

[1] [The Babylonian New Year's festival called Zakmuk, which has clearly influenced the corresponding Jewish festival, stands in close relation to the ccsmogonic myth. For the 'tablets of destiny,' on which the fates of all living were inscribed on New Year's Day, were taken by Marduk from Kingu, the captive consort of Tiāmat (Tab. iv. 1 121). In its popular conception, Zakmuk was probably at once the anniversary of creation and the day of judgment. So Karppe.]

[2] Cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 307-309; Gunkel *Schöpf.* 24-26.

[3] The germ of what follows is to be found in the *EB*, art. 'Cosmogony,' 1877. The view of the history of mythological ideas among the Israelites is that which the writer has advocated in a series of works (some of them are referred to later), and which, with a much fuller array of facts, but with some questionable critical statements, has been put forward lately hy Gunkel ('95). On the general subject of cosmogonies, cp Fr. Lukas, *Grundbegriffe zu den Kosmogonieen der alten Völker* ('93), pp. 1-14, on the Babylonian myths and Genesis.

[4] *Prol.* ET 298.

[5] See the fragment in Del. *Weltschöpfungsepos*, 5 4 5 111. The admonitions relate to purity of heart, early morning prayer, and sacrifice. The passage on the creation of man has not yet been found; hut there is an allusion to this creative act in the concluding tablet.

[1] See the Berossian story referred to below (§ 15). In the epic the creation of man was ascribed to Marduk (but cp Jensen, *Kosm.* 292 *f.*); but it is possible (see Del. *op. cit.* 110) that Marduk committed some part of the creation of the world to the other greater divinities. May we thus account for the evolutionary language of some parts of Gen. 1 11? 'Let the earth bring forth' would then mean 'Let the earth-god (a divine energy inherent in the earth) cause the earth to bring forth.'

[2] Considering the late date of the reporter, we cannot exclude this possibility.

[3] Cp Baudissin, *Studd. zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* i. (Essay I.); Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte u. Mythen*, 1 351 *ff.*

[4] Muller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* 3 565.

[5] The two later Targums explain רוח אלהים in Gen. 1 2 by רוּחָא דְרַחֲמִן 'the spirit of love' (cp Wisd. 11 24). The love expressed here, however, is that called forth by the need of help.

[6] De Vogüé, *Mélanges*, 60 *f.*

[7] Holzinger (note on Gen. 1 2) objects to the combination of *Baau* and Bōhū, that *Baau* appears as the mother of the two first men, which will not suit Bōhū; but the Byblian mythologist is in error, as WRS (Burnett Lectures [*MS*]) has pointed out. Αἴων is not properly a 'mortal man,' and πρωτόγονος is a late invention based upon a wrong theory; here as elsewhere the dualism is artificial. Αἴων is identical with the Οὔλωμος of Mochus, the χρόνος of Eudemus—*i.e.*, עוֹלָם 'the world' (see Eccl. 3 11). The connection with Bab. *Ba'u* is more doubtful. Cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 245; Hommel, *Die sem. Völker*, i. 379 8, *AHT*, 66, *GBA*, 2j5; Haupt, *Beitr. zur Assyr.* i. 181; and see *KB*, 3 a 21. Whether Tōhū (תֹּהוּ) also was from the first a mythic word, is uncertain. The combination of tōhū and bōhū may be artificial; cp Jabal, Jubal, Tubal (Gen. 4 20-22), שׁוֹאָה וּמְשׁוֹאָה (Job 30 3), שְׁמָמָה וּמְשַׁמָּה (Ezek. 6 14).

[8] *Mél.* 387; WRS in Burnett Lectures agrees.

[9] Elsewhere Χουσωρ and his brother are said to have discovered the use of iron, like the Hebrew Tubal-Cain, himself probably a divine demiurge (see CAINITES, § 10). WRS (Burnett Lectures) suggests that he may have invented iron to cut open the cosmic egg (cp the arming of Marduk in the Creation-epic, Tab. iv.). This is clearly correct. Κρόνος in Philo's theogony makes ἅρπη and δόρυ to fight against Οὐρανός. Originally, however, the weapon of the demiurge was the lightning; see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 333.

heaven, and the other earth. Here we have a point of contact with the Babylonian and also with the Hebrew cosmogony, for the body of Tiamat is, in fact, as Robertson Smith in his Burnett Lectures[1] remarks, 'the matrix or envelope of the dark seething waters of primaeval chaos,' and the separation of the lower from the upper waters in Gen. 1 7 is only a less picturesque form of the same mythic statement. These are 'poor and beggarly elements,' no doubt; but then Phœnicia lacked what Babylonia possessed, a poet who could select, and to some extent moralise, such parts of the tradition as were best worth preserving. We shall see later (§ 28) that Judæa had a writer who in some important respects excelled even the author of the epic.

Egyptian mythology, which had perhaps an original kinship to the Babylonian[2] cannot be passed over, when we consider the close relations which long existed between Egypt and Canaan. The common Egyptian belief was that for many ages the latent germs of things had slept in the bosom of the dark flood (personified as Nut or Niiit and Nun). How these germs were drawn forth and developed was a story told differently in the different nomes or districts.

8. Egyptian.

At Elephantinē, for instance, the derniurge was called Ḫnumu; he was the potter who moulded his creatures out of the mud of the Nile (which was the earthly image of Nun); or, it was also said, who modelled the world-egg. His counterpart at Memphis, the artizan god Ptaḥ, gave to the light-god, and to his body, the artistically perfect form. At Hermopolis it was Thoth who made the world, speaking it into existence. 'That which flows from his mouth,' it is said, 'happens and what he speaks, comes into being.' In the east of the Delta: a more complicated account was given. Earth and sky were originally two lovers lost in the primaeval waters, the god lying under the goddess. 'On the day of creation a new god Shu, slipped between the two, and seizing Nūït with both hands: lifted her above his head with outstretched arms.' Thus, among other less striking parallelisms, we have in Egypt, as well as in Babylonia and in Palestine, the primaeval flood, the forcible separation of heaven and earth, and creation by a word, as elements in the conceptions of creation.[3]

The subject of Iranian parallelisms has been treated at great length by Lagarde,[4] who argues for the dependence of the Priestly Writer as regards the order of the works and days, on a Persian system, against which, however, in the very act of borrowing from it, this writer protests. It is not probable, however, that the indebtedness of the Jews to Persia began so early; it is not before the latter part of the Persian rule that the direct influence of Persian beliefs (themselves largely influenced by Babylonian) begins to be clearly traceable in Judaism. If we could venture to identify the ARTAXERXES (*q.v.*) of Ezra with Artaxerxes II., it would be easier to adopt Lagarde'sview. In the present stage of critical inquiry, however, this course does not appear to be advisable. Nor is it at all certain that the Iranian belief in the creation of the world in six periods goes back so far as to the time of Artaxerxes II. It is referred to only in the late book called Bundehish, and in one or two passages of the Yasna (19 2 48) and the Vispered (7 4), which, on philological grounds, are regarded as comparatively late. Caland, indeed, has endeavoured to show[5] that in the Yasht of the Fravashis (or protective spirits) a poetical reference is made to the creative works of Ahura Mazda, in the order in which these are given in the Bundehish.[6] Hut what object can we have in tracing the Hebrew account to the Iranian, when we have, close at hand, the Babylonian story, from which the Iranian is plainly derived? The reference, or at least allusion, to chaos

9. Iranian.

1 Second series (*MS*).

2 Cp Hommel, *Der bab. Ursprung der ägypt. Kultur*, 1892 (*inter alia*, the Egyptian Nun is connected with Bab. Anum, the god of the heavenly ocean).

3 See Brugsch. *Rel. u. Myth. der alien Aegypter*, 22 107 161 and elsewhere; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 128 146; Meyer, *GA* 74.

4 *Purim, ein Beitr. zur Gesch. der Rel.* ('87).

5 *ThT* 23 179-185 ['89].

6 The order is—heaven, the waters, earth, plants, animals, mankind. Light, the light in which God dwells. is itself uncreated—an inconsistency due to Babylonian influence (see col. 950 n. 1). In Job 38 7 there may be a tendency to this belief (see § 21 [*e*]).

in Gen. 1 2 is at any rate not Iranian; why should the other features in the narrative be? It would no doubt be possible to give the epithet 'Iranian' to the ascription of ideal perfection to the newly created world in the Hebrew cosmogony. But it is by no means necessary to do so. Such idealisation would be naturally suggested by the thought that the evil now so prominent in the world cannot have lain within the purpose of the divine creator.[1] Besides, Jewish thinkers would inevitably be repelled by Zoroastrian dualism. The existence of the two primæval antagonistic spirits is not indeed alluded to in the rock-cut inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes; but the best scholars agree that it formed part of the old Zoroastrian creed; it is indeed expressly recognised in the Gāthās (Yasna xxx.). Ahura Mazda, the 'much-knowing Lord,' assisted by the six Amshaspands, is the creator of all the good things in the world. He is opposed, however, by Angra Mainyu, to whom the material and moral possession of the world is ascribed. All that we can venture to suppose, is a possible indirect influence of the high Zoroastrian conception of Ahura Mazda on the conception of Yahwè formed by the Babylonian Jews. The details of the Jewish Creation-story arose independently of Persia.

Points of contact with more primitive mythologies also are numerous. Abundant material will be found in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, and vol. vi. of Waitz and Gerland's *Anthropologie de7 Naturvölker*. That drv land and animate life. but not matter, had a beginning, and that, before the' present order of things, water held all things in solution, are opinions common among primitive races, and one of the most widely spread mythic symbols is the egg. The expression in Gen. 1 2, 'and the breath of Elohim was brooding[2] (מרחפת) over the surface of the waters,' has its best illustration (in the absence of the mythic original which probably represented the deity as a bird) in the common Polynesian representation of Tangaloa, the god of heaven, and of the atmosphere, as a bird which hovered over the ocean-waters, till, as it is sometimes said, he laid an egg[3] (the world-egg). This egg is the world-egg, and we may suppose that 'in the earliest form of the [Hebrew] narrative it may have been said "the bird of Elōhim"; "wind" appears to be an interpretation.'[4] The forcible separation of heaven and earth (Gen. 1 7 10) is illustrated, not only by the interesting Egyptian myth mentioned above (§ 8), but also by the delightful Maori story told by Sir George Grey, and illustrated by Lang in a not less delightful essay (*Custom and Myth*, 45 *ff.*). The anecdotal character of myths like these adds to their charm. It is only in the last stage of a religion that cosmogonies are systematised,—

10. More primitive mythologies.

> Greek endings, each the little passing-bell
> That signifies some faith's about to die,

though the death-struggle may be prolonged, and may issue in a higher life.

We have thus seen that the Creation-story in Gen. 1 1-

1 Gunkel less naturally thinks that in the formula, 'And God saw that it was good,' there is an implied contrast to the evil state called *tōhū-bōhū* (chaos).

2 The word רחף (Piel) occurs only twice, and both times (as in Syriac) of a bird's brooding. See Dt. 32 11, and Driver's note (*Deut.* 358, foot), also We. *Prol.*(4) 395 (רָחֲפוּ Jer. 23 9, should be רָקְבוּ [Grätz]). Hence the Talmudists compared the divine spirit to a dove (cp Mt. 3 16 Mk. 1 10 Lk. 3 22). The Phœnician myth, in the very late form known to us, has lost all trace of the bird-symbol; it speaks only of a wind (רוּחַ).

3 Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol.* 6 241. In Egypt, too, the first creative act begins with the formation of an egg; but it is the egg of the sun, and nothing is said of a bird which laid the egg (see Brugsch, *Rel. u. Myth. der alten Aegypter*, 101 *ff.*).

4 *EB* art. 'Cosmogony,' 1877. In 1895 the same idea occurred to Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 8). It is of course not a storm-bird that is meant, storm-birds are not uncommon: see, *e.g.*, the Babylonian myth of Adapa, in which the south wind is represented as having wings, and cp Ps. 18 10 [11]. See WINDS.

24 a is not, as Wellhausen represents (above, § 5), merely the product of reflection. It has a considerably mythic substratum. That substratum is mainly Babylonian; but Egyptian and even Persian influence is not excluded. Indeed, for that singular passage Gen. 1 2, Egyptian influence, either direct or more probably (through Phoenician or Canaanitish mythology) indirect, seems to be suggested. We are thus brought face to face with a new problem. How is it that the Priestly Writer, with his purified theology, and his comparatively slight interest in popular tradition, should have adopted so much mythology as the basis of his statement that 'God created the heaven, the earth, and all that is in the earth, and hallowed the seventh day'?

11. Fuller account of Gen. 1 1-2 4*a*.

12. Lost J_2 original.

If the Yahwist had given a creation-story, corresponding to his Flood-story, the phenomena of Gen. 1 would not be so surprising. The Priestly Writer might thus be taken to have acted consistently by giving an improved version of both traditional stories.[1] But we have no Yahwistic creation-story, except indeed in a fragmentary form, and though the lost portion of the cosmogonic preface to J's Paradise-story (based probably on a Canaanitish story) must have differed greatly from the cosmogony in Gen. 1, yet it is most improbable that P would spontaneously have thought of competing with J by producing a new semi-Babylonian cosmogony. In the next place it should be noticed that the Flood-story which J has borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Babylon, stands in Babylonian mythology in close connection with the creation-story; the two events are in fact only separated by the ten antediluvian Chaldean kings and an uncertain interval between creation and the foundation of a dynasty. The list of the ten kings is certainly represented, however imperfectly, by J's Cainite genealogy (see CAINITES § 3 *f.*); it is probable therefore that J (as represented by the stratum called J_2) originally had a creation-story with strong Babylonian affinities, and that P used this story as the basis of his own cosmogony.

Accepting this hypothesis, we are no longer surprised at the echoes of mythology in Gen. 1 1-2 4*a*. Underneath P we recognise the débris of the cosmogony of J_2. The Priestly Writer did not go out of his way to collect Babylonian mythic data; he simply adopted and adapted the work of a much earlier writer.

The hypothesis is due to the sagacity of Budde,[2] and the more clearly we discern the mythic elements in P's cosmogony, the more probable and indeed inevitable does the hypothesis become. That the old cosmogony has been lost, is much to he deplored; but we can easily believe that it would have been too trying to devout members of the 'congregation' to have had before them in the same book the early and almost half-heathenish recension of a Canaanitish-Babylonian cosmogony produced by J_2 and the much more sober but in all essentials thoroughly orthodox recast of this recension due to the Priestly Writer. Whether the latter found any reference to the sabbath in the older story which might seem to justify his insertion of the divine appointment of the sabbath, we do not know. Jepsen finds a reference to the 17th and 14th days of the month in the fifth tablet of the epic (*ll.* 17 *f.*), and Zimmern even inserts conjecturally 'on the sabbath' (line 18); hut whether any part of this obscure passage lay in any form before J_2, must remain uncertain.

13. Development of the Epic.

The explanation given by Zimmern (above, § 4) does justice, as no other explanation can do, to the circumstances and the ideas of the ancient Babylonians at a comparatively remote period. If it somewhat closely resembles the explanation of the Babylonian flood-story, this is no objection. The post-diluvian earth may in a qualified sense be called a new earth, and some mythologies expressly recognise that the present creation is rather a re-creation.[3] Still, it would be rash to suppose that even this explanation entirely accounts for the Babylonian myth. It may very possibly have been the theory of the most thoughtful of the Babylonian priests—of those who did most for the systematising of the mythic details. The details, however, are themselves so peculiar that they invite a close Examination and a fuller application of the comparative method. When this has been given we see that a long mythic development must have preceded the story of the creation epic, which is not like an isolated rock rising out of a vast plain, but like a tree which derives its sustenance from a rich vegetable mould, itself of very gradual formation. It is out of the mould of primeval folklore that the great creation-myth has drawn its life; later ages recombined the old material, and gave the result a new meaning. Man invents but little: the Babylonians, we may be sure, borrowed their dragon-myth, and much besides, from earlier races, whose modes of thought lie outside of our present field of study.

1 P has in fact given his own Flood-story in which the tradition of J is harmonised with P's theory of the history of cultus. See DELUGE, § 4 3

2 *Urgesch.* 470-492; *ZATW* 6 37 *ff.* ['86]. Cp Bacon, *Gen.* 335 *ff.* ['92].

3 See, *e.g.*, the legend of the (non-Aryan) Santals of Bengal in Hunter's *Rural Bengal*, 150 *f.*

The comparative lateness of the 'epic' (the title is not inappropriate) which Ašur-bāni-pal added to his royal library, is too obvious to require argument; but it is plain also that it is based upon archaic materials. In particular the myth of Apsū and Tiāmat can be traced as far back as to 1500 B.C. through inscriptions which refer to the 'abysses' or 'seas' of Babylonian temples (see NEHUSHTAN § 2); these 'seas' were in fact trophies of the victory of the young Sun-god over the primæval, cosmic sea, with which Tiamat is to be identified. In 1500 B.C. this myth was doubtless already of immemorial antiquity.

14. Parallel forms.

Other less elaborate creation-stories are known to us—specimens of the very varied traditions which had at least a local circulation. Some are preserved in fragments of Bērōssus and Damascius, others have only lately been revealed to us by T. G. Pinches and his predecessor the lamented G. Smith, whom Ašur-bāni-pal would certainly have recognised as worthy to have been one of the *dupšarri*, or scribes, of his library, for it was he who was the discoverer and the first translator of Ašur-bāni-pal's great 'Creation-epic.'

15. Berosian, etc.

The Greek-reading world owed its chief acquaintance with Babylonian mythology to a Greelc-writing priest of Bel named Bērōssus (about 280 B.C.). It is unfortunate that we know his book Χαλδαϊκά only from very imperfect extracts;[1] but, considering his competence and his unique opportunities of consulting ancient documents, we cannot afford to neglect these extracts. One of the most important of them is a fragment of a cosmogony. Its resemblances to statements in both the creation-stories of Genesis, especially the first, are obvious. Among them we may mention (1) the description of the primeval darlcness and water, (2) the name Θαμτε[2] (cp. תהום), translated θάλασσα, which is given to the woman who ruled over the monsters of chaos,[3] and (3) the origin ascribed to heaven and earth, which arose out of the two halves of the body of Θαμτε, cut asunder by Bēl, while the creation of man by one of the gods (at Bēl's command), who mixed with clay the blood which flowed from the severed head, not of Bel, but of the dragon Tiāmat,[4] may be compared, or contrasted, with Gen. 2 7.

1 See Muller, ***Frag. Hist.*** *Græc.* **2** 497; Budde, *Urgesch.* *474-485*; and cp Tiele, ***BAG*** 11; Schr. *COT* 1 13 *f.*

2 According to Robertson Smith's happy restoration, *ZA* *6339*. The text has Θαλατθ.

3 Cp those monsters with the 'helpers of Rahab' in Job *9 13* RV, and with the 'four beasts' which came up from the 'great sea' (Dan. 7 2-4). The latter passageis eschatological. The powers of evil will again he let loose and rule upon earth, but will at last be overcome (cp ANTICHRIST, § 4).

4 The correction of ἑαυτοῦ (twice) in the text of Bērōssus (in Syncellus, 52 *f.*) is due to Dindorf; but its importance was noticed first by Stncken (*Astralmythen 155*). The text is translated by Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 507 and Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 19. Just before mention has been made of h e formation of earth

The theogony of Damascius[1] (6th cent. A.D.) is at first sight of less importance. It shows, however, more clearly than the Berossian fragment that the essential features of the story of the epic were well known, for the two chief mythic names mentioned by Damascius—viz., Ταυθε and Απασων—are plainly derived from Tiāmat and Apsū, whilst the only begotten son of this couple is Μωυμις, which corresponds to the obscure name Mummu in the epic (Tab. I, *ll.* 4, 13; see above, § 2, second note).

We now turn to the cuneiform records, among which the so-called Cuthæan cosmogony (*RP*(2) 1 149 *ff.*)[2] is not to be included.

16. Three cuneiform stories.

(*a*) The chief of these is the great Creation-epic, of which the reader has already heard. Its place of origin was, of conrse, Babylon, as appears from the fact that its hero is the god Marduk, who was the patron of Babylon. Obviously this is only one of several local versions of the primitive myth. In the original story Bel of Nippur was, no doubt, the great god who overcame Tiāmat, and prepared the way for creation. The priests of the other sacred cities, however, had to protect the interests of their patron deities, and local Creation-myths were the result.

(*b*) In another version of the myth,[3] the fight between the divine champion and Tiāmat occurs after the creation, and is waged for the deliverance of gods and men alike. 'Who will set forth (to slay) the dragon, to rescue the wide earth and seize the royal power? Set forth, O God ŠUḪ, slay the dragon, rescue the wide earth, and seize the royal power.' An extravagant account is given (in the manner of the Jewish Talmud) of the dragon's size, and it is said that when the dragon was slain its blood flowed night and day for three years and three (six?) months. This may suggest the ultimate mythic origin of 'a time, times, and a half' in Dan. 12 7 Rev. 12 14.

(*c*) A much fuller and, if we assume its antiquity, more important narrative is the 'non-Semitic' one translated by Pinches in 1890 from a bilingual text discovered by G. Smith.[4] It is a mixture of creation- and culture-myth, and as a culture-myth we have already had occasion to refer to it (see CAINITES, § 3). The creation-story is given only in allusions. It is stated that once upon a time there was no vegetation, and 'all the lands' (of Babylonia?) were sea. Then there arose a movement in the sea, and the most ancient cities and temples of Babylonia were created. Next the subordinate divine beings called Anunnaki were created, after which Mardulc set a reed on the water,[5] formed dust, and poured it out beside the reed. Then, 'to cause the gods to dwell in a delightful place,' he made mankind (cp Gen. 1 26 *f.*) with the co-operation of the goddess Aruru (whom we shall have to refer to again, col. 949, n. 4). We are allowed to infer that this waste of water had been converted into a fruitful plain by the industry of the newly created men, acting under the direction of the gods; and to these gods is ascribed the greatest of all human works, the erection of the sacred cities of Babylonia with their temples. Thus the most characteristic part of the Babylonian myth—viz., the fight of the sun-god with Tiamat—is conspicuous by its absence. The reader should notice this, as it illustrates one of the two chief Hebrew cosmogonies (see below, § 20 [*c*]).

The statement that the myth which underlies Gen. 1 is of Babylonian origin may now be supplemented thus.

17. Provisional result.

1. The epic of Ašur-bāni-pal's library stands at the height of a great mythic developnient. We cannot therefore presume that we have recovered the exact form of the Babylonian myth on which the narrative in Gen. 1 (or the earlier narrative out of which that in Gen. 1 has grown) is based.

2. Since there were several creation-stories in Babylonia, it is *a priori* probable that other stories besides that referred to may, either as wholes or in parts, have influenced the creation-stories in Palestine.

These reasonable inferences suggest two fresh inquiries. We have to ask, 1. What is the earliest date at which the adoption of Babylonian myths by the Israelites is historically conceivable? and 2. What evidence have we of the existence of other Hebrew creation-myths than that in Gen. 1 1-2 4*a*, some of which may even enable us to fill up incomplete parts of that narrative?

19. Date of naturalisation.

In reply to the first question it is enough to refer to recent studies on the Amarna tablets. The letters in Babylonian cuneiform sent by kings and governors of Western Asia to Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. prove that, even before the Egyptian conquests and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. 'Religious myths must have formed part of this culture.'[1] It is therefore in the highest degree probable that Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths penetrated into Canaan before the fifteenth century B.C., and as soon as the Israelites became settled in Palestine they would have opportunities enough of absorbing these myths.

At the same time it should be noticed that there are also several other periods in Israelitish history when either an introduction of new or a revival of old myths is historically conceivable.[2] The *first* is the time of David and Solomon. The former appears to have had a Babylonian secretary (see SHAVSHA); the latter admitted into his temple a brazen 'sea' (representing, as shown already, the primaeval *tĕhōm* or tiāmat) and a brazen serpent (representing the dragon; see NEHUSHTAN). The second is the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Aramæan, Assyrian, and neo-Babylonian influences became exceedingly strong, and were felt even in the sphere of religion. The *third* and *fourth* are the exilic and post-exilic periods, when (see *e.g.*, Job and Is. 40-55) there was a revival of mythology which the religious organisation of Judaism could neutralise but not put down.

In replying to the second question (as to the evidence for other cosmogonic stories in the OT), we must of course be satisfied with very incomplete references.

20. OT. reff. to other cosmogonies: pre-exilic.

Such we can find both in pre-exilic and in post-exilic writings. Pre-exilic references occur in (*a*) Gen. 49 25, in (*b*) Judg. 5 20, and especially in (c) the introduction to the Eden-story; post-exilic in

and heaven out of the two parts of Ομορ(ω)κατ (with whom the reporter of Bērōssus identifies Tiāmat). It stands to reason that the severed head spoken of in connection with the creation of man must be Tiāmat's, not that of the Creator, though Eusebius already had before him the reading ἑαυτοῦ (see Budde *Urgesch.* 479). The passage is therefore not a statement of the kinship of God and man (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 43), though it is of course to be assumed that the god spoken of made man in his own physical likeness (cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 110). Strange to say, the name Ομορ(ω)κα seems to have come into the text of Bērōssus by mistake. For most likely it is a corruption of Marduk (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 5; cp J. H. Wright, *ZA* 10 71 *ff.*). The story, however, is only intelligible on the theory adopted in this note.

1 See Scbr. *COT* 1 12; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 270 *ff.*

2 See Zimmern, *ZA*, 1897, 317 *ff.* The story relates to the mythological history of a king of the primitive age, and is not cosmogonic.

3 See Zimmern's transl. in Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 417-419. The colophon assigns this tablet also to the library of Ašur-bani-pal.

4 Pinches, *RP*(2) 6 109 *ff.*; cp Hommel, *Deutsche Rundschau* ('91), pp. 105-114. A. Jeremias represents this and similar myths as artificial products, composed in a Babylonian interest (*Beitr. zur Assyr.* iii. 1 108); but the priests certainly did not invent altogether.

5 Cp the name 'land of reeds and canals,' given to S. Babylonia on the vases of Egaganna, king of Erech, before 4500 B.C. and see the illustration of gigantic Chaldæan reeds, Maspero *Dawn of Civ.* 552.

1 Che. *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 964.

2 This has been repeatedly shown by Cheyne (see e.g., *Job and Solomon*, 76-78; *OPs.* 202, 268-270, 279, 391); cp Gunkel, *Schöpf.*, which, in spite of some critical deficiencies (see notice in *Crit. Rev.*, July 1895), is too ingenious and instructive not to be recommended to advanced students.

(*d*) Job 15 7 *f.* (*e*) 38 4-11 (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 (besides the passages on the DRAGON).

(*a*) The phrase in the Blessing of Joseph, 'the flood (*tĕhōm*) couching[1] beneath' (cp Gen. 7 11), is certainly the echo of a Tiāmat-myth, and (*b*) the 'stars from their roads' (a Babylonian phrase[2]) in Judg. 5 20 of a myth like that in the fifth tablet of the epic.

(c) Gen. 2 4*b*-7 needs more special, even if brief, treatment. It runs thus, the original introduction of the Eden-story having been abridged by the editor of JEP.

'. . . when Yahwè [Elōhim] made earth and heaven. Now there were no bushes as yet upon the earth, and no herbage as yet sprouted forth, for Yahwè [Elōhim] had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground, but a floods used to come up from the earth and drench the whole face of the ground ; then Yahwè [Elōhim] formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed, into his nostrils breath of life, and man became a living being.

Evidently this belongs to the second section of a mythological creation-story, and its details are all of Babylonian origin. Like Pinches' lion-Semitic creation-story (above, § 16 [*d*]), it describes, though with mythic exaggeration, the phenomena witnessed by the first colonists of Babylonia. The extremely small rainfall in Lower Mesopotamia was remarked upon by Herodotus (1 193) ; consequently, without the careful direction and control of the yearly inundation of the Euphrates and the Tigris the land would be either marsh or desert. Water-plants there must have been for a season even in the most desolate tracts ; but the myth-writers imagine a time when even reeds had not yet appeared, and when 'all the lands were sea' (myth, *l.* 10), since 'a flood used to come up (it seemed) from the earth' (Gen. 26). Next, the Hebrew writer tells us that Yahwè formed man out of dust (2 7), just as, in the myth (*ll.* 20 *f.*), Marduk, with the help of the potter-goddess Aruru,[4] makes man (no doubt) of clay, and somewhat as, in the story of Bērōssus (see above, § 15), one of the gods forms men out of earth moistened with Tiāmat's (not Bēl's) blood. The sequel in the Hebrew story has obviously been abridged. There must have been some reference to the peaceful subjugation of the yearly flood, otherwise how could Yahwè have 'planted a garden (or park) in Eden' (*v.* 8)? So in the old myth we hear next that Marduk made the Tigris and the Euphrates 'in their places,' the reeds and the woods, and the green of the fields (*ll.* 23-26). Besides this affinity of its contents to the non-Semitic Creation-myth the Yahwistic passage has a striking resemblance in form to the first tablet of the Creation-epic, which, as it now stands, is of course a Semitic work.

On (*d*) Job 15 7 *f.*, (*e*) 38 4-11, (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 we must be brief.

21. Post-exilic.

In (*d*) we have apparently a reference to a more heroic πρωτόγονος than the Adam of the Yahwist (like the Yima of the Avesta and the Maui of New Zealand mythology, and somewhat like the Adapa of a Babylonian myth),[5] who shared the privileges of the divine or semi-divine members of the council of Elōăh. This first man was an embodiment of absolute Wisdom, and it is noteworthy that the same word חוֹלָל 'to be brought forth,' is used of this wondrous personage and of the Wisdom who is described in Prov. 8, and that, equally with the Wisdom of Proverbs, the first man spoken of by Eliphaz came into existence before the hills. This myth has a very Babylonian appearance, and may conceivably belong to the same cycle as the myth of Enoch (=Noah, the 'first man' of the second age of the world), who was said to have derived his wisdom from his intercourse with angels.

In (*e*) Job 38 4-11 we find the singular notion (*v.* 7) that the stars are older than the earth. In the creation-epic the creation of the stars as 'stations for the great gods' (see STARS, § 3 *d*), follows on the subjugation of the dragon of chaos and the creation of heaven and earth (out of the carcase of Tiāmat). The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider this story, or even its purified offshoot in Gen. 1, to be a worthy representation. Heaven and its stars must always have existed for Yahwè and the 'holy ones' to dwell in (cp Is. 26 19 'dew of lights' and the 'endless lights' where Ahura dwells,[1] in the Avesta). He admits, indeed, that the ocean once on a time resisted Yahwè, and was forced into obedience (cp Ps. 104 6-9). Of a separation of upper and lower waters, however, he has nothing to say.

In (*f*) Prov. 8 22-31 we find the same careful restriction of the mythological element. The mysterious caprices of the ocean still suggest a primæval rebellion on its part against Yahwè ; but this is described in the simplest manner. Of a time when chaos reigned supreme we hear nothing. Yahwè and Wisdom were together before the earth was.[2] In fact the new quasi-mythic representation of Wisdom was incompatible with the antique Babylonian cosmogony.

These passages seem to show that there was a great variety of view in the post-exilic period respecting the best way of imagining creation. Some writers seem to have refused the dragon-myth (except in the palest form) ; others seem to have found it symbolically useful. To this we shall return presently (§ 23).

22. Prophetical and historical writers.

There is a remarkable phenomenon respecting the pre-exilic time which has a prior claim on our attention. Though both J_1 and J_2 have a cosmogony (§ 12), there is an almost complete silence respecting such myths in the pre-exilic prophetic literature. There is, in fact, only one passage (Am. 9 3) that remotely suggests the existence of a creation-myth. This obscure passage has been considered elsewhere (see SERPENT, § 3 *f.*), and it may suffice here to point out that mythology did not come naturally to the early Israelites, and that one great aim of the prophets was to recall their countrymen to old Israelitish ways : Solomon who affected foreign fashions was no true Israelite. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the scanty references in the greater prophets to such figures of the Babylonian and Canaanitish myths as the Dragon, the Cherubim, the Seraphim. It is to a historical writer that we are indebted for the information that there was a brazen serpent, symbolising probably the Dragon (see NEHUSHTAN, § 2), in Solomon's temple. At a later period (post-exilic) references to the Chaos-dragon, to the subjugation of the primæval sea by Yahwè, and to some other features of mythic tradition, abound. Nor was the spring of mythic imagery dried up even in still later times, as the apocalyptic writings show. See DRAGON, RAHAB, SERPENT, ANTICHRIST, ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, ABYSS, ARMAGEDDON, APOCALYPSE.

If the above presentation of facts be correct, it is a

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1 The name suggests a wild beast (Gen. 49 9). The same epithet (*rābiṣ*) is given to Nergal, the god of the nether world in the Gilgameš-epic (Tab. xii., in Jeremias, *Vorstellungen*, 69).

2 מְסִלּוֹת = Bab. *alkāte*, plur. of *alaktu* (הלך=אלך). Cp *Sa kakkabāni šamāme al-kat-su-nu* 'the way of the stars of heaven' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 68*b*).

3 = Ass. *edu* (*idu*), 'flood, waves, high tide' (so Frd. Del., Lyon, Hommel). The cylinder inscription of Sargon states that he planned great irrigation works for desert lands, opening the dams, and causing the waters to flow everywhere *ki gidiš edi*, 'like the exuberance of a flood.'

4 Aruru probably means 'potter' (Jensen). In the Gilgameš-epic (8 34) this goddess kneads Eabani out of clay (ṭiṭu). The Yahwist puts 'dust' (עפר) for 'clay' (חמר); but we find the latter word in Job 33 6, מֵחֹמֶר קֹרַצְתִּי (the same root קרץ is used in the epic).

5 Cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 659 *ff.*

1 So, in Babylonian mythology, the sky-god Anu dwells in the highest region of the universe, in the north towards the pole, where no storm can dim the perpetual brilliance (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 651). It is the 'heaven of Anu,' in which the inferior gods take refuge at the Deluge (Deluge-story, *l.* 108).

2 The text of this fine passage is not free from corruption. See Che. *Jewish Rel. Life*, Lect. iv., and cp Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 93 *f.*

mistake to assert that the Israelites had, from their entrance into Canaan onwards, a fairly complete creation-myth, in which Yahwb took the place of Marduk, and *tĕhōm*, *liwyāthān*, *tannin*, *rahab*, etc., that of the dragon Tiāmat. This theory has indeed been vigorously defended by Gunkel; but it is liable to grave critical objections. It is a significant fact that Amos (see last §) has little if any comprehension of the mythical serpent (נחש), and that the Israelites who worshipped in Solomon's temple completely misunderstood the true meaning of 'Nehushtan,' while from the time of the Babylonian 'exile' unmistakable references to the dragon-myth abound. This implies, not of course that there was not previously a Hebrew dragon-myth, but that a revival of mythology had brought the old myth into fresh prominence. It is probable that before the 'exile' the cosmogonic myths of the Israelites at large were in a very fragmentary state, and that if the myth on which the creation-story of Gen. 1 is based then existed (as it most probably did), it was uncomprehended by the people, and had no influence upon their thoughts. It appears, however, that, from the last pre-exilic century onwards, increased contact with Syria and (especially) Babylonia brought about a reawakening of the mythological interest, and that the myths which at a very early date had been derived by the Israelites from the Canaanites, were revived by religious writers (not prophets, at any rate in the proper sense of the word) and adapted to general use. This was done, sometimes with a rougher, sometimes with a gentler hand. but always without any dangerous concession to antiquated, naturalistic religion —a grand result, which the Babylonian priests, noble as their own higher religion was, never accomplished. To inquire into the cause of this success belongs to the history of Jewish religion.

23. General result.

The question has been raised whether Gen. 1_{1}-2_{4a} is, or is not, a poem. The theory was first propounded by d'Eichthal, *Texte primitif du premier récit de la Création* ('75), who found a true poem, composed of perfectly regular strophes, which had been distorted by the editor (32 *ff.*). Briggs (*Old Test. Student*, April '84) added to this the discovery of a metre (five tones in each line with cæsura). The possibility of this is established by the undoubted existence of metre in the Babylonian creation-epic (see Del. *Weltschöpf.*); but unless we had before us J_2's form of the creation-story, how could we expect to restore without arbitrariness the true Hebrew metre?

24. Gen. 1_{1}-2_{4a} a poem?

II. *Conceptions of Creation.*—It has been shown above that there circulated in Jndah in the regal period at least two mythic stories of creation (cp § 22), both of which were directly or indirectlv of Babvlonian origin. It is still with the former that we are specially concerned for the present. That there. is no clear reference to this myth in the fragmentary remains (cp below, § *29*) of the pre-exilic prophets, is, no doubt, a fact which has to be accounted for; but when we consider the Canaanitish-Babylonian origin of the myth we cease to be surprised at it. Certainly Isaiah and the other great prophets believed in the creatorship of Yahwb; but they could not have given their sanction to even a simplified edition of any of the grotesque and heathenish myths of the Canaanites and the Babylonians. Why, then, it may be asked, did they not, like the Second Isaiah (Is. 40-48), preach the creatorship of Yahwè without any mythic ornamentation? The answer is, that their object was not to teach an improved theology, but to dispel those illusions which threatened, they believed, to involve good and bad Israelites alike in one common ruin. The pre-exilic prophets were preachers of judgment : the truth they had to announce was that Yahwb was not merely the god of Israel, but also the moral governor of the world, who would punish all guilty nations, and more especially the most favoured nation, the Israelites. It was for the late exilic and the post-exilic prophets and other religious writers, whose function was, not so mnch threatening, as edification and consolation, to draw out the manifold applications of that other great truth that Yahwè is the creator of the world.

25. Doctrine of creation late.

On the pre-exilic conception of creation, therefore, not much can be said. There were, no doubt, hymns to YahwB as the creator; but the divine creatorship was not a central truth in that early age, and could not have been expressed in a form congenial to the later worshippers. We have, however, a fragment of a song in the Book of Jashar (1 K. 8_{12} *f.*), which the narrator who quotes it ascribes to Solomon. With the help of the LXX we may restore it thus :—

26. Pre-exilic traces.

> The sun did Yahwè settle in heaven,
> But he said he would (himself) dwell in dark clouds.
> I have built a lofty house for thee,
> A settled place for thy perpetual habitation.[1]

Here Yahwb is described as the creator of the sun. He is therefore greater than the solar deity Marduk, the creator in the Babylonian cosmogony. None of the heavenly bodies serves Yahwb as a mansion; dark clouds are round about him (cp Ps. 97_{2} 18_{11}, עֲרָפֶל again). It is of his condescension that he dwells in Solomon's temple, which will therefore be as enduring as the sun in the firmament (cp Ps. 78_{69}). Considering that Solomon (it would seem) put up in the temple a trophy of Yahwè's victory over the Dragon of chaos (see NEHUSHTAN), it is conceivable, though scarcely probable, that a hymn to the creator which contained these four lines was actually written for use at the dedication of the first temple. At any rate, even if not of the Solonionic age, the fragment is presumably pre-exilic, and confirms the idea that the creation of the world (*i.e.*, the world known to the Israelites) was early spoken of as a proof of Yahwè's greatness. Nor can we be surprised that some scanty reference to Yahwb as the Maker κατ' ἐξοχήν is traceable in pre-exilic proper names (*see* NAMES, § 30, and cp the Bab. and Ass. names Sin-bani, Bel-bani, Bel-ibni).

It was the Second Isaiah, however, so far as we know, who made the creatorship of Yahwè a fundamental Jewish belief. Is. **40** gives the key to the later doctrine of creation. Living after the collapse of the ancient state, and amidst new scenery and other men, gifted moreover with a tenderly devout spirit and a rich poetic imagination, the Second Isaiah felt what was needed to regenerate Jewish religion—a wider view of the divine nature. To him Yahwb was far too high for the common sacrificial cultus, far too great to be merely a local deity; both nature and mankind owed their existence to YahwB. He had indeed chosen Israel for a special possession; but it was for purely moral ends. Therefore Israel's fall could not be for ever; Israel's and the worlds creator would certainly, for his own great ends, restore his people. Let Israel then look up to him as the creator of all things, and therefore also as the Redeemer (גֹּאֵל) of Israel. However the Second Isaiah does not stop here. He rectifies some of the notions which were presumably current among the Israelites—old notions, now awaking to a fresh life under Babylonian influence. Israel was, no doubt, one of the youngest of the nations; but Yahwb was not, like Mardult, according to the old myth, one of the youngest of the gods; 'before me (Yahwb) no god was made' (Is. 43_{10}). Nor

27. II Isaiah.

[1] The passage **is** given in a fuller form in 𝔊^BAL after *v.* 53 (than in MT), with an introductory and a closing formula. The former runs 'Then spake Solomon concerning the house when he had finished building it'; the latter, 'Surely it is written ἐπὶ βιβλίου τῆς ᾠδῆς.' In line 1 read ἔστησεν=הֵכִין, with 𝔊^L, rather than ἐγνώρισεν which Klo. prefers, and in line 2 ἐν γνόφῳ [AL] rather than ἐκ γνόφου. Cp JASHER, BOOK OF, § 3.

could it be right either to make an image of Yahwè (as if he were no better than the sun-god Marduk), or to say that other Elōhīm helped Yahwk (as they were said to have helped Marduk) in the work of creation (Is.40 18, etc. 44 24). Whether there was really a chaos at the beginning of all things, he does not expressly say. He does tell us, however, that there is nothing chaotic (tōhū) in the earth as it came from Yahwè ; the inference from which is, that both in history and in prophecy Gods dealings are clear and comprehensible, and designed for the good of man (Is. 45 18 *f.*). He pointedly declares that YahwB not only formed light but also made darkness (Is. 45 7), whereas the old cosmogony of J_2 (see § 12) ascribed only light, not darkness, to the creative activity of Elohim.

The Second Isaiah does not assert that the creatorship of YahwB is a new truth. All that he professes to do is to unfold the meaning of one of the great truths of primæval tradition (Is. 40 21 ; see *SBOT*). His view of creative activity is a large one. Creatorship consists, he thinks, not only in bringing into existence that which before was not, but also in the direction of the course of history (41 20 45 8 48 7). He affirms that both men and things are 'called' into existence by Yahwè (41 4; cp 40 26 44 26 48 13) ; but he does not refuse to speak also of Yahwè's hand (48 13 cp 40 22, etc.), or of his breath (44 3 cp 40 24), as the agent of production. Ease and irresistiblenessare two leading characteristics of Yahwk's action, and hence it is that the Second Isaiah prefers (though less distinctly than the Priestly Writer) the conception of creation by the voice to that of creation by the hand. Creation by the voice is also a specially characteristic idea of Zoroastrianism;[1] but the Jews probably derived the idea, directly or indirectly, not from Persia but from Babylonia. No more striking expression of it could be wished for than that contained in the following lines from the Creation-epic (Tab. iv.) :—

Then in their midst they laid a garment,
To Marduk their first-born thus they spoke :
Let thy rule, O Lord, surpass that of the gods,
Perishing and becoming—speak and let it be !
At the opening of thy mouth let the garment perish ;
Again command it, then let the garment reappear !
He spoke with his mouth, and the garment perished ;
Again he commanded it, and the garment reappeared.[2]

Did the Priestly Writer really believe in a pre-existent chaos, out of which the world was made? Or is the retention of chaos in his cosmogony simply due to educational considerations ? Considering the line taken by the Second Isaiah, and still more by the later wise men, we may venture to class the reference to chaos in Gen. 1 2 with those other concessions to popular superstition which make Ezra's law-book an ecclesiastical compromise rather than an ideal standard.[3] A similar remark applies to the other mythic features in the cosmogony; all that the Priestly Writer really cares for are the religious truths at the base of the story, such as the creatorship of YahwB, the divine image (surely not, according to P, physical) in man, and the fundamental cosmic importance of the sabbath.

28. P.

The later writings show that the teaching of the Second Isaiah and the Priestly Writer was not thrown away. Two of the most beautiful psalms (8 104) are suggested by the priestly cosmogony, and in Ps. 33 9 148 5 creation by the word of God, without any mention of chaos, is affirmed with emphatic conciseness. The fragments of the older prophetic writings were deficient in references to creation ; the post-exilic adapters and supplementers of prophecy have remedied this defect (see *e.g.*, Am. 4 13 Jer. 4 23-26 5 22 f.) 10 12 31 35-37), whilst the Book of Job is pervaded by the belief in the Creator. The Praise of Wisdom, too (Prov. 8 22-31), gives a grand picture of the activity of the Creator, who requires no sabbath-rest, for he cannot be fatigued.[1] Nothing is said here, or in the Book of Job,[2] of chaos or pre-existent matter. The first of the late didactic writers who distinctly asserts the creation of the world out of matter is the author of the Book of Wisdom[3] (11 17 κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης). He may no doubt be said to Platonize ; but Philo before him, not indeed without some hesitation, held the belief of the eternity of matter,[4] and he appears to have been influenced by contemporary Jewish interpretations of Gen. 1 2. In 2 Macc., however (a Pharisæan record), we find the statement that the world and its contents were made οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων (7 28), a guarded phrase,[5] which reminds one of Heb. 11 3, and is at any rate incompatible with a belief in ἄμορφος ὕλη ; and, in two fine passages in *Apoc. Bar.* (Charles), God is addressed thus, 'O Thou . . . that hast called from the beginning that which did not yet exist, and they obey thee' (21 4), and 'with a word thou quickenest that which was not' (48 8). Parallel passages in NT are Rom. 4 17 Heb. 11 3 (where, however, μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων is not to be confused with ἐκ μὴ φαινομένων).[6] We must not, however, overlook the fact that in one of the latest books a distinct reference to chaos occurs. In 2 Pet. 3 5 the earth is described as 'compacted out of water . . . by the word of God.' Here 'water' obviously means that portion of the chaotic waters which was under the firmament ; out of this, according to Gen. 1 6, the dry land emerged at the fiat of Yahwè. The importance given to the Logos in Jn. 1 3, and to the Son of God in Heb. 1 2, as the organ of the divine creative activity, is best treated in another connection (see LOGOS). On the doctrine of the re-creation of heaven and earth, see DELUGE, § 19.

29. Later writings.

30. Words for 'create.'

בָּרָא (of which Ass. *banû*, 'to make, create,' is a phonetic modification)[7] is a characteristic word of P (Gen. 1 often, 2 3 f. 5 1 f.; 𝔊 ποιεῖν [AEL], but in 2 4 ὅτε ἐγένετο [AEL]);[8] also cp Is. 40-66 (twenty times ; 𝔊 various renderings). Di. (*Gen.* 17) wishes to claim בָּרָא for JE ; but Ex. 34 10 Nu. 16 30 have been manipulated by R. In Gen. 6 7 בְּרָאתִי (for עָשִׂיתִי) is assigned to R by Di. himself. Is. 45 and Am. 4 13 are interpolations (see AMOS, § 12, ISAIAH, ii., § 5). Jer. 31 22 occurs in a section written or rewritten late. Dt. 4 32 (where בָּרָא stands of the creation of man) is hardly pre-exilic (cp DEUTERONOMY, § 19). In spite of these facts, it would be unwise to say that the narrative in J (see above, § 12) cannot have contained the word בָּרָא, corresponding to Ass. *banû*.

קָנָה 'to fabricate, make, create,' Gen. 14 19 22 ('creator of heaven and earth', ὃς ἔκτισεν [ADL]), Dt. 32 6 ('thy father that made thee'; but ἐκτήσατο [BAFL]); Prov. 8 22 (Yahwè's creation of Wisdom, ἔκτισεν [BℵA]); Ps. 139 13 ('thou didst create my reins'; but ἐκτήσω [BℵART]). All these passages are late; but קַיִן is probably a divine title (see CAIN, § 5), and Eve, in Gen. 4 1, says (probably) 'I have produced, created (but ἐκτησάμην [ADEL]), a man like (the Creator) Yahwb' (לְעֻמַּת יהוה?).
עָשָׂה, 'to make,' Gen. 2 4 18 (J), Is. 43 7. יָצַר 'to form,' Gen. 2 7 19 (J) Is. 43 1 7 Jer. 10 16 Am. 4 13 Zech. 12 1.

H. Z., §§ 1-4 ; T. K. C., §§ 5-30.

CREDITOR (נֹשֶׁה), 2 K. 4 1. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16.

CRESCENS (ΚΡΗϹΚΗϹ [Ti. WH]), a companion of Paul who had gone to Galatia (2 Tim. 4 10†). In the *Ap. Constt.* (7 46) he is named, as 'bishop of the churches of Galatia,' among those bishops who had been ordained in the lifetime of the apostles. There is some authority (ℵ C, etc. Ti.) for reading Γαλλίαν

1 The Avesta, however, connects creation with the recital of a certain potent formula called Ahuna-vairya (Honover). Gen. 1 knows nothing of spells.
2 Del. *Weltschöpf.*, 104 ; Zimmern, in Gunkel's *Schöpf.*, 410 *f.*
3 But cp Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(1) 457.

1 Cp Jn. 5 17 and contrast Gen. 2 2.
2 Except in the faint allusion (Job 38 8). The same writer would almost seem to have believed in pre-existent light (*v.* 7). See above, § 21 *(e)*.
3 See Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 1 188, who also refers to διετυποῦτο (196) as implying the same doctrine.
4 Drummond, *op. cit.* 1 299 *ff.*
5 Vg. boldly renders here οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων by *ex nihilo*. So in *Pastor Hermæ*, 2 1, the old translator gives *ex nihilo* for ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.
6 Vg. boldly, *ex invisibilibus* (cp Gen. 1 2, 𝔊).
7 Barth, *ZDMG*, 1887, p. 640.
8 Cp Frankel, *Palästin. Exegese*, 36 ; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 343 *ff.*

instead of Γαλατίαν in 2 Tim. 4 10. Gallia is a natural emendation, possibly a right interpretation, of Galatia—'in accordance with the later usage as regards Gaul, both Galatia and Gaul having in St. Paul's time usually, if not always, alike been called Γαλατία by the Greeks' (WH). Cp GALATIA.

In the list of the seventy apostles compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus (see *Chron. Pasch.*, Bonn Ed., 2 121) Crescens is enumerated as 'bishop of Chalcedon in Gaul' (Χαλκηδόνος τῆς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ); in that drawn up by Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as 'Crisces bishop of Carchedon in Gaul.' According to the Pseudo-Sophronius, who enumerates Timothy, Titus, Crescens, and the Ethiopian eunuch immediately after the twelve apostles, he was founder of the church of Vienne in Gaul. The Latin church commemorates him on June 27; the Greek on July 30 (along with Silas, Andronicus, and Epmnetus). See Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.*

CRESCENTS (שַׂהֲרֹנִים), Judg. 8 21 26 RV (AV 'ornaments'), Is. 3 18 RV (AV 'round tires like the moon'). See NECKLACE.

CRETE (ΚΡΗΤΗ : mod. *Candia*), the largest island in the Ægean sea, of which it is also the S. limit.

Crete extends 140 m. from W. to E., consisting of an irregular ridge of mountains which fall into three distinct groups, the central and loftiest (mod. *Psiloriti*) being the Mount Ida of the ancients. The N. coast is broken into a series of large bays and promontories; on the S. there are few harbours, and only one considerable bay—that of Messara, under Mt. Ida. The physical character of Crete is succinctly described by Straho (475, ὀρεινὴ καὶ δασεῖα ἡ νῆσος, ἔχει δ' αὐλῶνας εὐκάρπους).

Lying at almost equal distance from Europe, Asia, and Africa, Crete was one of the earliest stages in the passage of Oriental civilisation to the W. In historical times it was of little importance—chiefly as a recruiting ground for mercenary troops (Pol. 31 26, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 43; cp 1 Macc. 11 31).[1] Quintus Metellus reduced the island in 67 B.C., and it was combined with the Cyrenaica to form one province—senatorial under the emperors.

The Jews were early connected with Crete (cp the story told in Tac. *Hist.* 5 2 that the Jews were originally fugitives from Crete). In 𝔊^{BQ*} of Ezek. 25 16 and Zeph. 25 [BℵAQ] Κρῆτες is read for the 'Cherethites' or 'Cherethims' (כְּרֵתִים) of EV, and Κρήτη [BℵAQ] in Zeph. 26 for כרת, which, however, is certainly not Crete, but denotes 'land of the Cherethites'—*i.e.*, Philistia. Κρῆτες also occurs in 𝔊 of Ezek. 305 apparently for פוט. See CHERETHITES; and, on the hypothesis connecting the Philistines with Crete, CAPHTOR, PHILISTINES. Gortyna (near modern *H. Deka* in the Messara, the only considerable plain in the island) is mentioned as containing many Jews (1 Macc. 1523 cp 10 67), and Philo (*Leg. ad Cai.* 36) says that Crete, like all the Mediterranean islands, was full of them (cp Acts 2 11 Tit. 1 10 14, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 12 1, *Vita*, § 76).

The account of Paul's voyage to Rome furnishes several geographical details. From Cnidus his ship ran under the lee of Crete (Acts 27 7 ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην), and some time appears to have been spent in the shelter of the Fair Havens. Whether the apostle was able to accomplish there any missionary work cannot even be guessed; and we are thus left without any information as to the process of the evangelisation of the island. When we next hear of it the gospel has apparently been widely established (see PASTORAL EPISTLES).

The character of the Cretans as gathered from the epistle to Titus, is entirely in accord with what is known from other sources. The epistle (Tit. 1 12) quotes 'a prophet of their own' (*i.e.*, Epimenides, called θεῖος ἀνήρ by Plato, *Laws*, 1 642; θεοφιλής Plut. *Sol.* 12), who stigmatised them as liars and beasts. It was a popular saying that it was impossible to outcretan a Cretan (Pol. 8 21, cp Pol. 6 46 *f.* 8 18 3316). Polybins (646) writes that 'greed and avarice are so native to the soil in Crete, that they are the only people among whom no stigma attaches to any sort of gain whatever' (cp Tit. 1 11, 'teaching things which they ought not for an ignominious gain.'—a similar phrase occurs in Tit. 1 7). The repetition of the thought of Tit. 1 7 μὴ πάροινον, 2 2 νηφαλίους, 2 3 μηδὲ οἴνῳ πολλῷ δεδουλωμένας is equally ominous (Cretan wine was famous in antiquity; cp Juv. *Sat.* 14 270). Tit. 3 1 bears obvious reference to the turbulence of the Cretans, a characteristic which runs through their history.

For Crete as the 'stepping stone of Continents,' see A. J. Evans on 'Primitive Pictographs from Crete' in *J. Hellen. Stud.* 14 ('94). W. J. W.

[1] They were mostly archers: Paus. i. 23 4, Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὴ Κρησὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ὂν τοξεύειν. Their internal dissensions kept the Cretans in military training: cp Pol. 48 24 4.

CRIB (אֵבוּס), Is. 1 3, etc. See CATTLE, § 5.

CRICKET (חַרְגֹּל), Lev. 11 22, RV. AV BEETLE (*q.v.*).

CRIME (זִמָּה), Job 31 11; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10 *f.*

CRIMSON, תּוֹלָע, *tōlā'*, a word common in the fem. form תּוֹלֵעָה, *tōlē'āh*, or תּוֹלַעַת, *tōla'ath*, is used in Ex. 16 20 in the general sense of 'worm' [EV], in Is. 1 18 (EV 'crimson'), Lam. 45 (EV 'scarlet') for the crimson dye prepared from the body of the female *Coccus ilicis*, a Homopterous insect belonging to the family Coccidæ.

The female, which grows to the size of a grain of corn, is in the adult or imago stage attached by its inserted proboscis into the leaves and twigs of the Syrian Holm-oak, whose juices it lives on. The male is winged and flies about. The bodies of the females are collected and dried, and from them are prepared the colouring matters known as Cochineal, Lake, and Crimson. Since the discovery of America a Mexican species of Coccus, *C. cacti*, which lives on the India fig, has largely supplanted the first-named species as the source of the pigment, and at the present day both have lost their commercial value owing to the invention of aniline dyes. In old literature the name Kermes (see below) is frequently used for Coccus.

Other names for this colour are שָׁנִי, *šānī* (Jer. 4 30, RV 'scarlet'; elsewhere EV 'scarlet'; see COLOURS, § 14) and the late equivalent כַּרְמִיל, *karmīl*[1] (2 Ch. 2 7 14 [6 13] 3 14†[2]). The origin of the termination *-īl* in כַּרְמִיל is obscure; it can scarcely be explained (as in Ges.[13]) by the Pers. affix *-īn*; for there is no word *kirmīn* in Pers., nor would it signify the colour if there were.

For Is. 63 1 (חמוץ, RV^{mg.} 'crimsoned,' EV 'dyed'), see COLOURS, § 13 *f.* N. M.—A. E. S.

CRISPING PINS (חָרִיט), Is. 3 22. See BAG (2).

CRISPUS (ΚΡΙΣΠΟΣ [Ti. WH]; a Roman name), ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, and one of Paul's converts there (Acts 18 8 1 Cor. 1 14).

In *Ap. Constt.* 746 he is said to have been ordained bishop of Ægina. In *Mart. Rom. Vet.* he is commemorated on Oct. 4.

CROCODILE. 'Beasts of the reeds' is an alternative rendering (in AV^{mg.}) of חַיַּת קָנֶה, Ps. 68 30 [31] (𝔊 ΘΗΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΥ), AV 'company of spearmen,' RV rightly 'wild beast of the reeds.' This means the crocodile (hardly Bĕhēmōth—*i.e.*, the hippopotamus), used to symbolise the Egyptian power. Cp Hupfeld and Del. *ad loc.*

According to 𝔊 the צָב of Lev. 11 29 (AV 'tortoise') was a 'land-crocodile'; see LIZARD, 1. For 'land-crocodile,' RV's rendering of כֹּחַ, a kind of lizard (Lev. 11 30), see CHAMELEON, 1. For Jer. 14 6 RV^{mg.} (תַּנִּים; AV 'dragons,' RV 'jackals'), see DRAGON, § 4. For Job 41 1 *ff.* RV^{mg.} [40 25] (EV 'Leviathan,' AV^{mg.} 'whale,' 'whirlpool'), see BEHEMOTH and LEVIATHAN.

The animal described poetically in Job has generally been identified with the crocodile (see especially Bochart 3 737 *ff.*). Until recent times, when the propriety of

[1] Probably from Pers. *kirm*, 'a worm,' and perhaps akin to our 'crimson' and 'carmine' (see Skeat, *s.v.* 'crimson'). Cp Sans. *krimi*, which is probably identical with our word 'worm' (*ib. s.v.* 'worm'). On the other hand, Del. (*ZLT* 39 593 ['78]) may be right in connecting Ar. and Pers. *kirmuz*, from which *carmesinus* and *crimson* are most naturally derived, with an independent Turkish root beginning with ק instead of כ.

[2] The word כרמיל seems to have been read for כרמל by 𝔊 in Cant. 7 5 [6]. See HAIR.

making any zoological identification has been questioned, the chief dissentient has been Schultens. This great eighteenth-century scholar thinks that the arguments for the 'crocodile and the whale are about equal; the poet does not seem to him to have been consistent in his description. Tristram, however (*NHB* 258), is of opinion as a naturalist that the crocodile is described under the name Leviāthān, and if Budde's translation and exposition be adopted, the characteristics of the crocodile —the difficulty of capturing or taming it, its vast size, its formidable row of teeth, its impervious scales, its gleaming eyes, its violent snorting, and its immense strength, — all come out with marvellous exactness. Riehm (*HWB, s.v.* 'Leviathan') leaves it an open question whether the poet may not even have seen crocodiles in Palestine. Certainly the Nahr ez-Zerkā near Cæsarea is believed to have had crocodiles quite lately,[1] and, as the climate of this marsh region resembles that of the Delta, there is in this nothing surprising. Still, though Pliny (*HN* 5 19) speaks of this river as the Crocodile river, and mentions a town called Crocodilon, we have no evidence that there were crocodiles there in biblical times. A thirteenth-century tract gives a strange story of fierce beasts called 'cocatrices' having been brought there (see COCKATRICE). Sir John Maundeville designates them corcodrils. See further Budde's elaborate commentary on Job 40 *f.*; and for another view (connecting the description in Job with mythology) see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3.

Crocodilus niloticus formerly common throughout the Nile, has been almost exterminated in the lower part of the river, though it still flourishes above the second cataract. It is found from the Nile and the Senegal *to* the Cape of Good Hope, and in Madagascar and Syria. Large specimens attain a length of 15 feet. It was worshipped by the ancient Egyptians at Omhos and in the Fayūm (by Lake Moeris) under the name of Sobku (transcribed in Gk. as Σοῦχος); for a possible explanation of this, see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 103 *f.* N. M.—A. E. S.

CROCODILE, **LAND** (כֹּחַ), Lev. 11 30, RV; AV CHAMELEON (*q.v.*). See also above.

CROCUS (חֲבַצֶּלֶת), Cant. 2 1, RVmg.; EV ROSE (*q.v.*).

CROSS. We shall not attempt to introduce the reader to the archæological study of the symbolism of the cross. Interesting as the task would be, it is really superfluous. If there was a time when it could be supposed that between Christianity and the non-Christian religions there was, in respect of the symbol of the cross, an affinity that was divinely appointed, that time is passed. We are no longer tempted to imagine that between the sign of the cross in baptism, and the heathen custom of bearing a mark indicating the special religious communion of the individual, there is a kind of pre-ordained relation. On the other hand, the fact that heathen notions did affect popular Christian beliefs in very early times. cannot be denied: the magic virtue ascribed to the cross has doubtless a non-Christian origin. For these matters it is enough to refer to Zöckler (*Das Kreuz Christi*), who fully recognises the original purity and simplicity of the earliest Christian view of the cross. His sobriety contrasts with the fantastic subjectivity of E. von Bunsen (*Das Symbol des Kreuzes,* 1876).

1. Nature and use. First as to the meaning of the Greek word σταυρός, which has a wider range than the word 'cross' by which it is rendered in English. We find it frequently used for the most primitive instrument of execution, the upright stake (*crux simplex*) to which the delinquent was bound when no tree was at hand (cp *infelix arbor* and *infelix lignum;* Liv. 1 26 Cic. *Pro Rabir.* 4), or on which he was impaled (cp HANGING), as well as for the fabricated cross (*crux composita*) of various shapes.

[1] Schumacher says that he has seen **a** crocodile there, hu[t] that there are very few crocodiles left (*PEFQ*, Jan. 1887, p. 1) For **a** sifting of the evidence down *to* 1857 see Tobler, *Dritt[e] Wanderung nach Palästina* ('59), **375** *ff.* Cp Rob. *Phy[s.] Geog.* ('65), 175 *f.*; Baed. *Pal.*(3) 272.

The origin of crucifixion is traced back to the Phœnicians. The cross was also used at quite an early late in some form or other by Egyptians (Thuc. 1 110), Persians (Herod. 9 120), Carthaginians (Valerius Maximus; Polyb. 1 11, etc.), Indians (Diod. 2 18), Scythians (Justin, 2 5), and others, besides the Greeks (Q. Curtius, 44) and the Romans.] Among the last-named, however, this cruel form of punishment (cp Cic. *Verr.* 5 64 'crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium'; Jos. *BJ* v. 11 1) was originally reserved for slaves (*servile supplicium*; compare the application of the term *furcifer* to slaves) and criminals of the worst kind.[2] It was at first considered too shameful a punishment to be inflicted upon Roman citizens (Cic. *Verr.* 1 5 5 61 etc.).

2. Shape. Of the cross proper there were three shapes—the ***crux*** *immissa* or four-armed cross, the ***crux*** *commissa* or three-armed cross, and the *crux decussata* which is more commonly known as St. Andrew's cross. Following the old tradition of the Church (Iren. *Haer.* ii. 24 4; Justin. *Tryph.* 91; Tert. *adv. Jud.* 10, etc.) which finds some support in the assertion of the Gospels that above the head of Jesus was placed a title (Mk. 15 26 ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας; Lk. 23 38 ἐπιγραφή; Mt. 2737 αἰτία; Jn. 19 19 τίτλος), the cross of the NT has commonly been taken to be the *crux immisssa.*[3] The accounts of the *manner* of the crucifixion being so meagre, any degree of certainty on. this point is impossible;[4] but the evidence seems to preponderate in favour of the traditional view.

3. NT cross. The four-armed cross in use at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus was most probably of the following description. It consisted of two pieces—an upright stake *(stipes, staticulum),* which was firmly fixed in the ground with pegs or fastened to the stump of a tree, and a cross-beam *(antenna, patibulum),* which was carried by the condemned to the place of execution. High up in the upright stake an indentation was probably made in which to fasten with cord and perhaps also to nail the cross-beam (cp Lucian's ξύλα τεκταίνειν; also Hor. *Carm.* 135; Cic. *Verr.* **521)**. At a suitable height from the ground was fixed a peg (πῆγμα, *sedile;* see Iren. *Haer.* ii. 24 4) on which to set the body astride (cp Justin, *Dial.* 91; Iren. *l.c.*; Tert. *cont. Marc.* 3 18) so that the whole weight might not rest upon the hands and arms.[5] This, together with the fastenings, made a rest for the feet (ὑποπόδιον, *suppedaneum lignum;* cp Greg. of Tours, ***De*** ***Glor.*** *Martyr.*, chap. 6) unnecessary.

4. Crucifixion. It is probable that on such a cross as this Jesus was crucified,[6] and that the execution was carried out in the regular manner. Soon after the sentence (Val. Max. 1 16; Dion. Hal. 9 48), or on the way to execution (Liv. 3336; cp Cic. *Verr.* 5 54) the condemned was scourged.[7] He was led, bearing his own cross, or rather part of it (Plut. ***De*** *sera numinis vindicta*, chap. 9; Artemid. ***256***

[1] In some of these cases (*e.g.*, Persians), no doubt, only the *crux simplex* is intended. The cross in the strict sense of the word **was** not used by the early Jews. In Esth. 7 9 8 13 𝔊 represents תלה 'to hang' (cp the application of the term תָּלוּי to Jesus by the later Jews) by σταυροῦν. See, however, HANGING. *It* was introduced into Palestine by the Romans (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12; and cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 14 2 **xx. 6** 2, *BJ* ii.126). Pesb. in the Gospels uses *zĕkaph*, which seems *to* mean primarily 'to elevate. Qur'ān (4 156) uses *salaba.*

[2] Cp Lk. 23 32, Sen. *Ep.* 7, Cic. *Petron.* 71, Dion. **5** 52, Jos. ***Ant.*** 13 22, Apul. *Asin.* 3.

[3] This too is the shape of the cross in the old (3rd cent.) caricature of the crucifixion which was found on the Palatine hill at Rome.

[4] Some scholars (Keim, etc.) have contended for the *crux commissa* (cp Seneca, *Consol. ad Mar.*, 20, Jos. *BJ* v. 11 1).

[5] Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*) supposes the body to have 'rested upon nothing but four great wounds.'

[6] The offence alleged (Lk. 23 2) was a political one. Stoning was the Jewish punishment for blasphemy. See LAW ANU JUSTICE, § 12.

[7] The scourging **of** Lk. 23 22 Jn. 19 1 was probably a preliminary and therefore an irregular one.

and cp the symbolical phrase in Mt. 10 38 16 24) to which he was bound, along the public roads to an eminence (see GOLGOTHA) outside the city gates (Cic. *Verr.* 5 66; Plaut. *Mil. glor.* ii. 4 6). In front of him went a herald bearing a tablet (*titulus*; Suet., *Cal.* 32) of condemnation, or he himself carried the *αἰτία* (cp *σανίς*, Socr. *HE* 1 17; *πίναξ*, Euseb. *HE* v. 1 44; λεύκωμα, Soz. *HE* 1 17) suspended by a cord from his neck (Suet. *Calig.* 32; *Domit.* 10; Dio Cass. 54 3; Euseb. *HE* v. 1 44). On arrival at the place of execution the *cruciarius* was stripped of his clothing and laid on the ground upon his back. The cross-beam was then thrust under his head, and his arms were stretched out across it to the right and left and perhaps bound to the wood (cp Lucan, *Phars.* 6 543 *f.* Plin. *HN* xxviii. 4 11), the hand being fastened by means of a long nail (cp *cruci figere*, *affigere*). Already, before or after the arrival of the condemned (see Cic. *Verr.* v. 66, and cp Polyb. i. 86 6; Diod. xxv. 5 2; Jos. *BJ* vii. 6 4), the upright stake had been firmly fastened in the ground. The cross-beam was then, with the help of ropes (cp perhaps Plin. *HN* xxix. 4 57) and perhaps of some other simple contrivance, raised to its place on the stake. Here it was hung provisionally, by a rope attached to its ends, on a firm nail or notch,' whilst the body was placed astride the lower peg in the stake, and the legs bound. The beams were then probably bound and nailed together at the point of intersection. Nails like those already used for the hands would be employed to fix the feet (Lk. 24 39; cp Plautus, *Mostel.* ii. 1 13; Just. *Dial.* chap. 97; Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 3 19, etc.), which were only slightly elevated above the ground. The nails were driven through each foot either in front, through the instep and sole, or at the side, through the *tendo Achillis*.[2] The body remained on the cross until it decayed (Hor. *Ep.* i. 16 48 Lucan, *Phars.* 6 543), or (from the time of Augustus) until it was given up to the friends of the condemned for burial (Quintil. *Decl.* 6 9; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 5 2). Soldiers were set to watch the crucified (Cic. *Pro Rabir.* 4 11; Petron. *Sat.* 3; Quint. *Decl.* 6 9; Mt. 27 66 Jn. 19 23). Death resulted from hunger (Euseb. *HE* 8 8) or pain (Seneca, *Ep.* 101). To alleviate the latter the Jews offered the victim a stupefying draught (Mk. 15 23 Mt. 27 34 Bab. Sanh. *f.* 43 1). Breaking of the legs (*σκελοκοπία*; see § 6) was a distinct form of punishment among the Romans (Seneca, *De Ira* 3 32; Suet. *Aug.* 67; cp, however, Origen on Mt. 27 54). M. A. C.

5. Evangelists' point of view. Modern realism takes an interest in these painful details which was unknown to primitive Christianity and to the evangelists. From an archaeological point of view this may be justified : hut it is necessary to point out that the evangelists are entirely indifferent to the archæology of the circumstances of the Passion. All indeed that they seem to care for is (1) the opportunity which the Cross gave for Christ to make fresh disclosures (in speech) of his wonderful character, and (2) the proofs which the Passion gave, as it appeared to them, of a 'pre-established harmony' between prophecy and the life of Jesus. When the *ἐσμυρνισμένος οἶνος* (wine mingled with myrrh) or *ὄξος* (vinegar) is mentioned, it is chiefly, we may presume, to suggest a connection with Ps. 69 21.[3] So the 'casting lots' doubtless fixed itself in tradition because of the parallelism of Ps. 22 18.[1] The only NT passages in which a clear trace of sympathy with the physical pains of Jesus is discernible are Lk. 22 44 and Heb. 5 7, especially the former. Here also great reserve is noticeable. Though Wetstein (*NT*, 1751) quotes several ancient writers who state that sweat. in some circumstances, is really tinged with blood,[2] yet the early writer of Lk. 22 43 *f.*[3] contents himself with saying that the sweat of Jesus in his agony was 'as it were clots of blood' (*ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος*).

6. Jesus. of There is no evidence that any NT writer had formed the idea that Jesus died of a broken heart, as W. Stroud, M.D., supposed (*Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, 1847)—certainly an idea for which many modern readers of the Gospel would be glad to find sufficient evidence. The hypothesis is based on Jn. 19 34, where we read that 'one of the soldiers with a spear pierced (*ἔνυξε*) his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.' From a critical point of view, we can hardly say that the fact that Jesus received this wound after he had breathed his last is well established; theorising upon it therefore, with a view to determine the cause of Jesus' death, is excluded. We have reason to believe (see Orig. on Mt. 27 54) that a lance wound was sometimes given to those who were crucified to accelerate death. The probability is (if the kernel of Jn. 19 31-37 be accepted as historical) that the two malefactors first had their legs broken (*crucifragium*) and then received their *coup de grâce* by being pierced with a lance. This is not opposed to the literal interpretation of *v.* 34, for all that the evangelist denies is that the legs of Jesus were broken. That the statement of the 'eye-witness' (ὁ *ἑωρακώς*) has come down to us in its original form, cannot, however, safely be asserted, because of the impossibility of explaining the issuing of 'blood and water' from an internal source physiologically. Perhaps one may suppose that the writer of Jn. 19 31-37 in its present form has accommodated the facts of tradition (the tradition attested by the 'eye-witness') to his theological needs. There is a theological commentary on the 'blood and water' in 1 Jn. 5 7 8 *f.*, where the 'water' and the 'blood' have become, as it were, technical expressions for permanent supernatural channels of divine grace, though the commentary may to us (not to its first readers) be as obscure as the text.

'With regard to the hypothesis of Dr. Stroud (viz., that death was sudden from rupture of the heart, and that the blood and water were the separated clot and serum of theescaped blood in the pericardial sac, which the spear had pierced), it is sufficient to mention the invariable fact, of which this physician appears to have been ignorant, that the blood escaping into a serum cavity from rupture of a great organ, such as the heart (aneurysmal aorta) or parturient uterus, does not show the smallest tendency to separate into clot and serum ("blood" and "water" as he takes it), hut remains thick, dark-red liquid blood. 'The notion that the wound was on the left side is comparatively late. It is embodied in some of the newer crucifixes, where the wound is placed horizontally about the fifth costal interspace; hut in most modern crucifixes, and probably in all the more ancient the wound is placed somewhat low on the right side. That) it was deep and wide, is inferred from the language of Jn. 20 27, where Thomas is hidden to "reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side"—namely the side of the spiritual body.'

[The ordinary view of the motive of the soldier (Jn. 19 34)—viz., that he wished to make sure of the death of Jesus—is of course a mere conjecture. If, therefore, the expression *ἐξεκέντησαν* (=דקרו, 'they thrust through,' in Zech. 12 10) will permit it, some may prefer to accept a new hypothesis that the wound inflicted by the lance was only a slight one. The author of this hypothesis thus explains it.—ED.] 'May it not have been a thoughtless, rather than a brutal act, the point of the lance being directed at something on the surface of the body, perhaps a dis-

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1 Jeremy Taylor (***Life of Christ***) and Farrar (*Life of Christ*), assume that the body was nailed to a prostrate cross which was afterwards raised and fixed in its socket. Cp however, the expressions ***crucem ascendere*, *in crucem excurrere*, *ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν στ.***, etc.

2 See Brandt, ***Die Evangelische Geschichte***, from which this part of the description is borrowed. For the two nails cp Plautus, *Mostell.* ii. 1 13 and see Meyer. Others (Keim, Farrar, etc.) think that only one nail was used.

3 This seems to be plain from the expression in Mt. 27 34 (WH and RV) 'wine mingled with gall.' The allusion is to Ps. 69 21 (*χολή*, 'gall,' would never have come in otherwise), and one rememhers that Ps. 22 (from which the 'Eli, eli,' etc., of Mt. 27 46 is taken) is a fellow psalm to Ps. 69. See also Lk. 23 36 and especially Jn. 19 28 *f.*, which allude to the same passage (the *διψῶ* of Jn. corresponds to the *εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου* of the psalm). *ὄξος* is most naturally rendered VINEGAR [*q.v.*]; cp quotations in Wetstein. This too snits Ps. 69.

1 This is not inconsistent with the fact that the second part of Mt. 27 35 is wanting in the best MSS, and omitted by recent editors. See Jn. 19 24.

2 'Numerous more or less unauthentic modern instances have also been needlessly brought together.'—c.c

3 An early addition to the original text (WH).

coloured wheal, bleb, or exudation, such as the scourging (Mt. 2726) might have left, or the pressure of the (assumed) ligature supporting the weight of the body might have produced? Water not unmixed with blood from some such superficial source is conceivable; hut blood and water from an internal source are a mystery.'—C. C.

Apart from the references to the cross in the evangelical narratives, there are a few passages in which the cross is mentioned, or has been thought to be mentioned, in a manner which has the note of originality.

7. Biblical References.

1. If Sellin (*Serubbabel*, 106) were right in reading וְאֶת־עָשִׂירִים תָּוו in Is. 539 we should get a striking though unconscious anticipation of the cross of Jesus in prophecy. It is this writer's rather strange theory that ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*], whom he idealises in the light of Is. 53 and kindred passages, suffered impalement as the Jewish Messianic king. Unfortunately the sense of 'cross' (σταυρός) for תָּו is justified neither by its etymology (see Ges.-Buhl) nor by usage. *Taw* means properly a tribal or religious sign, and is used in Ezek. 946 for a mark of religious import on the forehead (cp CUTTINGS, § 6) and in Job 3135 (if the text is right) for a signature.[1] No Jew would have used תו for σταυρός, though, the *crux commissa* being in the shape of a T, the cross is often referred to by early *Christian* writers as the mystical Tau.

2. Mt. 1038 'He that taketh not (οὐ λαμβάνει) his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me"; cp Lk. 1427 'doth not bear (οὐ βαστάζει) his cross'; Mt. 1624 'let him take up (ἀράτω) his cross' (so Mk. 834 Lk. 923). Two views are held: (1) that to take, or take up, or bear a cross was a proverbial phrase for undergoing a great disgrace, suggested by the sight of the Roman punishment of crucifixion; and (2) that though the substance of the saying may be due to Jesus himself, the form, as perhaps in many other cases, is due to the recasting of the saying by a later generation, possibly under the influence of the highly original phraseology of Paul.

3. Gal. 220 χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι; 'I have been crucified with Christ' (cp 614). It would be difficult to assert that this strong expression was suggested by any saying of Jesus; it has obviously arisen out of the previous statement, 'through the law I died to the law.' The crucifixion of Jesus is of slight interest to Paul as a mere historical event; it becomes all-important through the apostle's mystical connexion with Christ. The crucifixion has an ideal as well as a real character, and the former gives a value to the latter (cp ADAM AND EVE, § 2). On Gal. 313 see HANGING. T. K. C.

See further JESUS, § 29 *f.*, and GOSPELS, §§ 12 14; also Brandt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte* ('93), 179 *ff.*; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, 3409 *ff.*; Meyer, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium* (7th ed., 1898), 488 *f.*; Godet's Commentary on Luke; and, in particular O. Zöckler's *Das Kreuz Christi* (1875; *ET* 1878). §§ 1-4 M. A. C., §§ 5-7 T. K. C.

CROW (κορωνη), Bar. 654. See RAVEN.

CROWN. In considering the crown of the Hebrews the primary signification of the English word, and the origin of the crown itself, must not be lost sight of. Originally crown, garland, fillet, chaplet, and diadem were hardly to be distinguished from one another.

1. Varieties.

As to the form of the Israelite crown we have no certain information. The ancient Egyptian forms of the upper and lower country crowns, the one with high receding slope, the other bottle-shaped (see hieroglyphs in EGYPT, § 43 n.), are less to be thought of than the Assyrian truncated cone with its small pointed elevation rising in the centre. The latter was worn by the highest classes, and may well have been the head-dress of Hebrew royalty. Another important variety was the DIADEM [*q.v.*], which was worn as a fillet (see TURBAN, 1), or encircled the high imperial hat of Persian sovereigns. From this has probably been derived the high priest's MITRE [*q.v.*, 2]. The Persian hat is perhaps referred to in the late Heb. *kether* (כֶּתֶר Esth. 111 217 68 and perhaps Ps. 459 [10] [Gra. Che.], in Esth. διάδημα),[1] and in the κίδαρις of 1 Esd. 36 (EV 'headtire'). The Hebrews must have been familiar with the ancient custom of distinguishing rulers by special forms of headgear; but in the frequent allusions to the ceremonies of a royal accession *coronation* is mentioned only once—in the case of Joash (2 K. 1112). See CORONATION.

2. Royal crown.

Besides the bracelets (הַצְּעָדוֹת; so We.'s emendation: see BRACELET), we see that the distinctive ornament worn by King Joash was the *nēzer* נֵזֶר. It means simply 'mark of separation or consecration,'[2] and, originally, was perhaps nothing more than a fillet (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 483 *f.*). In post-exilic literature it forms part of the high priest's headdress (see MITRE, 3 4). Of its earliest use we are ignorant. It is true that according to 2 S. 110 Saul's *nēzer* was transferred to his rival David; but we cannot be sure that the statement is historical. The representation that kings went into battle wearing their insignia need not be disputed;[3] but there is good ground for suspecting that the writer (who is an Ephraimite) is imaginative. See SAMUEL, i. § 4 (2). Nowack (*HA* 1 307) holds that Solomon was the first to introduce a royal crown. Certainly David did not have his son crowned (anxious though he was to have Solomon's right popularly recognised: 1 K. 133), and neither Absalom nor Adonijah went through the rite of coronation when claiming the throne; but it is remarkable that, when so much is said of Solomon's throne (1 K. 1018), nothing is hinted about a crown. That the *'ăṭārāh* (עטרה) was, at least for a limited period, the usual ornament of Jewish kings may be taken as certain. It is possible that this also was originally a diadem or fillet, although in Job 3136 we read that it could be 'bound' upon the head (ענד), which suggests that it was a turban. In Cant. 311 it represents the bridegroom's (Hellenic?) garland.[4] Not only does the *'ăṭārāh*, by a common metaphor, typify dignity and honour, but also in late passages its possession implies sovereignty and its loss is synonymous with the king's degradation. A case of the former is Ps. 213 [4], 'Thou settest a crown (עטרה) of fine gold on his head' (στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου); of the latter, Ezek. 2126 [31], 'Remove the mitre (מצנפת κίδαρις), and take off the crown (עטרה στέφανος).' Here we may follow Smend and Bertholet in explaining both mitre and crown of the *royal* insignia: Zedekiah is to be stripped of all his dignity. For the

[1] So RV, with most critics; hut the text of *v.* 34 *f.* is certainly in disorder (see Beer, *ad loc.*). תָּוִי 'my sign' (='my signature') is a most improbable expression. Tg. and Vg. presuppose תַּאֲוָתִי 'my desire.'

[1] It is in Esther, too, that the decoration of the horse with the king's crown is most clearly associated with the royal dignity (contrast Esth. 68 with 1 K. 133). See also CHAPLET. In later Hebrew כתר became the ordinary word for crown. It is used in the phrase 'the crown of the law,' a precious crown-shaped ornament of the scrolls of the Pentateuch, also of the crowns on certain Hebrew letters and in the famous Mishnic sentence (Aboth 419), 'There are three crowns: the crown of Torah (Law), the crown of priesthood, and the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name excels them.' Lagarde (*Gesam. Abhandl.* 207 13.15) regards כתר as a Persian loan-word; hut the root is common in Hebrew. As in most other words for crown, the root-meaning must be 'to encircle.'

[2] 𝔊 uses different words for נזר. In 2 S. 110 it has βασίλειον [BA], διάδημα [L], in Ex. 296 πέταλον, whilst in 2 K. 1112 the word is left untranslated (ιεζερ [B], εζερ [A]; but ἁγίασμα [L]). In the last-mentioned place the Targum and Pesh. have כלילא ܟܠܝܠܐ.

[3] Thenius refers to Layard, *Nineveh*, fig. 18. Rameses put on a distinguishing ornament when he went against the Khita (Brugsch, *Gesch. Æg.* 499).

[4] The עֲטָרָה which David captured (2 S. 1230) belonged to the idol of the Ammonites (see AMMON, 8). For the Talmudic view on this and other passages connected with royal and priestly crowns, see Leopold Löw's excellent essay 'Kranz und Krone' in his *Ges. Schr.* 3407 *f.*

priestly עטרה (cp Ecclus. 45 12), see MITRE; and for other Heb. words to designate distinguished head-gear, see DIADEM, TURBAN.

3. Bridegroom's crown. Crowns or garlands were worn by brides (Ezek. 16 12 עֲטֶרֶת תִּפְאֶרֶת) and by bridegrooms (Is. 61 10 פְּאֵר, RV garland).[1] The 'oil of joy' (*id.*, *v.* 3) recalls the royal anointing (see CORONATION), and it may be that the bridegroom wore a chaplet as king of the festival. Delitzsch thinks that the bridegroom's *pĕ'ēr* was **a** turban. Solomon (Cant. 3 11) is represented as wparing a diadem or *'ăṭārāh* on the day of his' espousals (cp CANTICLES, § 9). In the time of Vespasian the bridegroom's chaplet was abandoned (Mish. *Sotah* 9 14). In the Middle Ages the Jews resumed the use of wreaths for brides.

4. Post-exilic and NT usages. Josephus asserts that after the return from the exile Aristobūlus, eldest son of Hyrcānus I., was the first to put 'a diadem on his head' (διάδημα, *Ant.* xiii. 11 1). From Zech. 6 9-15, however, it would appear that Zechariah was directed to select from the exiles' gifts enough gold and silver to make crowns (עֲטָרוֹת) or a crown (עֲטֶרֶת, We., Now.) for Zerubbabel.[2] Josephus was perhaps thinking solely of the Hasmonæan kings; those priest-kings wore 'buckles of gold' on their shoulders, not crowns on their heads (1 Macc. 10 89 14 44, πόρπην χρυσῆν; see BUCKLE, 3). The Talmud thinks that Hyrcānus, the 'second David,' wore two separate crowns, one royal and one priestly (*Ḳidd.* 66 *a*); and Josephus reports a present to this king of a golden crown from Athens (στέφανος, *Ant.* xiv. 8 5).

The Gr. στέφανος, which properly denotes the badge of merit as distinct from διάδημα the badge of royalty (see DIADEM), is frequently used by 𝔊 to represent עֲטָרָה; but the distinction between διάδημα and στέφανος was not consistently observed in Hellenistic Greek.

In the NT στέφανος is used of the garlands given to the victors in games (1 Cor. 9 25; cp 2 Tim. 2 5), of the ornaments worn by the 'elders,' etc. in the visions of the Apocalypse (Rev. 4 4 10 6 2 9 7 14 14 [here, the Son of Man]), and of Jesus' crown of thorns. The last perhaps affects the Roman rather than the Jewish idea as to the symbolism of the crown; but Judæan ideas on such matters must by that date have been assimilated to the Roman.

In RV 1 Macc. 10 29 11 35 13 37 39 2 Macc. 14 4 (στέφανος) 'crown' (AV 'crown tax') refers to a 'fixed money payment like the Roman *aurum coronarium* (Cic. *in Pison.* ch. 37), in room of the wreath or crown of gold which at one time it was customary, and even obligatory, for subject peoples to present as a gift of honour (cp 2 Macc. 14 4 and § 2 above) to the reigning king on certain occasions' (Camb. Bib. *ad* 1 Macc. 10 29); see TAXATION.

On the *zēr* of the altar (Ex. 30 3 *f.* 37 26 *f.* EV 'crown,' RVmg. 'rim' or 'moulding.'), see ALTAR, § 11; on that of the ark (*ib.* 25 11 37 2), see **ARK**, § 13; and on that of the table of shewbread' (*ib.* 25 24 *f.* 37 11 *f.*), see ALTAR, § 10. 𝔊 renders by κυμάτιον, στρεπτόν and στεφάνη.

See CHAPLET, MITRE, TURBAN; and cp GOLD.

I. A.—S. A. C.

CRUCIFIXION. See CROSS.

CRUSE. 1. The cruse of water (צַפַּחַת, *ṣappaḥath*) which stood by Saul's head when he was surprised by David (1 S. 26 11 12 16: cp 1 K. 19 6) was probably a small water-jar of porous clay like the *'ibrīḳ* (vulgar pronunciation, *brīḳ*) of the modern Syrians and Egyptians. The porosity of the clay enables the water to be kept cool if the *brīḳ* is placed in a draught. The same vessel was used by the poor to hold oil (cp 1 K. 17 12 14 16, where it is distinguished from the larger כַּד or water-jar [EV 'pitcher'] in which the household supply was fetched from the well [Gen. 24 14 *ff.* 𝔊 ὑδρία]).

In 1 K. 17 *ll.c.*, in 19 6 and in Judith 10 5, 𝔊 uses the word καψάκης, also written καμψάκης, which, if from κάμπτω, would suggest the shape of the Roman *ampulla*.

2. The cruse of honey which Jeroboam's wife took as part of her present to Ahijah (1 K. 14 3) was the *baḳbūḳ* or earthenware bottle (see BOTTLE). The Greek translators (𝔊AL Aq.) render by στάμνος, a wine-jar, which, it is interesting to note, is also used by 𝔊BAFL for the *ṣinṣeneth* (EV 'pot of manna') laid up in the sanctuary (Ex. 16 33). This cruse or jar of manna was of earthenware according to the Targum, but of gold according to 𝔊 (*loc. cit.*).

3. The cruse (צְלֹחִית, ὑδρίσκη) of 2 K. 2 20†, used by Elisha to hold salt, was probahly a flat dish or plate rather than a bottle or jar (cp צַלָּחָה, 2 Ch. 35 13 [𝔊 καὶ εὐοδώθη]; צַלַּחַת in 2 K. 21 13 ὁ ἀλάβαστρος [B], τὸ ἀλάβαστρον [A], τὸ πυξίον [L], PAN).

4. On the crnse (ἡ ἀλάβαστρος; AV BOX, 2) of Mt. 26 7, etc., strictly a jar or phial of alabaster, usually pear-shaped or pyramidal (Pliny, *HN* 9 56). see ALABASTER.

A. R. S. K.

CRYSTAL. There can be little doubt that rock crystal is intended by the κρύσταλλος of Rev. 21 11: glass is represented by ὕαλος (see GLASS). Theophrastus (54) reckons crystal among the pellucid stones used for engraved seals. In modern speech we apply the term *crystal* (as the ancients apparently did) to a glass-like transparent stone (commonly of a hexagonal form) of the flint family, the most refined kind of quartz.

In 𝔊 κρύσταλλος represents—

a. קֶרַח, 'frost' or 'ice,' perhaps even in Ezek. 1 22.[1]

b. אֶקְדָּח [אבני] (Is. 54 12, EV† 'carbuncles'), — that is, 'stones of fire' (cp Ass. *aban išāti*, 'stone of fire' = *ḳipindu*), on an assumed derivation from קדח, 'to kindle' (lit. by rubbing): hence the rendering of Aq. λίθ. τρυπανισμοῦ, Sym. Theod. [λίθ.] γλυφῆς, Vg. *lapides sculptos* [*scalptos*]. LXX and Pesh. have κρυστάλλου (קרח?).

c. בְּדֹלַח, EV 'bdellium' Nu. 11 7 (cp Field, ***Hemp.***).

d. קִיטוֹר, EV 'vapour' (Ps. 148 8).

For Job 28 17† AV (זְכוּכִית), RV 'glass'; see GLASS.

גָּבִישׁ, *gābīš* (Job 28 18; RV 'crystal,' AV 'pearls'), is of obscure origin; cp perhaps Ass. *gabāšu*, 'be thick, massive.'

The RV 'crystal' finds support in the Heb. אֶלְגָּבִישׁ, 'hail' (on the relation of meanings *see* BDB, *s.v.* גביש), and possibly in the Targ. ברולין (Lag. also ברוצין = ὄβρυζον, *obrizum* [Dan. 10 5 2 Ch. 3 5 Vg.; cp OPHIR]), which, like Ar. Pers. *billawr* (the word is slightly transposed), means 'crystal' or even 'glass,' as well as 'beryl.' Blau understands 'glass pearls.'

𝔊BNAC transliterates γαβεις and *so* Theod. γαβις; the Pesh. is too paraphrastic to be of any use; and ὑπερηρμένα [Sym.] ܓܒܝܫܐ [Syr. Hex., mg. ܓܒܝܫܐ] are appellatives derived from MH גבש, 'to heap up,' גַּבְשׁוּשִׁים, 'heap,' 'hill.'

CUB (כּוּב), Ezek. 30 5 RV; AV CHUB (*q.v.*).

CUBIT. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The common term is אַמָּה, *'ammah* (prop. length of fore-arm? see BDB; Ass. *ammatu*, אמה in the Siloam inscription [5 *f.*]), Gen. 6 15; cp אַמַּת־אִישׁ, 'an ordinary cubit' (Dt. 3 11) אַמּוֹת בָּאַמָּה וָטֹפַח one handbreadth longer than the usual cubit (Ezek. 40 5), etc.

גֹּמֶד, *gōmed*, Judg. 3 16† seems to he **a** short cubit; *so* Jewish tradition; see Moore, *JBL* 12 104 ['93].

The NT term is πῆχυς, Mt. 6 27 **Lk.** 12 25.

CUCKOW, RV 'seamew' (שַׁחַף; λάρος [BAFL];

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[1] The reading is difficult. Many follow Hitzig and read יָכִין for יְכַהֵן (*Isa.*, *SBOT* 110): 'like **a** bridegroom who orders his 'coronal.' Crowns, it may he added, are still used in the marriage rites of the Greek Church.

[2] The MT assigns Zechariah's crown to Joshua the high priest; **but** this can hardly be maintained (see ZERUBBABEL, and cp Ḳimḥi ***ad loc.***).

[1] Hitz. and Co. delete 'terrible,' הַנּוֹרָא (so 𝔊BA, but not 𝔊Q Vg. Pesh.). It is of course possible that we should read קדח; cp 6.

Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15†), is mentioned among unclean birds. It cannot be identified with certainty. The Heb. root probably signifies leanness; thus the kindred word שַׁחֶפֶת, *šaḥḥéḥeth* (cp Ar. *suḥāf*), denotes consumption or phthisis. There is no settled Jewish tradition; but 𝔊 and Vg. *are* very likely right in understanding some kind of aquatic bird, perhaps the tern (*Sterna fluviatilis*, *FFP*, 135). The AV 'cuckow' comes from the Geneva Bible.

Two species of cuckoo spend the summer in Palestine: *Cuculus canorus*, the widely-spread common cuckoo, which returns from its winter quarters towards the end of March; and the great spotted cuckoo, *Coccystes glandarius*, which arrives rather earlier. Canon Tristram enumerates nine species of tern belonging to two genera found in Palestine, some of which are plentiful along the sea coasts and around the inland waters, especially in winter. The shearwater, *Puffinus*, is another identification suggested for the *Šaḥaph*. *P. yelkouanus*, an inhabitant of the Mediterranean and other seas has acquired the name of 'âme damnée' from the French-speaking inhabitants of the Bosphorus, its restless habits having given rise among the Mohammedan population to the notion that it is the corporeal habitation of lost souls. N. M. —A. E. S.

CUCUMBERS (קִשֻּׁאִים, *ḳiššūʾīm*; CIKYAI [-YOI B^ab^L], Nu. 11 5†) and **Garden of Cucumbers** (מִקְשָׁה, *miḳšāh*; CIKYHPATON, Is. 1 8 Bar. 6 70 [69]†). Forms analogous to the word rendered 'cucumber' occur in Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Assyrian, and Carthaginian; and probably Gr. σικύη[1] is the same word with the first two consonants transposed.[2] It is thus known that what is meant is some kind of gourd, cucumber, or melon, perhaps primarily *Cucumis Chate*, L. (Low, 330), which is now regarded as a variety of the melon (*Cucumis Melo*; see Hasselqnist, *Iter Palæst.* 491).

The cucumber itself, *Cucumis sativus*, originated in NW. India, and certainly the Sanscrit name *soukasa* looks strikingly like σίκυος. It seems clear that the cucumber reached the Mediterranean region pretty early. De Candolle (*Or. Pl. Cult.* 212) says that there is no evidence that it was known in ancient Egypt; this, however, applies equally to the melon (208).

מִקְשָׁה (for מִקְשְׁאָה) is simply 'place of cucumbers'; Ar. and Syr. have similar words with the same meaning. Cp FOOD, § 5. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

CUMMIN (כַּמֹּן; KYMINON, *cyminum*, Is. 28 25 27 Mt. 23 23†) is the seed of an umbelliferous herbaceous plant (*Cuminum cyminum*, L.) which is used as a condiment with different kinds of food. A native of the Mediterranean region,[3] it was from an early period largely spread over W. Asia.[4] The Heb. name, which is of unknown origin, is found also in Arab., Syr., Eth., and Carthaginian, and has passed into Greek. Latin, and many modern languages, including English.

Cummin is often referred to by ancient writers. Thus two early Greek comedians include it in lists of condiments (Meineke, 378 437); Dioscorides (3 61 *f.*) and Pliny (20 14 [57]) describe its medicinal properties, the latter noticing especially its effect in producing paleness—referred to by Horace (*Ep.* i. 19 18, 'exsangue cuminum') and by Persius (v. 55, 'pallentis grana cumini').

The mention of the seed in Mt. 23 23 as a trifling object on which tithe was rigidly imposed by the Pharisees reminds us of the Greek use of κυμινοπρίστης ('cummin-sawer') for a niggard or skinflint (Arist. *Eth. N.* iv. 1 39). In Is. 28 27, where Yahwè's varied discipline of Israel is illustrated by the care and discrimination with which the husbandman performs his appointed task, it is noticed that finer grains, cummin and קֶצַח (see FITCHES), are threshed with staff and rod, the heavier treatment by the threshing wain being reserved for coarser seeds. N. M.

CUN (כּוּן), 1 Ch. 18 8 RV; AV CHUN.

CUNNING WORK, CUNNING WORKMAN. The 'cunning workman,' חֹשֵׁב, is distinguished from the 'craftsman'—חָרָשׁ—in Ex. 35 35 38 23, and the recurrence of the phrase מַעֲשֵׂה חוֹשֵׁב in connection with certain textile fabrics (Ex. 26 1 31 28 6 15 36 8 35 39 3 8 [P]) suggests some specialised meaning (see EMBROIDERY).[1]

𝔊 usually has ὑφάντης or ὑφαντός; Vg. usually *polymitarius* or *opus polymitarium*, the work of the damask weaver (see WEAVING). AV^mg.^ (Ex. 26 1), perhaps less accurately, has 'embroiderer' (see EMBROIDERY). On the other hand, the 'cunning work' (מַחֲשֶׁבֶת) of Ex. 31 4 35 32 33 35 2 Ch. 2 14 [13] is mainly that of the metal worker and jeweller; in 2 Ch. 26 15 it is that of the military engineer.

CUP. The seven Hebrew and Greek words rendered 'cup' in EV can be but imperfectly distinguished; see, however, FLAGON, GOBLET, MEALS, POTTERY; also, on Joseph's divining cup, DIVINATION, § 3 [3], JOSEPH; and on the 'cup of blessing' (1 Cor. 10 16), EUCHARIST, PASSOVER.

The figure of a wine-cup occurs frequently to express the effect, whether cheering (Ps. 23 5) or the reverse,' of providential appointments.

Special applications. The prophets being primarily messengers of woe, the second of these applications predominates. In the NT the figure describes the sufferings willingly accepted by Christ and his followers (Mt. 20 22 *f.* 26 39, etc.), and is used in the older Jewish sense in Revelation (*e.g.*, 14 10 16 19). Nowhere does the term 'cup' stand by itself in the sense of 'destiny'; the use described above never produced what may be called a technical sense of כּוֹס, 'cup.' In Ps. 11 6 16 5 it is a second כּוֹס, meaning 'appointment, destiny,' from √כסס = מנה, 'to number, to determine,' that is used. 'The portion of my (or their) cup' should be 'my (or their) destined portion.' No one can drink 'fire and brimstone,' nor can 'cup' and 'lot' stand as parallel expressions. From the list of passages we designedly omit Ps. 116 13; 'lift up the cup of salvation' should be 'lift **up** the ensign of victory' (reading נֵס; see ENSIGN).

For *ʾaggān*, אַגָּן, Is. 22 24 EV, see BASON, 1. For Jer. 35 5, גָּבִיעַ, *gābīaʿ*, Joseph's silver divining cup, Gen. 44 2 12 16 *f.*, see above. For the bowls upon the golden candlestick (Ex. 25 31 *ff.* 37 17 *ff.*†) see CANDLESTICK, § 2. For כּוֹס, *kōs*, the common term (Gen. 40 11, etc.), see MEALS, § 12. For Jer. 52 19, מְנַקִּית, *m^e^naḳḳîth* (AV 'cup'), and Jer. 52 19, סַף, *saph* (RV 'cup'), see BASON, 4. For Nu. 4 7 RV, 1 Ch. 28 17 EV, קְשָׂוֹת, *ḳ^e^sāwōth*, see FLAGON. The NT term is ποτήριον (in 𝔊 for *kōs*), Mt. 23 25 26 27, etc.

CUPBEARER (מַשְׁקֶה, lit. 'one who gives to drink'; OINOXOOC). In Eastern courts, where the fear of intrigues and plots was never absent, cupbearers were naturally men whose loyalty was above suspicion; they frequently enjoyed the sovereign's confidence, and their post was one of high importance and honour (so, *e.g.*, at the court of Cambyses, Her. 3 34; cp Marquart, *Philologus*, 55 229). The only reference to cupbearers in Israel is in the unique chapter describing Solomon's court, 1 K. 10 5 (εὐνούχους [L]) = 2 Ch. 9 4. Elsewhere cupbearers are spoken of in connection with Egypt (Gen. 40 1-23 41 9), Shushan (Neh. 1 11 εὐνοῦχος [Bℵ^c.a^]), and Nineveh (Tob. 1 22). It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the Assyrian RABSHAKEH [*q.v.*] has nothing to do with 'cupbearer.'

In Gen. *l.c.*, EV 'butler' רַב־הַמַּשְׁקִים, 'chief butler' (40 2 ἀρχιοινοχόος [ADL]). In *v.* 13 𝔊 aptly uses ἀρχιοινοχοΐα where the Hebrew has כֵּן, 'position, office.' With reference to Neh. 1 11 it is worth noticing that Nehemiah was only one of the cupbearers to Artaxerxes (not *the* cupbearer; cp Be.-Rys.). 46, finds a reference to male and female cupbearers in Eccles. 2 8 (שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת, οἰνοχόον [-ους ℵ^c.a^A] καὶ οἰνοχόας); but see ECCLESIASTES, § 2. The chance allusion in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 8 1 shows that at the court of Herod (as was also the case in Assyria) the cupbearers were eunuchs (𝔊's εὐνοῦχος above may, of course, he nothing more than an error). See, generally, MEALS, § 11 end.

CURDS (חֶמְאָה), Is. 7 15 RV^mg.^ See MILK.

CURSE. See BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, BLAS-

1 Theophrastus has σίκυος and σικύη; according to Fraas the former was the cucumber, the latter the melon.
2 So Ges. *Thes.* s.v.; Lag. *Arm. St.*, 1975. *Mitth.* 2356.
3 Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1 926.
4 Dioscorides knows it chiefly in Asia Minor.

1 Cp Fr. *génie*, applied in a specialised sense to civil and military *engineering* (*ingenium*), and the Eng. *engine*.
2 Ps. 60 3 [5] 75 8 [9] Is. 51 17 Jer. 25 15-17 49 12 Lam. 4 21 Ezek. 23 32-34; cp also Jer. 51 7 Zech. 12 2.

PHEMY, BAN, COVENANT; and cp URIM AND THUMMIM.

On חֵרֶם, *ḥērem* (Mal. 46 [3 24], etc.), see especially BAN. On שְׁבוּעָה, *šebhû'āh*, Is. 65 15 (RVmg. prefers OATH [*q.v.*]); אָלָה in Nu. 5 21 (RVmg. 'adjuration '); תַּאֲלָה [תַּאֲלָה] Lam. 3 65], מְאֵרָה, Dt. 28 20 (RV 'cursing'); קְלָלָה, κατάθεμα, Rev. 22 3 (RVmg. 'anything accursed'), and κατάρα, Gal. 3 10 13, see BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS.

CURTAIN. For Ex. 26 1 *ff.*, etc. (יְרִיעָה), and Nu. 3 26 [31], etc. (מָסָךְ; more usually 'hanging' in AV, generally 'screen' in RV), see TABERNACLE. דֹּק (καμάρα: Is. 40 22†), RVmg 'gauze,' is properly infin. of רקק, 'to he fine or thin.' The heavens are likened to a fine gauzy expanse. The rendering 'curtain' is loose, and is due, no doubt, to the use of יריעה in the parallel Ps. 104 2.

CUSH. 1. A (non-Semitic) people called Kaššе is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as dwelling in the border country between N. Elam and Media. Sennacherib (Tayl. Cyl. 164 *ff.*; *KB* 187) describes this region as 'difficult to traverse, and as not subjugated by any of his predecessors. In fact, it was a conquering race that dwelt there. To it belonged the dynasty which ruled over Babylonia for nearly six centuries—a lengthened rule, the consequence of which was the infusion of a large Kaššite element into the population of Babylonia. especially S. Babylonia, which might fitly be called the land of Kâš. It is this Kaš or Koš (whence MT's Kūš)[1] thnt is intended in Gen. 10 8, where NIMROD [*q.v.*] is called the son of Cush. That the Babylonian Kaš is meant in Gen. 2 13 as the passage now stands, is much less easy to make out (see PARADISE), while to hold with Winckler (*A T Untersuch.* 146 *ff.*) that Isaiah refers to the S. Babylonian Kâš in the difficult prophecy, Is. 18, can be rendered possible only by somewhat improbable textual criticism and exegesis.

1. Babylonian.

Wi.'s result (1892) is that the embassy mentioned by Isaiah is that of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah in 720 B.C., and his strongest argument is that 'the streams of Cush' in 18 1 is not applicable to the kingdom of Ethiopia, which had hut one stream, the Nile. The answer is that the geographical knowledge of the writer was naturally hut small, and that the island of Meroë, to which the residence of the Ethiopian kings was removed after Taharka's time, is formed by the union of the Nile, the Athara, and the Blue Nile. On grounds independent of Wi.'s hypothesis, the words אשר מעבר לנהרי־כוש are correctly held to he a late interpolation. (See further Che. and Haupt in *Isaiah*, Heb. *SBOT*.)

2. The question of the existence of an Arabian Cush has passed into a new phase since the discovery by Winckler (*Musri*, 2 ['98]) of a N. Arabian land of Kuš contiguous to the N. Arabian Muṣr or Muṣri, and together with it forming the region called Meluḫḫa (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*). The land being known as Kūš (=כּוּשׁ) to the Assyrians, we cannot avoid a re-examination of the more difficult OT passages in which כּוּשׁ (Cush) or כּוּשִׁי (Cushi) occurs. Referring first to the Pentateuch 'and reserving the complicated question arising out of Gen. 2 13 for subsequent consideration, we see at once (*a*) how probable it is that in the list of names in Gen. 10 6 Cush is an Arabian and not an African country; for none of the eleven names in Gen. 10 6 7 can be supposed to be African except Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Seba, and of these Mizraim (read rather Mizrim) has been claimed elsewhere for Arabia, while PUT [*q.v.*] is at any rate not Libya, and Seba (סבא), which resists all attempts to localise it in Africa, may well be suspected to be only another form of Sheba (שְׁבָא)—*i.e.*, the well-known Arabian Sabæans. It is true Sheba appears in *v.* 7 as a son of Raamah; but no objection can be based upon that. The same name probably fixed itself in slightly different forms in different localities, and in Ps. 72 10 we even find סבא (which has intruded into the

2. Arabian.

[1] Unless we suppose the vocalisation Kūš (כּוּשׁ) to he produced by the confusion of the Babylonian and the African כּשׁ.

text) as a variant to שׁבא. (Possibly Shĕbā, שְׁבָא should everywhererather be Sĕbā, שְׁבָא.) This conclusion greatly reduces the error committed by the redactor of Gen. 10 in inserting *vv.* 8 10-15 18*b*-19 (which belong to J) between *vv.* 6 *f.* and *v.* 20 (which belong to P); for the population of the Babylonian land of Kaš, to which Nimrod belonged, was largely formed by the immigration of 'Chaldæan' tribes (כשדים) whose home was probably in E. Arabia. If Kaš be taken, not ethnically but geographically, as a designation of the Arabian home of the ancestors of a large part of the people of S. Babylonia, it was not incorrect to regard Nimrod as related to the Cnsh mentioned in *v.* 6 *f.* (For J's view see NIMROD, MIZRAIM.)

(*b*) In Nu. 12 1 (E) we hear of 'the Cushite woman' whom Moses had married. In Ex. 2 16 21 (J) his wife Zipporah is represented as a Midianite. A northern locality for Midianites is probable even without the very doubtful passage 1 K. 11 18 (cp HADAD, 3). There is no necessity to follow Wellhausen in his excision of the whole of Nu. 12 1*b*; at any rate 'the Cushite woman' comes from an early source. See MOSES.

(*c*) On 2 S. 18 21 see CUSHI, 3.

(*d*, *e*, *f*) Is. 20 3 43 3 45 14, see MIZRAIM.

(*g*) Am. 9 7. Who are the בְּנֵי כֻשִׁיִּים? Hardly the 'children of the Ethiopians' (EV). What evidence have we that the Ethiopians were regarded with contempt in Amos's time? Probably the prophet looked nearer home, and saw the misery inflicted on the Arabian Cush by some great mischance in war (cp Wi., *op. cit.* 8).

(*h*) Hab. 3 7, 'the tents of Cushan.' כּוּשָׁן should perhaps become כּוּשׁ, Cūsh; at any rate, N. Arabian peoples are meant in both parts of the verse. See CUSHAN.

(*i*) Job 7 17. It is quite possible to read כושים or כֻּשִׁיִּם, Cushī(yī)m (Che. *JQR* 45 75) for כשדים (EV 'Chaldeans' [*q.v.*]), which is not without difficulty, and to explain this of the N. Arabian Cushites, who must at any rate be referred to.

(*j*) In 2 Ch. 21 16 we hear of 'Cushites' beside the Arabians (cp ARABIA), a reminiscence of whose predatory raids probably underlies the distorted tradition of 'Zerah the Cushite' (see ZERAH) in 2 Ch. 14 9 *ff.*

(*k*) Ps. 87 4 [5]. עִם־יֹשְׁבֵי צוֹר, 'with the inhabitants of Tyre,' should be מִצּוֹר וְכוּשׁ, 'Muṣri and Cush'; a similar emendation is required in Ps. 87 4. The combination of Philistines and Tyrians, Tyrians and Ethiopians, presented in MT, is extremely improbable.

(Besides Wi. *Musri* 2 [*MDVG*, 1898], cp Glaser, *Skizze*, 2 326 8)

3. Egyptian. See ETHIOPIA. T. K. C.

CUSH (כּוּשׁ, χογς[ε]ι [BℵAR], *chusi* [Vg.], קִישׁ [Tg.]) a Benjamite (Ps. 7, heading). The text, however, is corrupt.

Cushi (𝔊 al.) is a very poor conjecture (see CUSHI, 3). No doubt 'Cush' should he 'Kish' (see Tg.), and the text should run עַל־דִּבְרֵי . . . בֶּן־קִישׁ בֶּן־יְמִינִי. The missing name was either Mordecai (Esth. 2 5; cp Che. *OPs* 229 *f.*) or, perhaps more probably, SHIMEI (*q.v.*, 1c), a member of the clan of Kish (so Kay, Che. *Ps.*(2)). In the former case, David was supposed to he speaking in the name of Mordecai;[1] in the latter, the curses of Shimei are the supposed occasion of the psalm.

CUSHAN (כּוּשָׁן; αιθιοπεc [Bℵc.a, c.bAQ], εθ. [ℵ*]), Hab. 3 7†. The name should mean '(a clan) belonging to Cush,' on the analogy of Ithran, Kenan, Lotan (but see CUSH, i. § 2 *h*). It is at any rate parallel to Midian. This agrees with OT passages which appear to place the Midianites in N. Arabia, where, according to the evidence produced by Winckler, there was a region known to the Assyrians as Kûš or Cush. See CUSH, i. 2; MIDIAN.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM RV; AV Chushan-rishathaim (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם, *i.e.*, 'Cushan of double wickedness').

[1] Ps. 7 was a Purim psalm.

The versions have : Χουσαρσαθαιμ [BA], -αυρεσαμωθ [L] [not original] ; Vet. Lat., *Chusarsaton;* Naples Synopsis, Χουσαρσαθων [*sic*] ; Jos. Χουσαρσαθου [gen.] ; Vg. *Chusan Rasathaim* : (see Mez, *Die Bibel des Jos.* 11 ; Lagarde, *Septuag. Studien*, 142 *f.* 274).

The name of a king of Aram (MT ARAM-NAHARAIM [*q.v.*] : a very rare expression), who is said to have

1. The story. oppressed the Israelites after their conquest of Canaan for eight years, till Othniel ben Kenaz overthrew him (Judg. 3 7-11). The story of this oppression and deliverance is introduced as a typical illustration of the edifying theory of Israelitish history put forward in Judg. 2 11-19, and was wanting in the pre-Deuteronomic book of heroic stories which forms the basis of our JUDGES (*q.v.*, §§ 3 5). Hence we are not surprised that it presents none of the characteristics of narratives founded upon genuine popular traditions, and that only two assertions emerge out of the phrases of which it mainly consists—viz., that the land of Israel was conquered by an early Aramæan king, and that the Israelites were delivered by the Judahite (Kenizzite) hero Othniel. These assertions, however, are contradictory. Even in the early time of David the clans of Judah had but a slight connection with Israel, and in the time of Debōrah's insurrection, it appears, they stood entirely aloof from the Israelites (see Judg. 5). It is historically impossible that the Judahite clan of Othniel could have played the glorious part ascribed to it in the story. Budde (*Ri.Sa.* 95), therefore, while admitting that the oppression of Cushan-rishathaim may conceivably rest on a traditional basis, rejects Othniel's championship. The editor of Judges, he remarks, belonged no doubt to the tribe of Judah, and took a pleasure in giving it a representative among the 'judges.' Similarly Wellhausen and Stade.

It is more probable, however, that the whole trouble is caused by an error in the text.

There is some reason to think that the true reading of 𝔊 in Judg. 3 8 10 is . . . Χουσαρσαθαιμ βασιλέως (βασιλέα) Συρίας

2. Probable origin of the name. note the position of ποταμῶν in *v.* 8 and see (Field's *Hex.* on *v.* 10).[1] Even apart from this, it is not too hold to emend ארם, 'Aram,' into אדֹם, Edom (as in 2 K. 16 6), and to omit נהרים as a gloss (with Grätz, Klost.). That Othniel the Kenizzite should he the deliverer of Judah from the Edomite tyranny is only natural. Observe that the next oppressors are the Moahites. Whether we may go on to correct *Rishathaim* into *Rosh-hat-tēmānī* 'the chief of the Temanites,' with Klost. (*Gesch.* 122), and to'work into this paragraph the isolated passage 136 by prefixing ?ו, 'and he smote,' is problematical. It seems to the present writer enough to read, for רשעתים, מֵאֶרֶץ הַתֵּימָנִי 'from the land of the Temanites,' which is the description attached to the name of the Edomite king Husham in Gen. 36 34. The letters became partly defaced, and an editor wittily read רִשְׁעָתַיִם. It is very possible, too, that the name כושן (Cushan) is a corruption of חושם (חֻשָׁם) Husham (cp Klost. 119). The writer was at a loss for a name, and took one from the list of Edomite kings. Husham's son Hadad was a great warrior (*v.* 35); it was natural to make the father equal tdhim in this respect. Whether we may suppose that the editor to whom we are indebted for 'Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim,' had in his mind Kassite (Cushite) incursions such as some scholars connect with. NIMROD and ZERAH (*qq.v.*), which might be loosely stated to have proceeded from 'Aram-naharaim,' may he doubted. For a different view of the origin of the story as given in MT see Moore (*Judges*, 88 *f.*), who thinks that we have here a distortion of the tradition of a raid of Midianitish 'Cushites' into Judah.

Those who prefer to take the book of Judges as it

3. Other theories. stands, without applying critical methods, have two recent hypotheses respecting Cushan-rishathaim to choose from.

Prof. M'Curdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1230; cp 221) thinks that the 'whole land' (of Canaan) may have been subdued by the Aramæans, who, during the enfeeblement of Assyria, had re-occupied the land of Mitāni, the Egyptian Naharina, which includes W. Mesopotamia (see *RP*[(2)] 359), some time before the accession of Tiglath-pileser I. (1120 B.C.). In the ease with which the asserted conquest of the strong cities of Canaan was effected hy the Aramæans, in the name *Cushan*-rishathaim, and in the championship of a Kenizzite or Judahite hero, he finds no difficulty. Prof. Sayce, too, in his ingenious defence of a non-critical view of the narrative (*Crit. Mon.* 297-300), makes no remark on the name of Israel's oppressor, and holds Othniel to have been the deliverer of 'S. Palestine' from the tyranny of the army of the king of Mitāni at the time of the iovgsion of Egypt by the N. peoples somewhere about 1210 B.C. (reign of Rameses III.). The imaginativeness of Prof. Sayce's statements respecting the king of Mitāni's movements has been pointed out by Driver (*Contemp. Rev.* 65 420 *f.* ['94]). In fact, the statement that the king of Mitāni 'participated in the southward movement of the peoples of the N.,' but 'lingered on the way,' and presumably 'sought to secure that dominion in Canaan which had belonged to some of his predecessors' has no monumental evidence in its favour. If tradition had preserved the memory of any incident in the great migration of the N. peoples, would it not have been the desolation of the land of Amur (N. Palestine) caused by the N. peoples themselves? It should be added that Stade (*Gesch.* 1 69) positively denies that there is any basis of tradition in the story, and both Budde and G. F. Moore (whose treatment of Judg. 3 7-11 is thoroughly good) are half inclined to agree with him. Stade, however, goes too far when he says that the form of the name Cushan-rishathaim is enough to prove it unhistorical (*Gesch.* 169 ; cp Kuenen, *Einleitung*, 1, § 19 n. 1). Nor is this assumption at all essential to his theory. [Since the above was written, Klost.'s view has been adopted by J. Marquart (*Fund.* 11).] T. K. C.

1 𝔊B has in *v.* 8 Χουσαρσαθάιμ βασιλέως ποταμῶν Συρίας, and in *v.* 10 Χ. β. Συρίας ποταμῶν.

CUSHI (כּוּשִׁי, **'Cushite'**; cp JEHUDI and the Moabite name *Muṣuri* (man of Muṣur) in the lists of Esarhaddon and Ašur-bāni-pal, *KAT*[(2)] 356, no. 4; χογcει [BAL], *chusi* [Vg.]).

1. An ancestor of JEHUDI [*q.v.*] (Jer. 36 14).
2. Father of ZEPHANIAH [*q.v.*] (Zeph. 1 1).
3. הַכּוּשִׁי, RV 'the Cushite,' the messenger whom Joab despatched. in preference to Ahimaaz, to inform David of the drath of Absalom. Ahimaaz, we are told, following later ran by the way of the plain[2] and reached David first (2 S. 18 19-32). Two questions arise. Who was 'the Cushite'? and why did Joab prefer him to Ahimaaz as the messenger? The account, which has been taken from a fuller narrative, does not say. Evidently 'the Cushite' was a foreigner, and this was the reason why, like the Amalekite in 2 S. 1, he could without offence be the bearer of evil tidings. That David had foreign soldiers (*e.g.*, the Hittite Uriah) is well known. 'The Cushite' was not (as H. P. Sm. supposes) a negro. We can hardly doubt that he belonged to the N. Arabian Cush[3] (see CUSH, § 2).

CUSHIONS (מַרְבַדִּים, Prov. 7 16 31 22 RVmg., προcκεφαλαιον Mk. 4 38 RV). See BED, § 3 *f.*, and cp ROGELIM.

CUSTOM, (1) בְּלוֹ Ezra 4 13 20 7 24 RV (AV 'tribute'), (2) הֲלָךְ Ezra *ll.c.*[4] AV (RV 'toll'), (3) τελωνιον Mt. 9 9 etc. AV 'receipt of custom,' RV 'place of toll.' See TAXATION.

CUTE (כּוּת; χογθ [B; A omits], χωθα [L]; *Chutaci;* ܟܘܬ) and **Cuthah** (כּוּתָה; χογνθα [B], χογα [A], χωθα [L]; *Cutha*), a place in Babylonia from which colonists were brought to N. Israel (2 K. 17 24), identified with *Tell-Ibrāhīm*, NE. of Babylon, where remains of Nergal's temple have been found. It is the Kutā or Kutū of the cuneiform inscriptions. Before the rise of Babylon, Kutā and Sippar, it appears, were the chief cities of N. Babylonia. As late as the time of Ašur-bāni-pal it was obligatory on the kings of Assyria to sacrifice to Šamaš and NERGAL [*q.v.*] at Sippar and Kutā respectively, a custom apparently due to the primitive importance of these cities in the 'kingdom of the Four Quarters of the World; (Winckler, *GBA* 33 281).

We have a record of the building of the temple of Nergal in Kutā by Dungi, King of Ur (*KB* 3 *a* 81); and Nebuchadrezzar

1 This is apparently the *Cusi* who figures as the father of Ezra in a Spanish MS of 4 Esd. ; see Bensly, *Fourth Ezra*, xliv. *f.* lxxx.

2 הַכִּכָּר (MT), but perhaps rather הַבִּתְרוֹן, 'the gorge' (Klo.). See EPHRAIM, WOOD OF.

3 The alternative would be to suppose *hak-kūšī* (21*b* *Kūšī*) to he an old corruption of *Hushai* (see the readings). This reminds ns too much of Theodore of Mopsnestia's confusion of the CUSH [*q.v.*] in the title of Ps. 7 with the Archite Hushai.

4 The third term in these passages, מִ(נְ)דָּה, is rendered 'toll (AV) or 'tribute' (RV).

mentions among his pious acts that he restored the temples of the great gods at Kutā (*KB* 3*b* 51). It was from the temple of Nergal that one of the creation-stories brought from Ašur-bāni-pal's library is stated to have come (*RP*(2) 1 147-153); see CREATION, § 16. The name 'Cuthaeans' lies hidden under ARCHEVITES (*q.v.*) in Ezra 49. In the phraseology of the later Jews 'Cuthaeaos' is equivalent to 'Samaritans' (so in Jos. and the Talmud). With this name is probably to be connected the COUTHA of 1 Esd. 5 32 (not in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah).

T. K. C.

CUTTING **OFF.** This penalty ('I [Yahwk] will cut him off from among his people,' 'he shall be cut off from his people,' 'from Israel,' 'from the assembly,' and the like; הכרתי אתו מקרב עמו) is first met with in H[1] (see LEVITICUS), where it is attached to a variety of offences, many of them of a ceremonial or technical character (Lev. 17 4 9, failure to bring slain ox, lamb, or goat to the tabernacle; 17 10 14, eating blood; 18 29, various 'abominations'; 20 3 5 *f.*, Moloch-worship; 20 17 *f.*, incest, etc.; 22 3, unclean approach to holy things). It occurs frequently in P (Gen. 17 14, neglect of circumcision; Ex. 12 15, eating leaven in paschal season; Ex. 30 33 38, imitating or putting to secular use the holy oil or incense; Ex. 31 14, sabbath profanation; Lev. 7 20 *f.*, unclean sacrificial eating; 7 25 27, eating of fat or blood; 19 8, eating sacrifice on third day; 23 29, non-observance of day of atonement; Nu. 9 13, failure to keep the passover though clean and not on a journey; 15 30 *f.*, high-handed sin, insult to Yahwk; 19 13, contact with dead; 19 20, failure to remove uncleanness from contact with dead by sprinkling).

The view of the older interpreters was that the expression meant the death penalty. It is worth noticing, however, that in Ex. 31 14 *f.* separate emphasis is laid on 'he shall be put to death' (מות יומת) as distinguished from 'that soul shall be cut off' (נכרתה הנפש ההיא); cp Lev. 20 27 (death penalty on witchcraft), the Deuteronomic expression בִּעַר הרע, 'put away the evil,' Dt. 13 5 [6] (in connection with the death penalty on the false prophet or dreamer of dreams), and perhaps also Lev. 23 29 *f.*, נכרתה followed by האברתי, gradation of penalties. If account be taken of the actual circumstances amid which H and P arose, it seems more probable that the writers had in their mind either some such idea as that which was carried into practice under Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 10 8, 'separated from the congregation of the captivity,' ‖ 1 Esd. 9 4, 'cast out from the multitude of them that were of the captivity'), and ultimately developed into the minor and major excommunications of the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE), or that they thought only of death through divine agency, not of punishment inflicted at the hands of the community (Driver on Lev. 7 20 *f.*). See, further, BAN.

CUTTINGS **OF** THE **FLESH** (**Ceremonial** Mutila**tions).** The former heading is derived from the EV of Lev. 19 28 21 5. It is, however, too narrow in its range. Circumcision cannot altogether be left out in dealing with the 'cuttings' referred to in these passages; nor can we forget how intimately the laceration of the flesh in mourning is associated with the practice of shaving the head or cutting off part of the hair. The origin and significance of CIRCUMCISION [*q.v.*] is treated elsewhere. The present article will deal with (1) incisions (§ 1 *f.*), (2) the cutting off of the hair (§§ 3-5), and (3) tattooing (§ 6 *f.*), regarded as ceremonial mutilations (see further SACRIFICE).

The technical Hebrew terms for ceremonial incisions are שֶׂרֶט, שָׂרֶטֶת (verb שָׂרַט);[2] the verb הִתְגֹּדֵד **also** is used.

1. References to cuttings. In Lev. 21 5 [H] we read (with reference to mourning for the dead), 'They shall not make . . . any cuttings in their flesh' (point שָׂרֶטֶת, as plur. of שֶׂרֶט?). The practice was forbidden especially to the priests, who would thereby 'profane' themselves. The substantive שֶׂרֶט occurs in Lev. 19 28: 'Ye shall not make any cutting in your flesh for a (departed) soul.' (On the only other passage [Zech. 12 3] in which שרט occurs no stress can be laid).[1] There is no exact parallel for this Hebrew usage in Assyrian; but we do find *šarāṭu* used of rending a garment in token of grief (a passage in Sargon's *Annals*, 294, gives a striking parallel to 2 S. 1 2), and probably enough this rending was an attenuation of the more savage custom of rending the flesh.[2] Ašur-bāni-pal (Smith, 127 81) too speaks of his warriors as those who 'at the behest of the gods *let themselves be hacked to pieces* in the fray' (*ittanašraṭu*). On this it may be remarked that the case of mourners who shed their blood to feed the manes of departed friends is analogous to that of soldiers who do this on the battlefield in obedience to the gods. A supposed second term for ceremonial incisions (גְּדֻדֹת) is simply due to misunderstanding. In Jer. 48 37 we should read with 𝔊BA כל ידים ('all hands are cut into'); the prefixed על in MT is an error; גדדת is, in fact, participial. The reflexive form התגדד occurs in Dt. 14 1 (parallel to the already cited passage of Lev.), and at least six times elsewhere. The primary meaning of the simple stem is obviously 'to cut off'; cp Ar. *jadda*, *jadda*, גָּדַד, [Syriac]. The ceremonial cutting referred to was an ordinary custom of mourners in the time of Jeremiah, to dispense with which would have been something very strange and unusual (Jer. 16 6 41 5 47 5); evidently the contemporaries of the prophet did not recognise the law in Dt. 14 1. The incisions referred to in Mic. 5 1 [4 14], 'Now hack thyself [so Nowack], O daughter of attack,' must also be signs of mourning; and this may well be the case too in Jer. 5 7, where יתגודדו, 'they would cut themselves,' implies that the apostate Jews who resorted to the Whore's House (*i.e.*, the idol temple) wished to bring over the Deity to their side by self-mutilation. This description of the prophet may be illustrated by 1 K. 18 28, where the 'cutting' practised by the priests of Baal is said to have been after this custom or ritual, and to have followed the ritual dance by or round the altar (see DANCE, § 5). Hosea, too (7 14), speaks of Israelites who 'because of corn and new wine cut themselves,' to propitiate their god (reading יתגודדו with 𝔊BAQ, We., Che., RV^mg.).

The practice of shedding the blood in one way or another as an honour due to the dead is world-wide.

2. Significance. It is found not only among the Hebrews and the Arabs (We. *Heid.*(2) 181), but also among the ancient Greeks and the modern African and Polynesian peoples. 'The blood is the life'; and it is probable that when in primitive times the mourning kin 'cut themselves for the dead,' they did it in the belief that the departed drank in new life with the blood thus poured out by the willing self-sacrifice of sorrowing friends, and at the same time renewed their bond of union with the living (cp ESCHATOLOGY § 3, 4).

Such acts doubtless had a sacrificial or sacramental aspect; and in view of the fact that the disembodied spirit was conceived as possessing a quasi-divine or dæmonic character, with undefined potencies for good and evil, it may he assumed that the blood-offering was, or became, as much a conciliatory present to the manes of the dead as that of slain victims was intended to he to the higher gods. It may even have been thought that, as the deceased man had passed into another world on leaving the circle of his kin, he had in some sense become a stranger to them, and that therefore it was necessary to make a blood-covenant with him, and so secure his good-will for the tribe or family. The radical change of death might suggest that as the corporate unity of the departed with his clan had been broken, it must he

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1 It may he noted that the 'I' is peculiar to H, as also the phrase 'I will set my face' (Lev. 17 10 20 3 6 26 17) or 'put my face' (20 5) against the offender.

2 Aram. [Syriac], Ass. *šarāṭu*, Ar. *šaraṭa*, strictly 'to cut into,' 'nick; or 'notch.'

1 If the text is correct the meaning must be 'to strain oneself to pieces,' 'to break down under a load.' Nowack, however, holds that a gloss has been taken into the text.

2 There was no longer any consciousness of this when the post-exilic prophet Joel wrote, 'Rend your heart, and not your garments' (Joel 2 13). Else he would have said, 'Rend your heart, and not your flesh' (cp Jer. 44).

restored by giving the dead to drink of the blood of the living kindred.

Bearing in mind that ritual practices acquire a new symbolism as time goes on, and that affection for the dead has often evinced itself, even at a high stage of culture, by suicide over the corpse, and by such customs as the Hindu Satî, we may be inclined to see in the 'incisions for the dead,' as practised in the period of the great prophets, a symbolical expression for the willingness of the mourner to depart and be with the loved and lost one.

The passages which mention incisions of the flesh also mention cutting off the hair as a sign of mourning.

3. Cutting off hair. Thus Lev. 215 [H] : 'They (the priests) shall not make a bare bald patch on their head, and the corner of their beard they shall not shave off' (cp Lev. 1927 Dt.141, 'And ye shall not set baldness between your eyes'—*i.e.*, on the forehead—'for one that is dead'); Ezekiel, too (44 20), forbids artificial baldness to the priests. The prevalence of the custom of cutting off the hair in token of deep grief is, however, presupposed by the earlier prophets, who take no exception to it. Micah says, addressing a city community, 'Make thee bald and shear thee for thy darling children; make broad thy baldness like the vulture's; for they are carried away captive from thee' (Mic. 1 14). See also Am. 8 10 Is. 22 12 (cp 3 24) Jer. 729 166 Ezek. 7 18; such passages show that the prohibition of the custom referred to belongs to a later age of religious legalism. In Dt. 141 these practices are forbidden to Israelites generally, on account of their relation to YahwB, on the principle on which Aaronites with any physical defect are excluded from the service of the altar (Lev. 21 16-23).

Cutting off the hair was also the most characteristic expression of an Arab woman's mourning. When Ḫālid b. al-Walid died, all the women of his family offered their hair at his grave (Agh. 15 12; We. *Heid.*[2] 182). It was a sacrifice to the dead, and the underlying idea of the offering is suggested by the story of Samson. 'If I be shaven,' said that hero, 'my strength will go from me' (Judg. 1617). In other words, the hair, the growth of which was continually renewed, appeared to the ancients a centre of vitality, like the blood;[1] and thus to offer it, whether to deity (Nu. 6 18) or to the spirits of the dead, had essentially the same import and purpose as to offer one's blood, the aim being to originate or to renew a bond of vital union between the worshipper and the unseen power.

4. Initiatory ceremonials. Regarded as sacrificial acts, both blood-letting and offering the hair were 'private acts of worship,' performed by the individual for his own good as distinct from that of the community; and both are common elements in ceremonies of initiation by which youths are admitted to the rights of manhood, especially to marriage and participation in the tribal worship. Thus CIRCUMCISION [*q.v.*, § 4] was originally a rite preliminary to marriage (Ex. 424-26); and Lucian (*Dea Syr.* 60) informs us that the long locks of young people were shorn and dedicated at the old Syrian sanctuaries on the same occasion. In the course of time the barbarous character of the blood-offering caused it to lapse from general use, except among certain priesthoods and votaries; whilst the hair-offering, which in origin and principle was identical, survived to the close of Paganism, and may be recognised in the tonsure of early Christian Monachism.

The passage Lev. 1927 (H; about 570 B.C.) has already been referred to. It is a prohibition of a practice, in vogue among certain Arabian tribes, of shaving off the hair all round

5. Other specialised forms. the head, a circular patch being left on the crown (Herod. 3 8)—a practice indicated, it seems, by the nickname 'Shorn-pates' (קצוצי פאה) applied by Jeremiah to some Arabian peoples (RV, also AV mg., 'all that have the corners [of their hair] polled'; Jer. 9 26 [25] 25 23 49 32). There can be little doubt that this, like most other ancient tribal badges and customs, had religious associations and a religious significance; in fact, Herodotus (3 8) expressly says that the Arabs pretended to imitate their national god Orotal-Dionysos by their peculiar tonsure. Hence, no doubt, the practice was forbidden to the Jews by the older Levitical code (Lev. 19 27), the object being to isolate the, people of Yahwè from the neighbouring nations and their worships. On the other band, there were some important religious customs which, though of ethnic origin, were not abolished by the law. Hence it was that the Nazirite continued to make an offering to YahwB of his shorn hair (see NAZIRITE)—a practice which survived, in a shape modified by circumstances, in the days of Paul (Acts 21 23-26; cp 18 18). See HAIR, § 2 *f.*

What we call 'tattooing' also is prohibited (Lev. 19 28). The expression כְּתֹבֶת קַעֲקַע does not occur again

6. Tattooing, etc. in the OT; but in New Hebrew קעקע קִיעֲקַע means the same as the Greek στιγματίζειν, to set a mark on a thing by pricking, puncturing, or branding (see Buxtorf; it is also used of fowls scratching the ground).

The object of graving or branding marks on the flesh would appear to be dedication of the person to his god. Herodotus (2 113) mentions a temple of Herakles at Taricheia, by the Canopic mouth of the Nile, where a runaway slave might find asylum if he 'gave himself to the god' by having certain 'sacred stigmata' made on him.[1] In Is. 445 we have a good instance of graving a divine name on the hand, in token of self-dedication: 'One will say, I am Yahwè's; and another will name himself by the name of Jacob; and another will mark on his hand *Yahwè's*, and receive the surname Israel' (*SBOT*; cp critical notes). As far as they indicated the ownership or property of the god, such marks are analogous to the *wusum* or cattle-marks of the Bedawi tribes, and may have had their origin in that necessary practice of primitive pastoral life (cp col. 711, n. 1). In Ezek. 9 4 6 we read of marking a Tau or cross, the symbol of life (cp the Egyptian ☥, *'nḫ*, life, with ✚, the Phœnician form of the letter Tau) on the foreheads of the faithful in Jerusalem, who are to be spared from slaughter; which recalls the sealing of the 144,000 servants of God on their foreheads (Rev. 7 3 *f.*), and further, the mark of the Beast (χάραγμα, something graven, Acts 17 29) on the right hand or the forehead of his worshippers (Rev. 1316 *f.* 20 4). The strongly metaphorical words of Paul, too, *I bear in my body the marks* (or *brands*) *of Jesus*, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. 617) clearly presuppose a custom of tattooing or branding the flesh with sacred names and symbols, which would be familiar as a heathen practice to Paul's Asiatic converts.[2]

In Ex. 13 9 Dt. 68 1118 and elsewhere we have what may be regarded as a substitute for the painful processes

7. Substitutes. of tattooing and branding. The Israelite is to *bind* the precepts of the Law *on his hand for a sign;* they are also to serve as FRONTLETS [*q.v.*] (טוֹטָפֹת, phylacteries) *between his eyes*, —*i.e.*, on his forehead (cp Dt. 68 Rev. 7 3). The sign on the hand recalls the sign which Yahwè set on Cain (Gen. 4 15 : see CAIN, § 4), whilst those strips of inscribed vellum, the phylacteries (='frontlets,' EV of OT) of Mt. 235, were looked upon as having magical qualities,

[1] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*[2] 324, and note the Chinese phrase, *mao hsüeh*, 'hair and blood,' and the saying, 'Am I not of the same hair (*scil.* as my father)?'

[1] Thus Ptolemy Philopator branded the Alexandrian Jews with the sign of the ivy to identify them with the cult of Dionysus; see BACCHUS. Cp Frazer, *Totemism*, 26 *ff.* For the branding of serfs see EGYPT, § 30.

[2] Cp Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* ('95), 262-276 (a new and ingenious theory).

not less than the old tattooings and brandings; they were a protection against harm,[1] and probably also secured health and good fortune (cp Targ. Cant. 83).

For the literature of the subjects here treated of, see the works referred to under CIRCUMCISION, MOURNING CUSTOMS, FRONTLETS, SACRIFICE, etc. See also WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) ch. 9, and the authorities there cited; E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 2 18. C. J. B.

CYAMON (ΚΥΑΜΩΝ [BℵA]; *chelmon* [Vg.]; ܩܕܡܘܢ [Syr.]), 'which is over against Esdraelon' (Judith 7 3), looks like a corruption of JOKNEAM or (Movers) JOKMEAM. Robinson, however, noting that κυαμών means 'beanfield,' identifies it with the modern *El Fūleh*, 'the bean,' on the plain itself but 'over against' the city 'of Jezreel.' Cp Bu. *Pal.* 210. The name Cyamon should probably be restored in Judith 4 4 for Κωνα [B]. See KONAE.

CYLINDER (גָּלִיל), Cant. 5 14 RVmg. See RING.

CYMBALS. For 1 Ch. 13 8, etc. (מְצִלְתַּיִם), 2 S. 6 5 Ps. 150 5 (צֶלְצְלִים), and for 1 Cor. 13 1 (κύμβαλον) see MUSIC, § 3 (2).

CYPRESS, RV HOLM TREE (תִּרְזָה, Is. 44 14†), a tree which in the single passage where it occurs is coupled with the oak. The Hebrew *tirzāh* does not appear in any cognate language, but may be connected with Ar. *taraza*, 'to be hard.'[2] LXX and Pesh. omit the word; Aq. and Th. render ἀγριοβάλανος ('wild acorn'). Vg. has *ilex*, which is defended by Celsius (2 269 *ff.*), and has been wisely adopted by our revisers. It is difficult, however, to be certain; for the evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*, L.) is at the present day rare in Palestine (*FFP* 412). The heavy, hard nature of its wood would harmonise well with the probable etymology of *tirzāh*. 'Cypress' (perhaps a mere guess) comes from the Genevan Bible. David Ḳimḥi and others thought that what was meant was the fir tree; Luther preferred the beech. Cheyne (Is. *SBOT*, Heb.) thinks תרזה corrupt, and with Gr., reads תִּדְהָר (see PINE).

For Cant. 1 14 4 13 AVmg., see CAMPHIRE [so AV]; and for Is. 41 19 RVmg., see BOX TREE [so EV]. N. M.

CYPRUS (ΚΥΠΡΟΣ [Ti. WH]), the third largest island of the Mediterranean, placed in the angle between the coast of Syria and that of Asia Minor (Strabo, 681), called Alašia in the Amarna letters, where its copper is specially referred to (so E. Meyer, Petrie, etc.), 'Asî by the Egyptians, Yavnan by the Assyrians, and KITTIM (*q.v.*) by the Hebrews. Its physical structure is simple.

1. Description. It consists of a central plain running across the island from E. to W., bounded by a long mountain ridge to the N., and by a broader mountain district to the S.

The central plain was likened in antiquity to the valley of the Nile, being flooded annually by the Pediæus, which left rich deposits of mud. Strabo sketches the productiveness of Cyprus (684: εὔοινός ἐστι καὶ εὐέλαιος, σίτῳ τε αὐτάρκει χρῆται). Copper (named after the island) was found in the mountains, and timber for shipbuilding.

In situation, climate, and productions, Cyprus belongs to all the three surrounding continents, and historically it has constantly shared in their vicissitudes. It is most accessible from the E. and the S., and, lying right over against Syria, was early visited by the Phoenicians, who founded Amathus, Paphos, and Citium, the last, the Phoenician capital, giving its name to the whole island.'

The Phœnicians were not, however, the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus. They found in possession a

2. History. people closely connected, as their art and alphabet show, with the primitive races of Asia Minor (for WMM's theory see KITTIM, and cp *As. u. Eur.* 337). The Greek colonists arrived before the eighth century B.C. The discoveries in the island indicate clearly its partition between the Phœnician element in the S. and the Hellenic in the central depression stretching from Soli in the W. to Salamis in the E., at which latter site we find an art that is largely Greek. The Cypriote character was wanting in energy, and the island was almost wholly under the influence alternately of Asia and of Egypt.

(1) In 709 B.C. Sargon II., king of Assyria, was recognised as over-lord by seven Cypriote princes; their tribute was continued to his grandson Esarhaddon, Schr. *KAT*(2) 368 355. (2) In the sixth century Amasis, king of Egypt, conquered the island (Herod. 2 182. Perhaps it had been conquered even before his time, by Thotmes III. In any case the πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων of Herod. is an error). (3) After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, Cyprus fell to Persia, being included in the fifth satrapy (Herod. 3 19 91).

The connection with Greece and with Hellenic ideals was brilliant but purely episodical (Evagoras, king of Salamis: 410 B.C.). The island fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, and finally remained with the Ptolemies as one of their most cherished possessions until its conquest by the Romans (cp 2 Macc. 10 13: Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies, pass.*).

The Jews probably settled in Cyprus before the time of Alexander the Great (1 Macc. 15 23). Many would

3. Jewish connection. be attracted later by the fact that its copper mines were at one time farmed to Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4 5: a Cyprian inscr., Boeckh 2628, refers to one of the family). After the rising of the Jews in 116 A.D. in Cyrene, in Egypt, and in Cyprus had been suppressed, it was decreed that no Jew might set foot upon the island, under penalty of death, even for shipwrecked Israelites (Dio Cass. 68 32. See SALAMIS). In the history of the spread of Christianity Cyprus holds an honourable place (Acts 4 36, Joseph surnamed Barnabas). Its Jewish population heard the Gospel after Stephen's death from those whom the persecution had driven from Judæa (Acts 11 19). Some of these were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who fled to Antioch and addressed the Greeks of the city (*v.* 20). Cyprus was in turn the first scene of the labours of Paul with Barnabas and Mark (Acts 13 4-12), afterwards of Barnabas and Mark alone (Acts 15 39). One of the first Christian missionaries may have been that 'old disciple' Mnason with whom Paul lodged at Jerusalem (Acts 21 16). Returning to Palestine at the close of his third journey, Paul and his companions sighted Cyprus (Acts 21 3, ἀναφάναντες τὴν K.; AV 'discovered'), leaving it on the left hand as they ran from Patăra to Tyre. In the voyage to Rome from Cæsarea the ship 'sailed under Cyprus' (Acts 27 4, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν)—*i.e.*, northwards 'over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia' (*v.* 5: cp Str. 681)—taking advantage of the northerly and westerly set of the current, in order to reach Myra.

After its seizure by the Romans in 58 B.C. Cyprus had been united for administrative purposes with Cilicia;

4. Administration. but in the first partition of the Roman world after Actium it was made an imperial province (Dio Cass. 43 12)—*i.e.*, its governor, if it had one of its own, and were not rather united with Cilicia to form a single province, bore the title *legatus Augusti proprætore* (πρεσβευτὴς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος, cp Dio Cass. 53 13; in NT always ἡγεμών, cp Lk. 2 2, Str. 840 ἡγεμόνας καὶ διοικητὰς Καῖσαρ πέμπει). Why then does the writer of Acts 13 7

[1] The Tg. on 2 S. 1 10 takes Saul's bracelet for a *ṭōṭāphāh*—*i.e.*, an amulet. The Hexap. on Ezek. 13 18 gives φυλακτήρια as a 'Hebrew' or 'Jewish' interpretation of כסתות (EV 'pillows,' see DRESS, § 8), which is connected with Ass. *kasû*, 'to bind.' The Rabbis (Talm. *Shabb.* 57 *b*) also explain *ṭōṭāphōth* as amulets. The word cannot be explained from the Semitic languages, and, since the Jewish ideas of magic came ultimately from the Sumerians of primitive Babylonia, may reasonably be explained by the Sumerian *dibdib* (from *dabdab*), 'to bind'=Ass. *kasû* (see above), *kamû*. For an analogy, cp טִפְסַר, Jer. 51 27 Nah. 3 17 from Ass. *dupsar*, 'tablet-writer,' which is of Sumerian origin (*dub* 'tablet,' *sar* 'write'). See *COT* 2 118 *f.*

[2] We should perhaps associate with this Syr. *teras*, 'to be straight.'

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6 1) says Χέθιμα . . . Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται. Epiphanius, a Cyprian bishop, writes, Κίτιον ἡ Κυπρίων νῆσος καλεῖται· Κίτιοι γὰρ Κύπριοι, *Hær.* 30 25 (see KITTIM).

call Sergius Paulus 'proconsul' (ἀνθύπατος, the proper title of governors of senatorial provinces, AV 'deputy'; cp Acts 18 12 19 38)? Some have argued that he used the word loosely, and appeal to Strabo (685, ἐγένετο ἐπαρχία ἡ νῆσος καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστι στρατηγική) to prove that the island was governed by a *proprætor* appointed by the emperor; but the writer of Acts is quite correct. From Dio Cassius (53 12) we learn that, in 22 B.C., Augustus restored Cyprus to the Senate in exchange for S. Gaul (cp Dio Cass. 54 4). In Paul's time, therefore, its governor was properly called 'proconsul.' The passage quoted from Strabo is misunderstood, as is clear from *id.* 840 (εἰς δὲ τὰς δημοσίας 6 δῆμος στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑπάτους πέμπει—*i.e.*, governors of senatorial provinces were either of consular or of prætorian rank, in either case the official title being *proconsul*). In the case of Cyprus, authors, inscriptions, and coins have preserved the names of some twenty of her propraetorian governors with the 'brevet' rank of proconsul. Lucius Sergius Paulus (governor at the time of Paul's visit, about 47 A.D.) is known to us from an inscription from the site of Soli (see Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 114 *f.* and *Appendix*).

See P. Gardner, *New chaps. in Gr. Hist.* 153 *f.* For excavations in the island *JHS pass.* Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœn. and Cyprus.* For the archæology Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel u. Homer* is especially valuable. For Christian times the most recent work is Hackett's *History of the Church in Cyprus*, 1899. W. J. W.

CYRENE (ΚΥΡΗΝΗ [Ti. WH]), a city on the N. coast of Africa. It was the capital of that part of LIBYA [*q.v.*] between the Egyptian and Carthaginian territories, which bore the name of Cyrenaica or Pentapolis; the phrase in Acts 2 10, 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene.' τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, is equivalent to the Λιβύη ἡ περὶ K. of Dio Cass. (53 12) and ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνη Λιβ. of Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 1.

1. Position and history. The city was thoroughly Greek in character, and won a high reputation as the mother of physicians (Herod. 3 131; temple of Asklepios, Paus. ii. 26 9; Tac. Ann. 14 18), philosophers, and poets. Callimachus, Carneades, Eratosthenes, Aristippus (Strabo, 837), and Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, are only a few of the many famous nien who were sprung from the Cyrenaica. After the death of Alexander the Great, Cyrene with its territory was absorbed by Egypt. Though so thoroughly Hellenic, it had, since the time of Ptolemy son of Lagos (Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 4, end of 4th century B.C.), a large Jewish population. Strabo, quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2, says that the Jews formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants. The privileges granted to the Jews by Ptolemy were continued and augmented by the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 5), who received the Cyrenaica, under the will of the childless Ptolemy Apion, in 96 B.C., though for twenty years they shirked the responsibility of the legacy. In 74 B.C. the territory was made a province, which was combined with Crete when that island was subjugated in 67 B.C. (see CRETE). In 27 B.C. the Cyrenaica and Crete were definitely united to form a single province, under the title *Creta Cyrenæ*, or *Creta et Cyrenæ* (but either name might be used to denote the dual province: cp Tac. *Ann.* 3 38 70). The province was senatorial—*i.e.*, governed by proconsuls of praetorian rank, and so remained to the time of Diocletian. The subsequent history of Cyrene is connected with its Jewish inhabitants, the chief event being their terrible massacre of the Greek and Roman citizens in the reign of Trajan (Dio Cass. 68 32).

The modern province of *Barca*, on the E. of the gulf of *Sidra*, represents the ancient Cyrenaica, and in this province *Grennah* marks the exact site of Cyrene, which was placed on the edge of a plateau 1800 feet above the sea-level, overlooking the Mediterranean at a distance of ten miles (Str. 837; πόλεως μεγάλης ἐν τραπεζοειδεῖ πεδίῳ κειμένης, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἑωρῶμεν αὐτήν). The port was called Apollonia. The surrounding district was, and is, of remarkable fertility (Str. *l.c.*, ἱπποτρόφος ἀρίστη, καλλίκαρπος; Herod. 4 158 *f.*). The prosperity of Cyrene was based upon its export of the drug *silphium*, derived from an umbelliferous plant, not yet certainly identified, growing in the S. desert (see *Mon. d. Inst.*, Pl. 47: a vase representing King Arcesilaus superintending the weighing of *silphium*; cp the coins; Aristoph. *Plut.* 925, τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον).

2. Jewish connection. That the Jews of Cyrene were largely Hellenised, is beyond question. Jason of Cyrene is mentioned as an author in 2 Macc. 2 24 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 2). In the NT we hear of Simon of Cyrene who bore the cross of Jesus (Mk. 15 21 Lk. 23 26, 'S. a Cyrenian' AV; cp Matt. 27 32, 'a man of C.'; RV, 'of Cyrene' in all three passages: the adj. Κυρηναῖος is used in each case). Jews from the Cyrenaica were in the Pentecostal audience of Peter (Acts 2 10; see above on the phrase used). Cyrenæans joined with the Alexandrian and Asiatic Jews to attack Stephen (Acts 6 9), and Cyrenæan converts helped to found the first Gentile church at Antioch (ἐλάλουν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας [-νιστάς WH]; Acts 11 20). One of their first missionaries may have been the 'Lucius of Cyrene' of Acts 13 1, one of the 'prophets and teachers' who 'ministered to the Lord' in Antioch. He is said to have been the first bishop of Cyrene. Other traditions connect Mark with the foundation of the Cyrenaic church.

Plan and Description of the site in *Annual of the Brit. Sch. at Athens*, 2 113 *f.*; cp Studniczka, *Kyrene.* W. J. W.

CYRENIUS (ΚΥΡΗΝΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 2 2 AV; RV QUIRINIUS.

CYRUS (כּוֹרֶשׁ; ΚΥΡΟΣ [BAL]), the fonnder of the old-Persian empire, belonged to the ancient princely race of the Achæmenidæ, so called after their ancestor Achæmenes (Hakhámanish).

1. Origin. He was the second[1] of his name, his grandfather having been called Cyrus (*Kurush*, in the Babylonian inscriptions *Ku-ra-aš*, *Kur-raš*, *Ku-ur-ra-šu*).[2] Cyrus was thus, without a doubt, an Aryan and Persian by descent—not an Elamite, as has recently been conjectured. For Darius Hystaspis speaks of Cambyses the son of Cyrus as being one 'of our race' (*amākham taumāyā* [*Behist.* i. 11]), and calls himself a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent (Nakš-i-Rustäm, a. § 2; Suez c. § 3). At first Cyrus was king only of Persia and of Anšan, or Anzan, an Elamite province—probably with Susa (Shushan) for capital—which, after the fall of the Elamite kingdom, and certainly as early as the time of his ancestor Teïspes (Čišpiš), had come under the dominion of the Achæmenidæ.[3] In Babylonia Cyrus calls himself by preference king of Anšan; but once, in the annals of Nabū-nā'id (Nabonnedus), col. 2, 15, he is spoken of as 'king of Persia.' Neither state, however, was then of much importance in comparison with the great Median and Chaldean empires; both states, too, were tributary to Media. Nabū-nā'id mentions Cyrus as the 'petty vassal' of Astyages, who had only a very small army at his disposal (5 R 64, i. 28 *ff.*). The career of this vassal-king, who rose till he brought under his sway the whole of Western Asia, so struck the popular imagination that a legend of world-wide diffusion respecting the foundling prince who was brought up among poor people and afterwards became a famous monarch was applied to him as it had already been applied to others; and this Persian tradition is the source from which Herodotus (1 107 *ff.*), and the authority upon whom Justinus depends (i. 4 8-13), may be supposed to have drawn. From Cyrns's own inscriptions, however, it appears that at least three of his ancestors had the same kingdom before him. It is possible, but not certain, that Cyrus in his youth may

1 In Herod. 5 11—from which Nöldeke (*Aufsätze zur pers. Gesch.* 15) seeks to show that Cyrus was the third of the name—Herodotus simply places the genealogies of Cambyses and of Xerxes one above the other.

2 According to Herod. 1 113 *f.*, Cyrus had previously borne another name, and Strabo (15 729) says that he was originally called Agradates, and that he did not assume the name of Cyrus till his accession to the throne. On this point cp R. Schubert, *Herodot's Darstellung der Cyrussage*, 60 *ff.* (Breslau, '90).

3 See C. P. Tiele, 'Het Land Anshan-Anzan' in *Feestbundel voor P. J. Veth*, 195 *ff.* (Leyden, '94).

have attended the Median court, and that either he himself or his father was son-in-law of Astyages.[1]

Astyages (*Ishtuvegu* on the inscriptions of Nabū-nā'id) is called at one time king of Media, at another king of the *Ummān-manda*,[2] by which, it has been conjectured, are meant the Scythians. On this assumption, Astyages might with some reason be regarded as a Scythian usurper. In the third year of Nabū-nā'id (553 B.C.) there seems to have arisen within the Median kingdom a revolt against the foreign domination. At least, at that date the *Ummān-manda* who were in occupation of Ḥarrān were recalled (5 Rawl. 64, i. 28 *ff.*) Some time had still to elapse, however, before Cyrns contrived, by treachery in the Median camp, to become master of Astyages and at the same time of the throne of Media. This happened probably in the sixth, or at all events before the seventh, year of Nabū-nā'id (before 550 B.C.), ***Ann.*** col. 2 *l.* 1 *ff.* The two texts cited can hardly otherwise be brought into agreement with each other. In the following years Cyrus extended his dominion over the whole Median empire, and after subjugating Lydia he directed his energies against Babylon. By the fall of Crœsus the alliance between that monarch, Nabū-nā'id, and Amasis of Egypt (Herod. 1 77 *ff.*) was broken up, and each one had to look out for himself. In 538 the end came. For several years the king of Babylon had withdrawn himself from Babylon, and alienated priests and people alike by neglect of the sacred feasts and of the worship of Marduk, as well as by other arbitrary proceedings. When, in his seventeenth year, he returned to his capital, it was already too late. Cyrus with his victorious bands had been steadily advancing upon the northern frontier of Accad, which the king's son, probably the Bēl-šar-uṣur who (in 1 R 69, col. 2, 26; 59 and 68, n. 1, col. 2, 24 *f.*) is called his first-born, was guarding with the army. The brave prince did what he could; but after his army had been defeated—first near the city of Opis (Upē), and again as often as he rallied it—and after the Accadians or North Babylonians had revolted against the Chaldæan king, Sippar opened its gates to the enemy, and Babylon also fell into his hands without further resistance. After Gobryas (Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, had taken possession with the vanguard, Cyrus himself made his entry into the city with the main body of his troops on the third day of the eighth month, 539-38, being received (so at least his inscriptions tell us) by all classes, and especially by the priesthood and nobles, as a liberator, with every manifestation of joy. Some days afterwards Gobryas seems to have pursued Bēl-šar-uṣur and put him to death; but the place where decipherers think this ought to be read (***Ann.*** col. 3, 22 *f.*) is very much injured. Nabū-nā'id had already been captured. Cyrus reigned about nine years from this time. In his last year he handed over the sovereignity of Babylon to his son Cambyses (see Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses*, Leipsic, 1890, Pref.). Cp BABYLONIA, § 69.

2. Career.

3. Judah's hopes. Under the name of Kōreš (see above, § 1), this Cyrus is repeatedly referred to in the OT, usually as 'king of the Persians' (2 Ch. 36 22 *f.* Ezra 1 1 *f.* 8 37 43 Dan. 10 1), once as 'the Persian' (Dan. 6 29), once as 'king of Babylon' (Ezra 5 13). Great expectations were cherished of him by the Jews. When, after his defeat of Crœsus, he advanced to the conquest of the whole of Asia Minor, there arose one of the exiles in Babylon, who pointed him out as the king raised up by Yahwè to be Israel's redeemer. From his pen comes Is. 40-48 (so much will be admitted by all critics), where Cyrus is represented as expressly called to accomplish the divine judgment upon Babylon, to set the captives free, and to restore Jerusalem and the temple (48 14 *f.* 44 28 45 13). It was for this end, we are told, that Yahwè had given Cyrus victory upon victory, and would still lead him on to fresh triumphs (41 25 45 1-8). Whether he received recompense for his services or not is left uncertain (cp 43 3 *f.* with 45 13); but at any rate he was no mere passive tool in Yahwè's hand. He did not, indeed, know Yahwè before he was called (45 3 *f.*); but, once called, he fulfilled his mission invoking Yahwè's name (41 25) and received the honourable titles of 'Yahwè's friend' and 'Yahwè's anointed' (44 28 45 1).

4. Transformation. Bitter must have been the disappointment of the Jews; for, whatever else Cyrus may have done for them, he did not realise the high-pitched expectations of the Exile prophet. Hence a younger prophet, living in Palestine (see ISAIAH, ii. § 21), announces that, for the deliverance of Israel, Yahwè alone will judge the nations, without any allies from among 'the peoples' (Is. 63 1-6, cp 59 16 *ff.*), thus reversing the old expectation respecting Cyrns. The later Jews, however, found it difficult to believe that the deliverance which Yahwè was to have wrought through the instrumentality of the great Persian king had never been accomplished. The prophecy must somehow or other have come to pass. Cyrus was not regarded, it is true, as the man who had finally delivered Israel—the deliverance was still one of the hopes of the future—but the Jews desired to recognise in him, at least, the initiator of the restoration of Israel. Such is the reflection inevitably suggested by a strictly critical reading of the work of the Chronicler (see EZRA, ii. § 7).

5. Building of Temple: three versions. The restoration of Israel might be considered to have begun with the rebuilding of the temple, and the problem now arose, how to bring this event into connection with Cyrus. A difficulty instantly presented itself. (*a*) According to the evidence of Haggai, of Zech. 1-8 and of Ezra 5 1-10, the building was first begun under Darius, in whose reign it was also completed. This made it necessary to give another account of the origin and course of the building, if the work was to be attributed to Cyrns. More than one way of effecting this was found. (*b*) According to the author of Ezra 5 13-17 6 3-5, Cyrus committed the task of rebuilding the temple to his governor Sheshbazzar, and the work thus begun by him was carried on without interruption till the reign of Darius. (*c*) The Chronicler, however, from whose hand we have Ezra 1 3 1-4 5 24, gives another version. He too has it that Cyrus ordered the restoration. The work was not taken in hand by the king himself; but permission was given by him to the exiles to return to Jerusalem for the purpose. Immediately on their arrival in the holy city they set up the altar and laid the foundations of the temple; but while Cyrus was still on the throne they were compelled to stop the work by order of the king himself, who had been stirred up by the adversaries of the Jews. Not till the second year of Darius could the building be resumed.

However widely these accounts may differ from one another in detail, they agree in stating that the restoration of the temple was originated by Cyrus, and in representing him as a worshipper of Yahwè, whom he recognised as the one true God. Yahwè is the God of heaven, who has bestowed universal empire upon Cyrus in order that he may restore the true worship in Jerusalem; the temple there is for Cyrus no mere ordinary temple, of which there were so many, but the veritable House of God.

At the same time, the discrepancies which we find in the narratives *b* and *c* are by no means unimportant. According to the older (*b*), the building of the temple was entirely the work of Cyrus, which he caused to be carried on uninterruptedly, defraying the entire cost out

[1] See Schubert, *l.c.* 62 *ff.*, and the works of Evers and Bauer there referred to.

[2] Del. *Ass. HWB*, writes: '*Ummān mandu*, horde of peoples, a general designation of the northern peoples, hostile to Assyria, subject at any one time to Media—*e.g.*, the Gimirrai, the Mannai, the Scythians.' Cp Sayce, *PSBA*, Oct. 1896.

of the royal treasury. According to the other (*c*), it was carried out at the instance of Cyrus; not by himself, however, but only by returned exiles, who, along with their comrades left behind in Babylon, contributed the expenses of the undertaking (1 46 268 *f.* 3 7). So far, indeed, is the restoration of the temple from being, according to this account, the work of Cyrus, that it is actually represented as broken off during his reign at his command. Probably the Jews in the long run found the idea unbearable, that the sanctuary should have been built by a foreigner, even though the foreigner was Cyrus, and therefore his share in the work was reduced by the Chronicler to more modest dimensions.

The importance of Cyrus for Israel lies less in anything he actually did for them than in the great expectations that he excited, expectations which in their turn exercised a great influence on the ideas ultimately formed by the Jews as to the earlier stages of their restoration after the misfortunes of the 'exile.' Cp ISRAEL, § 50; DISPERSION, § 5.

In the OT Cyrus is mentioned also in Dan. 6 28 [29] 10 1; in the first-cited passage as the successor of Darius, that is, of 'Darius the Mede' (Dan. 5 31 [6 1]). See DARIUS, 1.

6. Policy of the victorious Cyrus.

The preceding sketch of the result of a critical examination of the passages of the OT relating to Cyrns is not contradicted by anything contained in the inscriptions of Cyrus himself discovered some years ago. It is certainlv worthv of note how closely, even down to details, the representation of the Persian conqueror in these inscriptions agrees with that which is found in Is. 44 28 and 45 1. Evidently the second Isaiah had a correct idea of what a Persian king, as opposed to a Babylonian, would be likely to do. In the cylinder inscription (5 R 35; cp Hagen, 'Cyrus-texte' in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* 2 205 *ff.*, and *KB* 3 6 120 *ff.*) Cyrus is the deliverer of oppressed peoples, chosen by Marduk himself, and hailed by all Šumer and Accad as a saviour, exactly as with the Israelite prophet he is the called, the anointed, of Yahwè. A difference there is between the joyous hope which the Jewish exiles cherished and the official statements which Babylonian scribes at royal command had to chronicle on their cylinders; but the coincidences referred to are too close to be entirely accidental. Moreover, priests and people alike had reason enough to be dissatisfied with the arbitrariness and misgovernment of their former sovereign, and Cyrus, with fine political tact, knew how to utilise this temper and win hearts by deference towards the national religion, restraint of robbery and violence, and redress of grievances. No wonder that the Jewish exiles also hoped for enlargement at his hands. That he fulfilled this expectation does not appear at least from his inscriptions.

The passage in which some scholars have thought that this may be read demands another interpretation. In Cyl. *l.* 11 the words *irtaši taaira kullat matāta* were taken together and translated, 'he (Marduk) decreed return from all lands", hut it is certain that, with Hagen and Del., we must connect the words *irtaši taaira* with those which precede, and *kullat matāta* with those which follow, so that the meaning is: '[after that Marduk, in his wrath, had brought all sorts of miseries upon the land] he changed [his disposition[1]] and had compassion. Round all lands he looked; he sought [and so found as the right prince, the fulfiller of his gracious decrees, Cyrns, etc.]' In this passage nothing is said of any restoration of exiles to their native land.

More interest attaches to the passage *l.* 30 *ff.*, where, however, the names on which the question chiefly turns are, unfortunately, obliterated. Here Cyrus says that he returned to their places the gods of a great many towns, brought together the inhabitants, and restored both temples and dwelling-houses. The towns referred to were all named, and it was added that they lay on the banks of the Tigris,[2] and that their territory extended from [lacuna in the text] to Aššur and Šušan (according to the correct interpretation of Delitzsch and Hagen), by which expressions are intended not the cities of the name but the countries of Assyria and West Elam (the city of Ašur lay on the right bank of the river). The obliterated names (or name) can have denoted only the western and southern boundaries of the district referred to—probably Šumer and Accad, which are separately mentioned immediately afterwards. Accordingly, there can be no doubt that reference is here made to Cyrus's care for the restoration of neglected worships and for the return of the inhabitants of certain cities to their former habitations; this, however, only in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon. At the same time, although in these inscriptions, which doubtless belong to the earlier period of Cyrus's rule over Babylon, no mention is made of any general measure extending also to exiles from the West, there remains the possibility that the Persian conqueror may have taken up this work of restoration at a later time.[3] At all events the conciliatory policy of which he had already given positive evidence can very well have aroused among the Jews the hope and expectation that they also would one day benefit by it.

The tomb of Cyrus 'the king, the Achæmenid,' at *Murghāb* (Pasargadæ 7) is now assigned by Weissbach (*ZDMG* 48 653 *f.*) to the younger Cyrus. At any rate the Egyptian head-dress of the king on the monument shows that it can have been erected only after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

C. P. T.—W. H. K.

1 Probably the words *usaḫḫir ka . . .* should be completed so as to read either *ka*[*bittašu*] or *ka*[*ab-ba-as-su*]. (So Tiele.)

2 The words *ša ištu apnama nadū šubatsun* are not clear. Schr. translates: 'whose place from of old lay in ruins'; Hagen, Del., 'founded in the most ancient time.' But does *nadū* ever mean this? In our present inquiry the question is of subordinate importance.

3 [Cp the very isteresting inscription in the last section of Brngsch's *Hist. of Egypt* ('the Persians in Egypt'), which describes the religious patriotism of an Egyptian Nehemiah. The deceased is represented on his statue (now in the Vatican) as telling the events of the Persian period of his life. Being in high favour as a physician with Cambyses, he was able to induce that monarch to give orders for the restoration of the temple of Neith at Saïs, and of the religious services. He was physician also to Darius, who, when he was in Elam, sent him to Egypt to restore the arrangements for the scribes of the temples. This last mission appears to synchronise with the erection of the (second) temple at Jerusalem. Cp. Meyer, *Entst.* 71; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life.* T. K. C.]

D

DABAREH (דָּבְרַת), Josh. 21 28 AV; RV DABERATH.

DABBASHETH, RV Dabbesheth (דַּבָּשֶׁת, § 99; Βαιθαραβα [B], Δαβασθαι [A], -θε [L]; 'a hump,' *i.e.*, 'a hill'; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 1 1), a place on the W. border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 11). Conder identifies it with *Kh. Dabsheh*, on the left bank of the W. el Ḳarn (*i.e.*, according to him the Valley of JIPHTAH-EL, mentioned in *v.* 14); but this spot is too high up in the hills, and is scarcely on the boundary line, in addition to which the name is not a probable one.

𝔊A reads רבשתי; 𝔊B ביתערבה. All the readings may be reconciled by reading בֵּית־דַּבֶּשֶׁת. The initial ב was lost, owing to the preposition בּ which precedes; ית (תי) was transferred to the end of the name, thus producing רבשתי; י was lost, and so MT's reading was produced: ערבה (𝔊B) is simply a conjecture for רבש.   T. K. C.

DABERATH (דָּבְרַת or הַדָּבְרַת; Δαβραθ [AL]; Josh. 19 12, δαβειρωθ [B], [Pesh.]; Josh. 21 28, δεββα [B], δεβραθ [A], [Pesh.], AV DABAREH; 1 Ch. 6 72 [57], δεβερει and δαβωρ [B—a doublet], γαδερ [A], δαβηρωθ [L], [Pesh.]), a Levitical city (Josh. 21 28) on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19 12), but belonging to Issachar (Josh. 21 28 1 Ch. 6 72 [57]), is the δαβαριττα of Jos. (*Vit.* 62), the *Dabira* (δαβειρα) of Eus. and Jer. (OS 115 20 250 54), the modern *Dabūrīyeh*, a small and unimportant village, 'lying on the side of a ledge of rocks at the W. base of Mount Tabor' (Rob. *BR* 3 210). It occupies a strategic position above the great plain at the mouth of the pass leading northwards between Tabor and the Nazareth hills. Apparently it was here that the Israelite forces mustered under Barak (GASm. *HG* 394); and it is possible to trace a connection between the name of the village and that of Deborah, without rushing to the extreme represented by C. Niebuhr (*Reconstellation des Deboraliedes*, 11 *f.*). May not the home of the prophetess have been at Daberath? (so Moore, *Judges*, 113 *f.*). We learn from Jos. *BJ* ii. 21 3 that there was a Jewish garrison here in the Roman war, 'to keep watch on the Great Plain.'

DABRIA (*DABRIA*), 4 Esd. 14 24, a scribe: cp perhaps the name DIBRI (*q.v.*).

DACOBI, RV Dacubi (Δακουβι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 † = Ezra 2 42, AKKUB (*q.v.*, 2).

DADDEUS, RV LODDEUS (λοδδαιος [B]), 1 Esd. 8 46 = Ezra 8 17, IDDO (i.).

DAGGER occurs as a rendering of:

1. חֶרֶב, *ḥerebh*, Judg. 3 16 21 *f.* (μάχαιρα; Vg. has *gladium* in *vv.* 16 22, but *sicam* in *v.* 21). RV 'sword.' See WEAPONS.

2. ἐγχειρίδιον, Bar. 6 15 [14]. This word represents חֶרֶב four times in 𝔊, but in Jer. 50 42 it represents כִּידוֹן. Bel's 'dagger' was, on mythological grounds, a javelin. See WEAPONS, and cp JAVELIN.

DAGON (דָּגוֹן; Δαγων [BAL]), a god of the Philistines, who had temples at Gaza (Judg. 16 21 *ff.*) and Ashdod (1 S. 5 1 Macc. 10 82-85 11 4).[1] It appears from the passages cited, especially from the story of Samson, that the worship of Dagon was general among the Philistines (Jerome on Is. 46 1),[2] though it would perhaps be a mistake to regard him as a national god. Places bearing

1. The name.

[1] The temple of Dagon in 1 Ch. 10 10 is an error for Beth-shan, 1 S. 31 10, and in Is. 46 1 (𝔊ℵAQ) Dagon is a mistake for Nebo. Δαγων in Ezek. 20 46 (21 2) [BA] is corrupt.

[2] Jerome's knowledge is doubtless derived solely from the OT.

the name BETH-DAGON (*q.v.*) are found in the Judæan Lowlands and on the boundary of Asher; in Christian times there was a Caferdago between Diospolis and Jamnia (Jerome).[1] All these places lie within a region which had been for a time in the possession of the Philistines, and it is conceivable that they received the name from them. This can hardly be the case, however, with Beit Dejan, SE. of Nābulus, which also seems to represent an ancient Beth-dagon; and it is at least equally possible that the worship of Dagon to which these names bear witness preceded the Philistine invasion—in other words, that Dagon was a god of the older Canaanite inhabitants. Philo Byblins gives Dagon a place in his Phoenician theogony, making him a son of Ouranos and Gē, and brother of Ēlos (El) or Kronos, Baitulos, and Atlas;[2] but we should hesitate to conclude, on this testimony alone, that Dagon was worshipped among the Phoenicians. A cylindrical seal now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, attributed by Sayce to the seventh century B.C., is inscribed with the words 'Baal Dagon' in Phoenician characters (Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, 327).

Of the character of the god we know nothing definite. Philo Byblius, deriving the name from *dāgān*, corn, interprets σίτων, and makes Dagon a god of husbandry, Ζεὺς ἀρότριος. Others derived the name Dagon from *dāg*, fish (cp *Shimshon* [SAMSON], from *shemesh*, sun).[3] It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the god was represented in the form of a fish (so Rashi). From 1 S. 5 4 we learn, however, that the idol of Dagon at Ashdod had a head, and hands which projected from the body; by its fall these were broken off, leaving only the trunk of the image. The Hebrew text, by some corruption, reads, 'only Dagon was left on him,' which David Ḳimḥi (*ob. circa* 1235 A.D.) ingeniously interprets, only the form of a fish was left, adding, 'It is said that Dagon, from his navel down, had the form of a fish (whence his name, Dagon), and from his navel up, the form of a man, as it is said, his two hands were cut off.'[4] It is not impossible that this theory, for which there does not seem to be any older Jewish authority,[5] merely transfers to Dagon, by the help of etymology, the description given by Lucian and others of the goddess Dercĕto, who was worshipped on the same coast.[6] Not a few more modern scholars have identified her with Dagon. The prevailing opinion that Dagon was

sea monster, upward man
And downward fish,

has no other foundation than these very doubtful etymological and mythological combinations.

What relation there is between Dagon and Marnas, the principal god of Gaza in the early centuries of our era,[7] whom the writers of the time identify with Ζεὺς

[1] *OS* 235 14 (κεφαρ δαγων) 104 15. In the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, in connection with Dor and Joppa, occur the words ארצת דגן, which Schlottmann interpreted, 'land of Dagon,' others, 'cornlands.' Δαγων near Jericho (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 1 = *BJ* i. 2 3 [= Δωκ, 1 Macc. 16 15]) has nothing to do with the name of the god (see DOCUS).

[2] Muller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3 567 *f.*; cp *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Βητάγων ὁ Κρόνος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων.

[3] Jer., *piscis tristitiæ* (און, cp Sidon, *venatio tristitiæ*). Other interpretations: εἶδος ἰχθύος ἢ λύπη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ δῶρόν ἐστιν ἁγία ἢ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀρουραῖος (OS 789 14).

[4] Thenius would put this explanation into the text, emending רק דג דגון נשאר עליו; similarly We. (רק דגו נשאר), WRS; cp Dr.

[5] It is unknown to the Targum, Josephus, and the Talmud. Other Jewish commentators represent Dagon with the head of a fish; see a Lyra, Aharh.

[6] See ATARGATIS.

[7] First attested on coins of Hadrian. See Jer. *Ep.* 107 2, *Vit. S. Hilar.* 14 20; esp. Marc. Diac., *Vit. S. Porphyrii*, passim.

Κρηταγενής, is not certain. Marnas is the Aramaic *marnā*, our Lord, and it is not impossible that the god worshipped under this appellation was, by his proper name, the old Dagon.

2. Relation to other deities.

In the fragments of Bērōssus, one of the mythical monsters, part fish, part man. who at long. intervals came up from the Persian Gulf to repeat to the Chaldæans the. original revelation of Oannes, is named Odacon (Ὠδάκων);[1] and as, since Kimhi, a like form was generally attributed to Dagon, it was natural to combine the two names (Selden and many others). Layard published a figure of a merman from Khorsabad, and in a note suggested that it might represent Odacon-Dagon *(Nineveh,* 1849, 2466*f.*). Some later Assyriologists reproduce Layard's cnt with the legend 'the fish-god Dagon.'[2]

There was a Babylonian god Dagān, whose name appears in conjunction with Anu and often with 'Ninib': he was, therefore, probably a god of heaven (Sayce, Jensen).[3] As Sir Henry Rawlinson perceived, there is no connection whatever between this god and Bērōssus' sea-monster, Odacon. Whether the Philistine Dagon is originally the same as the Babylonian Dagān cannot, with our present knowledge, be determined. The long and profound influence of Babylonia in Palestine in early times, which is attested by the Amarna tablets, makes it quite possible that Dagon, like Anath, came thence.[4] Dagon, however, does not seem to have occupied a place of much importance in the Babylonian religion, and is much less often mentioned than the other great gods. The Assyrians did not recognise the name of the god Dagān in the town Beth-dagon, Bit-daganna (Sennacherib, *Prism Inscr.* 265), and possibly the similarity of the names may be accidental.

3 Worship of Dagon.

Of the worship of Dagon we know nothing. According to 1 S. 55 the priests and others entering his temple at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the sill (Zeph. 19); cp Marc. Diac. 76. What we learn from the last-named author about the worship of Marnas at Gaza—for example, that the god was invoked to send rain; that he gave oracles; that there were certain *marmora* in the temple which were peculiarly sacred, and guarded from the approach (especially) of women; that there were wells in the temple precincts—is not distinctive. Whether human sacrifices were offered there in the writer's day may be doubted; the indictment in **66** 68 may refer to an earlier time.

See Selden, ***De dis Syris***, 73 with Beyer's ***Additamenta;*** Th. Roser, ***De Dagone Philistæorum idolo***, in Ugolini, ***Thesaurus,*** 23955-961; Stark, *Gaza* 74. ***die philistäische Küste*** ('52), 248-250, cp 576-580; Scholz, *Götzendienst* ('77), 238-244; Baudissin, art. 'Dagon' in *PRE*(3); Menant, 'Le mythe de Dagon,' *Rev.* ***de*** *l'Hist.* ***des*** *Rel.* **11 ('85) 295** *ff.*; Jensen, ***Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*** ('90), pp. 449-456. G. F. M.

DAISAN (ΔΑΙCΑΝ [B]). 1 Esd. 531 = Ezra **248**, REZIN, *2.*

DALAIAH (דְּלָיָה), 1 Ch. 324 AV; RV DELAIAH, **3.**

DALAN (ΔΑΛΑΝ **[A]),** 1 Esd. **537** RV = Ezra 260, DELAIAH, 4.

DALMANUTHA (ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΘΑ [Ti. WH]) takes the place in Mk. 810 of the MAGADAN (*q.v.*) of ‖ Mt. 1539. It was 'into the parts of Dalmanutha,' we are told (Mk. 810), that Jesus came in 'the boat' with his disciples after he had 'sent away about four thousand' whom he had fed. Since in *v.* 13 he 'departed to the other side' (εἰς τὸ πέραν), it has seemed natural to look for Dalmanutha on the W. coast of the lake. No such place, however, is known. The name does not appear in Eus. or Jer.; nor is there any trace of an analogy to it in any of the ancient itineraries or mediæval travels.

Lightfoot ('Decas Chorogr.' in *Opera*, 2413*f.*; cp ***Opp. Posth.*** **71**) suggested that it might be an Aramaic form of Ṣalmōn, צלמון, several times mentioned in Talmudic writings (Mishna, *Yebamoth*, 166; ***Kela'im*, *49***; *Orlah*, 12; Talm. ***Baba Bathr.*** **82** ***6.)*** **as** if in the neighhourhood of Tiberias; and similarly Ewald (*Hist.*, ET, 6348, n. 4) interprets it as the Galilean pronunciation of Salmon. Keim (*Jesus*, ET, 4238) takes it for Ṣalmānūt—*i.e.*, 'Shady Place.' Schwarz (*Das Heil. Land*, 189) suggests that Talmanutha, as another name for Magdala. may he derived from the cave of Ṭĕlīmān טלימאן (Talm. Jerus. *Demai.* 22), for which he proposes the caves on the cliff behind Mejdel. Neubauer, however (*Géog. Talm.* **268**), says that this cave should he in the neighbourhood of Herod's Cæsarea. Recently two other derivations from Aramaic have been proposed. Herz (*Exp. T.* 8**563** [Sept. '97]) suggests that Dalmanuth is a transliteration of דלימניתא, the emphatic form of למינה the Talmudic name for *harbour—i.e.,* the hay or harbour in which Magdala stood—a designation 'one might expect of the evangelist whose gospel is founded on the preaching of Peter the fisherman. Then Nestle (*ib.* Y45 [Oct. '97]), after pronouncing Herz's דלימניתא an impossible form for the emphatic of למינה, suggests (ד)לְמְנָוָתָא = εἰς τὰ μέρη, 'into the parts'—*i.e.*, of Magdala. Herz replies (*ib.* 995 **[Nov.** '97]) that דלימניתא is possible in the laxity of 'lalmndic transliteration and points out that in Nestle's suggestion the ד remains unaccounted for, as well as the intrusion of a needless Syriac equivalent of the Greek. Those who place Magdala on the SE. shore of the lake have sought there for traces of the name, and Thomson (*LB* **393)** suggests a ruined site half **a** mile up the Yarmūk from the Jordan, called Dalhamia os Dalmamia (Rob. *BR* **3264** Delhemiyeh); hut this is some distance from the Lake. None of these derivations and identifications seems perfectly satisfactory. G. A. S.

DALMATIA (ΔΑΛΜΑΤΙΑ [Ti. WH], Tac., Dio Cass., *Delmatia*: Inscr. *Delmatia* and *Dalmatia*. The name does not occur in early Greek writers). The Dalmatians were an Illyrian tribe, or perhaps rather a confederation of tribes, round the town Delmion or Delminium, from which their name was derived (Strabo, 315). They had fifty settlements (κατοικίας ἀξιολόγους; but cp Cic. *ad Fam.* 510*a*), of which some ranked as cities—*e.g.*, Salonæ or Salona (mod. *Salona* near *Spalato*). These tribes had in earlier times been loosely dependent upon the rulers of Scodra (mod. *Skutari*), and had therefore suffered from the Roman expeditions directed against Queen Teuta (**229** B.C.) and Demetrios of Pharos (219 B.C.). On the accession of Genthius they revolted, and thus escaped the fate of southern Illyricum, which, on the subjugation of Macedonia, became permanently dependent upon Rome (see ILLYRICUM). Brigandage and piracy were the only native trades (Str. 317). In 155 B.C. Publius Scipio Nasica took the capital, and the Dalmatians professed subjection. A series of almost endless wars had to be waged before this central part of Illyricum was finally reduced by Octavian (**33** B.C.). In the partition of provinces in **27** B.C. so peaceful was Illyricum (τὸ Δαλματικὸν, Dio Cass. 5312) that it was made senatorial; but sixteen years later the Emperor was compelled to take charge of its two main sections, Dalmatia and Pannonia (*id.* 5434). A final struggle for freedom (**6-9 A.D.**; cp Suet. *Tib.* 16, who compares the crisis with that of the Punic Wars) was crushed by Tiberius. The coastland from Lissus to the Arsia was thereafter organised as an independent province (for its importance, see Tac. *Ann.* **45**). The title of the province was 'Superior Provincia Illyricum' (*CIL* 3, 1741), or 'maritima pars Illyrici' (Vell. ii. **125**5). After Augustus 'Dalmatia' is apparently the more usual title (cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 164). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked; in the S. it extended to the province of Macedonia. The mention of Dalmatia in the NT is confined to a single instance ('Titus is gone to Dalmatia,' perhaps from Nicopolis: 2 Tim. 410).

The connection may be illustrated from Tac. ***Ann.*** 253: *honorem* (*consulatus*) ***Germanicus*** *iniit* ***apud*** *urbem* ***Achaiæ***

[1] Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 2500.

[2] Schrader in Riehm, *HWB*(2) (cp ***KAT***(2) **182)**; Fr. Del. in ***Calwer*** *Bib. lex.*(2) See esp. Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon,' ***Rev. de*** *l'Hist.* ***des Rel.*** ('85) 11 295*ff.*, where a great variety of Assyrian fish-men may be found.

[3] According to the Heb. version of Tobit, Sennacherib was killed in the temple of his god Dagon (ed. Ncubauer, **p.** ***20***, 1. **4)**; but this is a mere blunder.

[4] Cp the name *Dagantakala* in the Am. Tab., and see ASHDOD (col. **326,** n. 2).

Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatia agente.

It is unnecessary to suppose that the term 'Dalmatia' is used by Paul in a 'vague and general sense' (Conybeare and Howson, 2 155).

See Cons, *La Province Rom. de Dalmatie*; Evans, *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*. W. J. W.

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן; δελφων [BAL^β], τον Α. [א^c.a], αδελφων [א*], τον αδελφον αυτου [L^a]), a son of Haman, Esth. 9 7. Cp ESTHER, § 3.

DAMARIS (Δαμαρις [Ti. WH]), a woman, apparently of some importance, named in Acts 17 34 as one of those who were converted by Paul's preaching at Athens. Chrysostom (*de Sacerd.* 4 7) makes her the wife of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite; so Lat. of cod. E (*cum uxore sua*), whilst its Greek has only γυνη. Wetzstein (*NT Gr.* 2 573) quotes a gloss, Δαμαρ, γυνή, γαμετή. λέγεται καὶ Δαμαρις.

DAMASCUS. The English Damascus is the Greek Δαμασκος. The Heb. is usually דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Dammeśeḳ; but twice (1 Ch. 18 5 2 Ch. 28 5; cp 2 K.

1. Name. 16 10 דּוּמֶּשֶׂק) דַּרְמֶשֶׂק, Darmeśeḳ. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown.

Both forms occur in the Targums. The Aramaic form is Darmesek, later Syriac Darmĕsuḳ; Talmud, Dūrmasḳīn. Both forms occur in the Egyptian lists: Ti-man-ḳu in the sixteenth century B.C., and Sa-ra-maski for Ti-ra-mas-ḳi in the thirteenth (WMM, *As. u. Eur.*). In Assyrian the town is Dimašḳi or Dimašḳa; the kingdom (in Heb., Aram of Damascus) Māt ša imerišu, a phrase of uncertain meaning. The Arabic is Dimašḳ, or Dimišḳ eš Šām—*i.e.*, Damascus of Syria—usually contracted to eš-Šām. The instances of the form with *rm* in OT are later than those with double *m*; but, if the Egyptian transliteration be correct, *rm* is as old as the thirteenth century B.C. Whether *mm* arose by assimilation (see below, § 6) from *rm*, or *rm* by dissimilation from *mm*, is not clear.

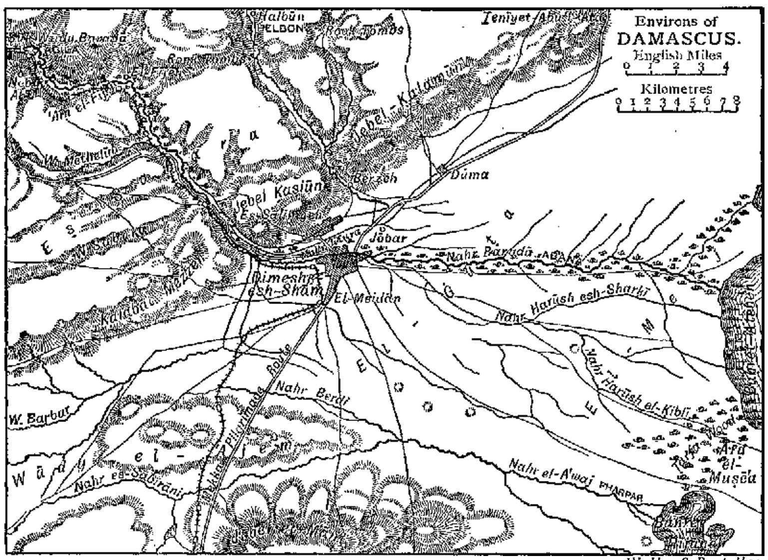
Damascus has occupied its present site certainly since Greek times, probably from the remotest antiquity.

2. Geography. The city lies in the NW. corner of the Gūṭa, a fertile plain to the E. of Hermon. To the E. of the city this is known as el-Merj, the Ager Damascenus.

The Gūṭa is some 30 m. by 8 or 10, and 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is bounded on the W. by Hermon, on the N. by a long barren offshoot of Antilibanus, on the E. by a long line of volcanic hills, the Tellūl, which shut out the great desert, and on the S. by the Jebel 'Aswad, beyond which lies Haurān. It is traversed on the N. by the seven streams of the *Baradā* and on the S. by the *Barbar* and *A'waj* (see ABANA, PHARPAR). The fertility is very great. There are many fields of corn and maize; but groves of poplar and walnut, orchards of apricot, pomegranate, pistachio, and almond with hedges and underwood, so abound (see below, § 10), that the distant view of the Gūṭa is as of an almost unbroken sea of verdure. From this the white, smokeless city rises like an island, near the barren limestone hills on the north of it.

The bulk of the city is set along the main stream of the Baradā, 2 m. from where the latter breaks upon the plain.

3. The City. It spreads about a mile from E. to W. and half a mile from N. to S.; but from the southern gate a suburb, the Meidān, consisting almost wholly of one street, stretches for another mile. The city is thus mallet-shaped, the head lying N. to the Baradā, the shaft S. along the Mecca road. Between the Baradā and the hills there is another suburb, Ṣāliḥīyeh; but it is scattered and half hidden in trees.



Walker & Boutall sc.

most of Syria should yet have held in perennial vigour one of the most ancient of cities, the real capital of Syria, and enabled it to survive wars and changes of empire

4. Secret of prosperity. which have overthrown or reduced to poverty every other great city of that part of the world, is due to the combination of so rich a fertility with a position so forward on the desert and so central to Western Asia. Damascus is an indispensable harbour of refuge on the desert; the market of the nomads; the outpost of the Mediterranean world towards farther Asia; central to Egypt, the Levant, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Khurdistan. Her great roads lead to N. Syria, the upper Euphrates by Palmyra to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf; by the Gulf of 'Akaba to Mecca; through Syria to Cairo; and by the upper Jordan and Galilee to Acre, which is her natural port on the Mediterranean—though at times political exigencies have connected her more closely with Tyre, Sidon, or Tripoli, and to-day the great French road and railway across the Lebanons carry her western trade to Bērūt. She thus lay on the commercial lines of traffic between Western Europe and India by the Persian Gulf: between the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile; between Arabia and Asia Minor. So

inevitable an emporium, Damascus was only less favourable a seat of empire. She has always been the natural capital of Lebanon and Eastern Palestine. As ong as an Eastern power ruled, she remained the capital also of Syria; but during the Greek and Roman dominion (330 B.C.—634 A.D.) she yielded her supremacy to Antioch.

The Arahs first made for Damascus, and then used her as the base of their Syrian conquests. Under the Ornayyad Khalifs she was the capital of the Moslem empire from Spain to India.

With so many communications Damascus has always been the home of a motley crowd—Syrians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds, with Turks and Jews. Yet it has preserved, apparently through all ages, a very distinctive character for skill in handicrafts.

5. Arts.

Damascus, though it has never been a great school of letters, has always been a school of arts; even more a manufactory than a market or a garden. The English terms, Damask (originally any figured or patterned textile)[1] and Damascene blade; the German Damast and Damascieren and Damascener; the French Damasquinerie and Damasquinure (embossing on steel) are proofs of the inventiveness and technical skill of the people, which seem to reach back to a very remote time. In the middle ages Damascus was famous for its patterned and brocaded cloths, especially silks and wools ('an inimitable perfection of work' according to Idrisi), its glass, sword-blades, and embossed and enamelled metal-work. In the beginning of the Christian era, to 'carry wool to Damascus' was, according to the Talmud, a proverb, equivalent to our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Ezekiel (27 18) speaks of the city's exportation of wine and wool for the manufactures of Phœnicia (cp Toy, *SBOT*, but see Cornill, *ad loc.*); 2 K. 8 9 mentions the 'goods of Damascus.' Ahaz made a copy of its richly decorated altar (2 K. 16 10 *ff.*).

The extreme antiquity of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 4 7 2) was a not unnatural inference from its perennial vigour throughout historical times. Down to the eleventh century B.C., however, the references to it are few and uncertain.

6. Early History.

A local tradition (found also in Nicolaus Dam. *Fr.* 30, *ap.* Jos. *Ant.* i. 72) connects Damascus with Abraham; and there is twice mention of it in the JE narrative of the patriarch's life (Gen. 14 15 15 2; see HOBAH, ELIEZER, 1). In the sixteenth century Ti-mas-ḳu occurs as the thirteenth in the list of the Syrian conquests of Thotmes III. (*RP*(2) 5 44); Timaš-gi, Dimaš-ḳa are read in the Amarna tablets (15th cent.) (139 63 142 21). These tablets describe the invasion of N. Syria by the Hittites, before whom the Egyptian outposts had to give way, and for the next three centuries Damascus lay upon the vacillating frontier between the two powers. In the fourteenth century, Rameses II. extended his conquests to Beirūt and probably included Damascus. At the close of the thirteenth century, in lists of the conquests of Rameses III., Sa-ra-maski for Ti-ra-mas-ki (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 227) is mentioned. The addition of *r* to the name is taken (*ib.* 234) as proof that the regions of Damascus had meanwhile come under Aramæan influence (but see ARAM), and so when at last they appear in the OT historical books, in the campaigns of David toward the end of the eleventh century, we find them possessed by a number of Aramæan states, for the rise of which room had been made by the overthrow of the Hittites nearly a hundred years previously by Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1106). The chief of these Aramæan states was Ṣōbah (see DAVID, § 8 6) under king Hadadezer, to whose help against David came Aram of Dammeseḳ (2 S. 8 5; cp 1 Ch. 18 5). David, after his victory, is said to have planted garrisons in the territory of Damascus; but that these had no permanence is plain from what we hear of Reṣōn ben Eliādā the freebooter, who 'came to Damascus, and dwelt there, and reigned in Damascus, and was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon' (1 K. 11 *23-25*).

[1] It is not at all probable that Damascus had acquired a reputation for the manufacture of damask as early as the time of Amos, though RV of Am. 3 12*b* assumes this; 'Damask' and 'Damascus' may have no connection. In Ar. the forms are different—*dimaks* for the stuff, and *Dimašḳ* for the city. Probably (as Fränkel, *Fremdwörter*, 40, referred to by Driver, *art loc.*, is of opinion) *dimaḳs* comes by metathesis from *midaḳs*. On Am. *l.c.*, see AMOS, § 5 n.; BED, § 5.

We have now reached the point at which Damascus becomes chief of the Aramæan confederacy, and enters upon her first great period of political supremacy (*circa* 1000-733 B.C.).

7. Ben-hadad.

Her history is articulate, and we have a pretty full, though not complete, list of her kings. Who Reṣōn b. Eliādā (1 K. 11 23) was is disputed; probably (see, however, HEZION) he was the same as Hezion, father of Tabrimmon, father of the Ben-hadad (Bir-idri, known as Ben-hadad I.) who about 925 B.C. helped ASA (*q.v.*) against Baasha (1 K. 15 18 *ff.*). It was perhaps the same Ben-hadad who, some twenty years later, defeated Omri and won the right of 'establishing quarters' (see TRADE AND COMMERCE) in Samaria (1 K. 20 34; Nic. bam. *Fr.* 31). The son of Ben-hadad I. (or Ben-hadad himself? See BEN-HADAD, § 2), whom also the OT calls Ben-hadad, but a contemporary inscription of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria (854 B.C.) calls Hadadezer (see, however, BEN-HADAD, § 2), besieged AHAB (*q.v.*) in Samaria, but was repulsed there and again at Aphek, on which Ahab received the right to 'establish quarters for himself' in Damascus. In 854 the combined forces of N. Israel, Damascus. and other states were defeated at Ḳarḳar (see AHAB) by Shalmaneser II., who again, in 850 and in 847, overthrew Ben-hadad. The Assyrian empire was thus steadily advancing on Damascus; but the latter was still the terror of Israel (2 K. 57, the story of Naaman), made regular raids over Jordan, and even besieged Samaria (2 K. 6 7; see JEHORAM, 1) till Ben-hadad wds drawn off by rumours of northern war. Disgraced by defeats so numerous, he was slain by HAZAEL (*q.v.*), at least if the text of 2 K. 8 15 is correct.

8. Hazael.

Hazael then became king, and warred with Jehoram (*ib.* 28 *f.*), also with Shalmaneser II., by whom he was defeated in 843 and in 840, the second time with the loss of four cities and much spoil out of Damascus. Still, he succeeded in depriving Jehu of all Israel's territory E. of Jordan, and in extending the dominion of Damascus southwards to the Arnon (2 K. 10 32; cp Am. 1 3). He also took Gath, and was bought off from an invasion of Judah only by large tribute from Jehoash (12 17 [18] *f.*). Hazael and his son Ben-hadad III. (or II.) were able to oppress Israel through the reigns of Jehu's successors Jehoahaz and Joash (2 K. 13 3 25), for under Šamši-rammān the Assyrian armies did not cross the Euphrates (ASSYRIA, § 32), and Damascus was free for the time from the Northern terror. By 805 Assyria was again pressing towards Palestine, and in 803 King Mari' (Ben-hadad II. 7) of Damascus (see BEN-HADAD, § 3) was successfully besieged by Rammān-nirari III.

9. Mari'.

This disaster to Damascus permitted JEROBOAM II. (*q.v.*) to recover the territory that Hazael had taken from Israel, and for a time Israel held part of the territory of Damascus (2 K. 14 28; not necessarily the city). In 773 Damascus again suffered from the Assyrians, who invaded the country also in 772, 767, 755, and 754 (ASSYRIA, § 32).

10. Rezin.

It was the beginning of the end. In 743-740 Tiglath-pileser III. made his first Syrian campaign, and his annals (*KB* 2 30) contain the name Ra-sun-nu (*mat*) Gar-imeri-šu (*i.e.*, of Damascus) as paying tribute! This Ra-Sun-nu is the Rezin of the Syro-Israelitish war (see AHAZ, TABEEL), whose invasion of Judah brought about an Assyrian intervention (2 K. 16 7 *ff.*). Perhaps the danger which now threatened Damascus was the occasion of the allusions to the city in Is. 17 1. In 733 Tiglath-pileser—whetber before or after his subjection of N. Israel and tho

Philistine cities is not quite clear—defeated Rezin, shut him up in Damascus, cut down the plantations (see above, § 2) round the city (he numbers the trees at 13,520), took the city, executed Rezin, and carried the people into captivity (Schr. *COT* 1 252 *ff.*; cp 2 K. 16 9). It was after this, in 732, that Ahaz visited Damascus, and obtained the pattern of the altar which he saw there (*ib.* 10).

11. Decline.

Up to this time Damascus had possessed great political influence: her confidence in herself, her power of recuperation, and her military skill are amply proved by her restless energy in Syrian politics, even while she was bleeding from the reiterated attacks of Assyria. The blow which Tiglath-pileser inflicted, however, absolutely destroyed her political power. She seems to have been reduced to the same position as Samaria.

Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, and Sennacherib mention no king of Damascus in all their Syrian lists; and the only notice of the town for a century is in the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, where (about the year 713) Damascus is said to have joined Arpad, Simirra (see ZEMARITE), and Samaria in a league formed by Hamath against Assyria. The allied forces were crushed by Assyria at Ḳarḳar (*KB* 2 57). Next century Damascus is omitted from the list oftwenty-two kingdoms given by Esarhaddon.

She is not mentioned by the prophets, except in a doubtful passage of the Book of Jeremiah (49 23-27) where she is given over to fear and flight, and by Ezekiel who names her, only in passing, as a customer of Tyre (27 18), and a point of measurement for the Holy Land (47 16 *ff.*). If then important, she would be certainly occupied by Pharaoh Necho in 610 and Nebuchadrezzar in 604 *ff.*

Under the Persians Damascus was a seat of authority, and very prosperous (Strabo xvi. 2 20).

Cambyses died there (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2 2), and there Darius deposited his family and treasures before the battle of Issus, after which they were surrendered to Alexander's general Parmenio (Quint. Curt. 3 13). After an unsuccessful revolt the Greek supremacy was established (*id.* 4 1), and there are extant coins of Alexander issued from the city.

At the death of Alexander, Syria with Phœnicia fell to Laomedōn, the capital being Damascus (Id. 10 10).

12. Supplanted by Antioch.

The western people, however, to whom Syria was now subject, required a centre near the Levant, and Damascus became second in Syria to Antioch, the upstart capital of the Seleucidae.

The diminished importance of Damascus is well illustrated by the small part it plays, as contrasted with Antioch, in those hooks of the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xii. *f.*) which deal with the third and second centuries B.C. Its more natural connection with N. Syria than with S. kept Damascus in the hands of the Seleucidae, even when Palestine and Phcenicia were held by the Ptolemies; hut several times it fell to the latter: *e.g.*, in 320 under Ptolemy I. (regained by Antigonus in 314); in 280 when Ptolemy II. probably occupied it (regained by Antiochus I. 280-262); in 246 when, however, it was only besieged by Ptolemy III. and relieved by Selencus II. in 242 (cp Schiirer, *Hist.* 3 95).

In the Rooks of the Maccabees Damascus is mentioned only as being twice visited by Jonathan (circa 144 B.C.: 1 Macc. 11 62 12 32; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 5 10).

The kingdom of the Seleucidae was divided in 111 B.C., and Damascus must have fallen with the southern part to Antiochus IX. or Kyzikenus (cp Eus. *Chron.* ed. Schoene. in Schiir. *op. cit.* 97, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4). It was retained hy Antiochus' son, and then fell to Demetrius Eukærus, and after his overthrow (*circa* 86 B.C.) to Antiochus XII. or Dionysus, from whom it was transferred (thongh only for a short time) by Milesius, the governor of the citadel, and the populace, to his brother Philip (Jos. *id.* 15 1).

Antioehus XII. was defeated by ARETAS (*q.v.*), the Nabataean, and with Ccelesyria Damascus continued in Arabian hands (though pressed hard by Alex. Jannæus [*ib.* 15 3], and Ptolemy Menneus, against whom Queen Alexandra of Judæa [78-69 B.C.] sent her son Aristobūlus [*ib.* 16 3; *BJ* i. 5 3]) till the occupation in 65 by the Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus (*Ant.* xiv. 2 3; *BJ* i. 6 2), who were followed in 64 by Pompey.

13. Roman times.

After this the exact political position of Damascus is difficult to define.

Though Josephus does not know Damascus as a member of he Decapolis (he calls Scythopolis the greatest town of the atter), the name is in Pliny's list (*HN* 5 16). Under Cassius 44-42 B.C.) there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, in Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 11 7 12 1; *BJ* i. 12 1 *f.*), and the Nabatæans appear to have been driven to the E. and to the S. of Haurān. Somewhere about 38 B.C. Mark Antony gave Cleopatra 'Ccelesyria' and parts of the Jndaean and Arabian territories (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 3 8 4 1 *f.*; *BJ* i. 8 5); she visited Damascus, and we have coins of 37, 36, and 32 that were struck in her honour, though other coins of about the same date do not bear any mark of her (De Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 30 *ff.*).

In 31 B.C. occurred the battle of Actium, and the Damascene coins bear till 33 A.D. the names of Augustus and Tiberius, under the latter of whom the Damascenes had a dispute with the Sidonians about their boundaries (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 3), a fact which shows how extensive their territory must have been (Schiirer, 98). There are, however, no coins of Caligula nor of Claudius, nor any of Nero till his ninth year in 63. It was during this time that the apostle Paul tells us (see ARETAS) that not the Romans but 'an ethnarch under Aretas the king held the city of the Damascenes' (a form of expression which betrays the fact that it was usual to think of Damascus as an independent city); see ETHNARCH.

We do not know to what degree power in Damascus passed from the Romans to the Nabatæan king. Nor, indeed, whether Rome actually held it then (cp Schiir. *HJ* 2 356 *ff.* 3 98; M'Giffert, *Apost. Age*, 164 n. 2). At any rate, the city again came under Rome in Nero's reign (53-68 A.D.); but the Nahataeans continued to hold the neighhonrhood to the E. till 106, when Trajan brought their whole kingdom into the Empire. Under Hadrian and his successors Damascus bore the title μετρόπολις (De Saulcy, 37 *ff.*), under Alexander Severus, *colonia* (*ib.* 43).

14. Under Islam.

Under both Romans and Byzantines the city continued to flourish; yet so long as these Westerns ruled Syria she was only second to Antioch; and it was not till the Moslem invasion—they took Damascus in 634, Antioch in 635—that the city in the desert resumed the first rank, and the city on the Levant began to decline. For a century, 650-750, Damascus had the Khalifate under the Omayyads; she was never taken by the Crusaders, whose pivot was Antioch; she was the capital of Saladin, and being bound to Mecca by the Hajj, which starts from her gates, she has kept her place in the regard of Islām, while her fertility and her unique position have enabled her to survive the depopulations to which she has been subjected by conquerors like Timur, and the awful pestilences with which she has again and again been infected by her annual connection with Mecca.

15. Literature.

Besides the works mentioned above and general treatises on the history and geography of Syria, see Noris, *Annus et Epochæ Syromacedonum*, etc., Leipsic, r696; Maundrell's *Journey* io *Damascus*; Arnold's art. in *PRE*(1), and Nöldeke's art. in Schenkel's *BL*; Rob. *LBR*, 3 442-468; Porter, *Geogr. Journal*, 26 2, 'Five Years in Damascus'; Kinglake's *Eothen*; Thomson, *Land and* **Book;** GASm. *HG*, chap. **30.**

G. A. S.

DAN (דָּן see below, § 1; ΔΑΝ [BAL]; gentilic **Danite,** הַדָּנִי; ΔΑΝΕΙ [B], ΑΑΝ [BAL], ΔΑΝ[Ε]ΙΤΑΙ [BℵA 1 Ch. 12 35]), eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. The name, like many other tribal names, is obscure. It appears, however, to bear the same relation to the personal names Daniel and Abidan as the clan name Ram does to Jehoram and Abiram, or on the other hand Jacob and Joseph to two ancient town names ending in -el (see JACOB, JOSEPH, § 1). It is therefore no doubt a divine title, 'judge' (*i.e.*, 'deliverer'?). Cp the Assyrian repeatedly recurring royal name Ašur-dan—'Ašur is judge' (cp Nabudan)—and the name of Shalmaneser II.'s general Dayan-Ašur, as also the epithet *dānu* (*daianu*) applied to the sun-god (cp SAMSON, § 1) and the moon-god.

1. Name.

Dan is apparently etymologically related to the name of another Israelitish tribe of whose history still less is known (see DINAH); but it would be less safe to assume any etymological connection with Midian. That the meaning of the name was not quite forgotten appears, *e.g.*, from the popular derivation in Gen. 30 6 (E) and the paronomasia in Gen. 49 16 (J), although the latter passage applies the epithet to the tribe itself, not to its god.

The verb *dān* is used quite freely, not only in the earlier literature (JE Gen. 15 14; Is. 3 13) but also (especially) from the exile onwards (Jer. Pss. etc.); so also the derivatives; but, as in the case of other old tribe names, the root does not seem to have been used in the formation of proper names in later times (see ABI-DAN, ENOCH, § 1), its place being apparently taken by the synonymous *shaphaṭ* (see JEHOSHAPHAT), which on the whole prevailed in Hebrew and Phœnician, while less used in Assyrian and not certainly used at all in the southern Semitic dialects where *dān* continued to prevail.

Dan evidently belonged to the N. (Joseph) group of Israelitish clans. Not, however, in the same sense as Benjamin. Dan was a Bilhah clan and may, not impossibly, have been older than Joseph, as the patriarch stories represent (see BILHAH). If so, the onward pressure of Joseph, though probably not hostile, may have co-operated with the other influences that prevented it from settling permanently in central Palestine—though the apparent southward movement of the Danites from Zorah-Eshtaol to Kirjath-jearim (Judg. 18 12) could not well be quoted in support of such a possibility (see MAHANEH-DAN). Whilst Dinah, if it was a pre-historic clan of the same or a kindred stock (it is called indeed daughter of Leah; but Dan took as its priest a Levite of Judah), suffered the fate of absorption (see DINAH), Dan, though it may have allied itself with Joseph for a time, was eventually compelled by its own energy and the force of circumstances to emigrate, just as perhaps the older Leah tribes emigrated in the opposite direction. If Dan was not older than Joseph, it must be regarded as an unsuccessful precursor of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 1 *f.*; so Stade).

2. Relations to other tribes.

3. Contemporary references to Dan.

The earliest mention of the tribe is in the 'Song of Deborah.' The poet upbraids Dan for seeking protection of (or living heedlessly by) the ships, instead of coming forward manfully like the brother Bilhah tribe to fight 'on the heights of the open field' (see NAPHTALI). This reference to ships is obscure. It has been interpreted of the southern seat of the tribe;[1] but its proximity and resemblance to the phrase about Asher seems to suggest that the tribe is thought of as in its northern seat (so Moore and Bu., *ad loc.*).

The expression used of Dan is quite unique. One shrinks from drawing any definite conclusion from the passage. If the text is sound,[2] it may mean that Dan was, like Asher, though no doubt to a less extent (18 7*c*), under the sway of Phœnician influence. It is much more likely, however, to have been involved with the Aramaeans than with the Phœnicians; for although Tell el-Ḳāḍi is fully 40 m. distant from Damascus and not 30 from Tyre the latter was not in historic times so energetic in extending its influence in the Palestine hinterland as Damascus was (cp DAMASCUS, § 4). Although we do not know when the Aramaeans began to press southwards, there is no reason to suppose that the Aramaean element represented by such places as Beth-Maacah appeared only after the times of the Song of Deborah. However that may be, in time at least the Aramaeans made their influence felt very decidedly. We are still far from understanding fully the history of their relations with Israel; but it may well be doubted whether there ever was a stable or even a definite line between their respective domains. The population of the border region seems to have been largely Aramaean. Benhadad I. had no difficulty in seizing Dan and other places in its neighbourhood, and it does not appear whether Israel was ever able politically to assert a serious, or at least a lasting, claim to them. The fact that the operations of Tiglath-pileser III. (180 years later), in suppression of the plot of Rezon and his accomplice Pekah were confined to this same district, would be accounted for if it were more unequivocally connected with Damascus than the rest of Israel was (so Winckler).

[1] Nöldeke suggests (in a private communication) that it is not inconceivable that members of the tribe may have taken to fishing.

[2] אניות might easily arise by transposition from נאותיו (the suggestion was made also by Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 16, n. 2, followed by Marq. *Fund.* 7; cp Ki. *Gesch.* i. 265, n. 1. Bu. has since abandoned it: *KHC*, *ad loc.*). נאות, however, occurs oftenest in the phrase נאות המדבר, and Nöldeke argues that neither of the districts in which Dan was settled contained such pasture-land. Perhaps נאות need not be quite so definite in meaning; but if we accept נאותיו, this would presuppose the Song's having been committed to writing some time before the Blessing of Jacob was brought into its present form (cp Gen. 49 13).

When J wrote, Dan was still indeed honoured (2 S. 20 18 𝔊), but possibly somewhat as a survival of a time gone by; it was not felt to be a living force in Israel—Bilhah was but a concubine (Gen. 35 22). It must not, however, be inferred, from the fact that the 'Blessing of Jacob' says Dan judges its people *like* an Israelitish tribe (*v.* 16), that, when the Blessing took shape, Dan was felt to be hardly in reality a part of genuine Israel at all. It is clear, from the early authority referred to above (2 S. 20 18 𝔊), that the city of Dan was proverbial as a well-known home of genuine old Israelitish ideas and practices, which is the more credible that we are told that its priests traced their origin to Moses[1] himself (Judg. 18 30). We need not wonder, then, if the importance of this sanctuary was formally acknowledged in some way or other (see CALF, GOLDEN, § 1) by Jeroboam I. [*q.v.*]. The N. settlement of Dan, however, perhaps did not amount to much more than the town of that name. Nor need the repeated mention of the town in the standing phrase 'from Dan to Beersheba,'[2] which not unnaturally suggests that it had some importance, have really had any political significance. Both places may have owed their celebrity to their ancient sanctuaries.

This may perhaps help us to understand the preservation of such an unrivalled collection of popular legend as we find in the latter part of Judges unless indeed the stories of the Samson cycle are quite as much connected with the geographical district about Zorah, etc. (cp the mention of a place called Sa-ma-ša-na in that neighbourhood at least as early as Rameses II.; Lepsius, *Denkm.* 144 i.; cp BETH-SHEMESH, 1; SAMSON) as with any particular Israelitish tribe; they involve Hebron, if חברון in Judg. 16 3 is correct, and may be thought to have some relation to the stories of SHAMMAH and SHAMGAR (*qq.v.*).

In Amos's time the northern Dan still ranked with Bethel (? so We. *ad loc.*) and Beersheba as a representative sanctuary (Am. 8 14; on the reading cp AMOS, § 20); but, whatever it was then, the troublous time which ended with the fall of the N. kingdom (2 K. 15 29) and the changed conditions which resulted must have profoundly modified the position even of an ancient sanctuary town. This would perhaps account for the absence of all mention of it from P's geographical scheme. Still, even in the days of Jeremiah, although the phrase 'Dan to Beersheba' had given place to 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23 8), an invasion was felt to be begun when the enemy passed Dan (Jer. 4 15 8 16).

If any legends ever gathered round the name of the eponymous head of Dan, they have entirely perished.

4. Traditions. All the more noteworthy is the abundance of traditions about the tribe. These are of two kinds. First there are the stories which, after circulating orally for many generations, were eventually committed to writing, and afterwards given so large a place in the latter portion of our present Book of Judges (*q.v.*, § 16). These are among the best-known of the traditions of Israel. Then there are the most valuable fragmentary notices in Josh. 19 47[3] Judg. 1 34 *f.*—mere scraps rescued from what the pre-exilic histories had to tell of the fortunes of this tribe (on the 'Blessings' see below, § 8). All these traditions, however,—both those that may fairly be treated as historical in their nature, and those that are mainly legendary—deal with two closely related points, the struggles which the tribe had with its non-Israelite neighbours, and its migration northwards.

Dan, it would seem, made the attempt to push its way down from the highlands of Ephraim (see above, § 2) into the territory still completely dominated by the

[1] On the true reading, see MANASSEH.

[2] This phrase really occurs only seven times (all between Judg. 20 and 1 K. 4 25 [5 5]), and in certain of these passages it may be suspected of being late. The Chronicler (perhaps naturally) prefers the reverse order (Beersheba to Dan: 1 Ch. 21 2 [=2 S. 24 2 'Dan to Beersheba'], 2 Ch. 30 5†). See *Expositor*, Dec. '93, pp. 411-421 ('Dan to Beersheba: the literary history of the phrase and the historical problems it raises').

[3] 𝔊B has ιουδα for δαν in *v.* 47 (*i.e.*, 47 *ba* of MT), ιου having been dittographed from the preceding υιου.

Canaanites. Whether it at first succeeded (Josh. 19 47*a*, if we read ויצר; cp 𝔊 and 2 K. 6 1) and then was driven back (Judg. 1 34) by the Philistines (cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 1) or—since it is difficult to see how 'Philistines' could be changed, editorially or by a gloss, to Amorites—by the Canaanites (Judg. 1 34 *f.*), or whether it never really established itself at all satisfactorily to the SW. of Ephraim, being forced back before it had really settled, we can hardly say. On some grounds it would perhaps seem probable either that it separated quite late from Ephraim or that it settled for some considerable time. Otherwise we should perhaps hardly have such clear traditions of the incidents of the subsequent migration (contrast the legendary character of the Samson stories); although it is not at all clear what the history of these traditions is (see above, § 4). In any case, it seems pretty clear that the main strength of the clan (משפחה) migrated northwards; but did not some remain? Probably.

5. Attempts to settle.

Not so much because the MT represents the 600 fighting men as being *some of* the clan (Judg. 18 11; 𝔊 'clans,' δήμων) of Dan (for the partitive preposition מִ, which here has the same letter not only after it but also before it, might very well be due to dittography), nor perhaps because the existence of a remnant is needed *to* explain the copious traditions of the early fortunes of the tribe already referred to (see also below), hut because it is difficult otherwise to account for the priestly writer assigning it solely *to* the southern territory.

Those who remained, however, seem hardly to have been able to make good a separate tribal existence; for it was, according to J, not Dan, but the house of Joseph, that finally gained the upper hand over the Canaanites (Judg. 1 35)—whatever that may refer to (see Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 18, n. 2).

6. Migration.

According to Josh. 19 47 (emended text), the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them, and so they went up and fought against Leshem (Lesham?) and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein. and called it Dan. It is possibly the same writer who explains in Judg. 1 34 that the overcrowding of Dan was because 'the Amorite' forced them into the hill country. This Dan (see next article) became, as we have seen, if it was not already, a famous sanctuary, and it is not surprising that the story of its incorporation into Israel was a favourite with those who put into literary form the traditions of Israel's early days.

Many as are the obscurities of the narrative as we now have it in Judg. 17 *f.*, one thing is clear: several hands have worked at it (see JUDGES §§ 3 12). A deputation of Danites, after consulting a priest in Mount Ephraim, find a roomy district, easy of attack, in the far north, and return to Zorah to conduct their tribesmen thither. On the route they manage in one way or another to get the priest they bad consulted *to* accompany them with the image he tended, which, having settled in their new home, they constitute their national palladium.

7. Cycle of legends.

The main points in this story must be facts. How long the sanctuary maintained itself we do not know exactly (see the two independent representations in Judg. 18 30 *f.*, and cp SHILOH, JONATHAN, 1). Of a very different character are the stories that have gathered round the name of Samson; but they are more naturally treated elsewhere, the more so that we cannot be quite sure how far they are really to be regarded as Israelite in any ordinary sense, not to say Danite. See SAMSON.

8. Later writings.

Whether the metaphors of the serpent (Gen. 49 17) and the lion's whelp (Dt. 33 22) in the several 'Blessings' are simply later echoes perpetuating the memory of the famous raid on Leshem, or whether they point to a repetition of such raids by this lion-city itself (Stade, *GVI* 1 168), we do not know; the latter is not perhaps unlikely.[1]

[1] The metaphor of the serpent on the way, biting the horse's heels and throwing the rider backwards, has been supposed to refer to embarrassment of the Aramaeans in their wars with Israel.

At a later date, indeed, these references came to be interpreted of the southern Dan (Targ. Onk.) and of Samson in particular (Targ. Jon. and Jerus.). The fact, however, that P has nothing whatever *to* tell us of the territory of the N. Danites perhaps shows how this might come about.[1] On the other hand, the eulogistic sense in which the words are explained is remarkable in view of the ill odour that attached to the name of Dan in later times (see below, § 9).

What the outlines of the district assigned by P to Dan were, P nowhere states; perhaps he was himself unable to formulate any (cp the case of Simeon, Josh. 19 1-9). That he meant them to be inferred from his account of the adjacent tribes (Benjamin, Judah, Ephraim) is possible; but he is not usually afraid of repetition. Of the sixteen (in MT seventeen) places which P assigns to Dan, eight may be regarded as identified beyond reasonable doubt (see ZORAH, ESHTAOL, IR-SHEMESH, AIJALON. TIMNAH, EKRON. JEHUD, BENE-BERAK). while ME-JARKON (*q.v.*, and see RAKKON, MAKAZ) must probably be sought in the neighbourhood of *Rās el-ʿAin.* In Josh. 15 the same writer assigns not only Timnah (*v.* 57) and Ekron (*v.* 45), which are historically best known as Philistine cities, but also Zorah and Eshtaol, where if anywhere the Danites were settled, to JUDAH.[2]

Still less to be trusted is the account of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1 22, end), which, likewise ignoring altogether the N. Dan, actually makes S. Dan extend as far N. as Dor and as far S. as Ashdod. Although P represents Dan as, next to Judah, the largest tribe at the end of the nomadic period (Nu. 26 43), both P and the Chronicler[3] tend otherwise to give the tribe the scantiest possible consideration. In Joshua it is the last to have its lot assigned it (19 40 *ff.*). The Dan fragment is the last of those collected in Judg. 1 (*a.* 34 *f.*). The tribe stands last in the list in 1 Ch. 27 16-22. In Rev. (chap. 7) it is omitted altogether (see below, § 9), and the same fate seems to have befallen it in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch. 2 *ff.*[4] In the form of the list now appearing in Gen. 46 23 = Nu. 26 42 *f.*[5] (both P), indeed, Dan is credited with one family; but one cannot be quite sure that the statement may not be a very late addition founded on the notion (propounded in modern times by Bertheau, *ad loc.*) that Aher (= 'another') in 'HUSHIM, the sons of Aher' (1 Ch. 7 12*b*), was a circumlocution for Dan rather than a corruption of Ahihor or some other name (see BENJAMIN, $ 9, ii. *a*). At all events, the omission of a Dan list from his lists by the Chronicler would be no

[1] It might indeed be argued from four of P's lists of tribes—the two census lists (Nu. 1 20 *ff.* 26), and the two camp lists (2 1 *ff.* 10)—that Dan is regarded as a northern tribe, being grouped in a triplet with Asber and Naphtali. But (1) it is immediately preceded by Benjamin, and (2) in the list of tribal representatives who took part in the census Gad is not, as in the census and camp lists, oddly classed with Reuben and Simeon, but with the triplet in question: that is to say, the four concubiue tribes are taken together.

[2] On the other hand, the Chronicler probably did not really mean *to* make Gath-rimmon Ephraimite (1 Ch. 6 69 [54]): see next note but one.

[3] A peculiar fact is that P makes the associate of Bezaleel of Judah in the construction of the tabernacle a Danite (Ex. 31 6), whilst the Chronicler makes Hnram-abi, who had the same position in the work of Solomon's temple a man of Tyre whose mother was of Dan (but see 1 K. 7 14, with Klo.'s note, and cp HURAM-ABI). P makes the mother of the man who 'blasphemed the Name' son of a woman of Dan by an Egyptian (Lev. 24 10 *f.*).

[4] In the Chronicler's list of tribes in which Levitical cities were appointed (1 Ch. F54 [39] *ff.*) Dan appears *to* he omitted; but *v.* 61 [46] is obviously corrupt. A comparison with its source in Josh. 21 20-26 [P] shows that the name of Dan has dropped out, whilst the fact that Ephraim also, though preserved by 𝔊L in 1 Ch. 6 61 [46], is dropped in MT shows that the omission is not intentional. It has accordingly been restored by Kan. in *HS* and Ki. in *SBOT*. In the enumeration of the towns by name farther down (*vv.* 67 [52]-81 [66]) Dan is again omitted (this time without the company of Ephraim); but the probable explanation of this omission of Dan is that either the Chronicler or some copyist has accidentally omitted Josh. 21 23; for the consequence is that *v.* 24 is copied as if it belonged to *v.* 22, Aijalon and Gath-rimmon being assigned to Ephraim, and the Kohathite cities becoming eight, instead of ten, as stated above in 1 Ch. 6 61 [46].

[5] Hushim (ḤŠM) = Shubam (ŠḤM).

stranger than his omission of Zebulun, which has three families assigned it by P in Gen. 46 14 = Nu. 26 26.

9. Apocalyptic notions. It is a fact, however, that in later times Dan was in disrepute. In the Targums, indeed, as we have seen, the tribe is held in high esteem; but in Talmudic times this is changed. Thus *Midr. Rab.* on Numb. declares that when Jerohoam went from tribe to tribe none joined him so readily as Dan. In the Talmud (*Shabbath* 66), accordingly, Dan represents idolatry. Further, out of the very same passages so favourably interpreted in the Targums, there was evolved, in connection with Jer. 8 16, the remarkable notion (appearing in *Test. xii. Patr.*) that Beliar is in some peculiar way connected with the tribe, which, it is declared, will transgress against Levi and Judah, 'for in the Book of Enoch it is said that their ruler is Satan; but the salvation of the Lord will arise out of Judah and Levi, and he will fight against Beliar.' With this is connected the tradition that the Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan. Already in Iren. (v. 30 2) we find the fancy—it may be more than a fancy—that this is the explanation of the omission of Dan from the list of those that are sealed (Kev. 7 5-8). H. W. H.

DAN (דָּן; ΔΑΝ). *1.* A city 'in the valley which belongs to BETH-KEHOB [*q.v.*],' Judg. 18 28; conquered by the Danites.

1. References. It was the most northern city of Israel: note the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' (see above, 994, n. 2). Its original name was LAISH [*q.v.*]; in Jndg. 18 29 the change of name is accounted for. Historical references to it occur, not only in Judg. 18, but also in 2 S. 246 (where *jaan* is appended to Dan by a singular error of the text; see DAN-JAAN); also in 1 K. 12 29 (golden calf), and *1* K. 15 20, and 2 Ch. 16 4 (Benhadads invasion). The reference to the *name* Dan in Gen. 14 14 need not, in the present writer's opinion, he counted; it is true, the city afterwards called Dan is meant, but the anachronistic 'Dan' is simply a scribe's error for 'Laish'; the true text probably is, '. . . and pressed after them, he and his servants, as far as Laish, and smote them.'[1]

One of the supposed arguments for the late date of Gen. 14 must therefore be abandoned; but this by no means involves regarding that strange narrative as historical. The anachronism in Dt. 341 remains.

2. Identification. The site of Dan has recently been fixed by G. A. Smith (*HG*, 473, 480 *f.*) at Bāniās, on the ground that the situation of Bāniās is so much stronger than that of Tell el-Ḳāḍī (cp CÆSAREA, § 7). The fact is undeniable, yet not decisive. From Judg. 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.

Theodoret no doubt favours our eminent geographer's view. 'The present Paneas,' he says, 'was called Dan'[2] and even Jerome (on Ezek. 48 18 and on Am. 8 14) speaks of Dan as being where Paneas now is. The Jerus. Targ., too (on Gen. 14 14), calls Caesarea Philippi 'Dan of Caesarea.' These vague statements, however, do not carry much weight. On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 10 1 v. 3 1 viii. 8 4; *BJ* iv. 1 1) expressly says that Dan stood at the 'lesser' fountain of the Jordan, in the plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city, and that the plain, around it was extremely fertile. Eus. and Jer. (*OS*(2) 114 26 249 32) speak still more definitely. 'A village *four miles distant from Paneas*, on the road to Tyre; it was the boundary of Judæa (ὅριον τῆς Ἰουδαίας), and at it the Jordan takes its rise.' Jerome adds: 'De quo et Jordanis flumen erumpens a loco sortitus est nomen. Ior quippe ῥεῖθρον (id est fluvium sive rivnm) Hebræi vocant' (cp JORDAN). A glance at any handhook of geography will show what spot is here meant.

Four miles west of Bāniās, in a well-watered district, is one of the two great fountains of the Jordan. It rises at the W. base of an extensive cup-shaped mound, called *Tell el-Ḳāḍī*. Now Ḳāḍī in Arabic and Dān in Hebrew both mean 'judge,' and the fountain bears a name (Leddān) which also may perhaps he an echo of the name of the old city. The very fact that Tell el-Ḳāḍī is now said to be unhealthy suggests one reason more for identifying it with Dan, for Josephus (*BJ* iv. 1 1) expressly says that the marshes of Lake Semachonitis (Huleh) extend northwards as far as Daphnè (Dan), where are the sources of the Little Jordan (*Leddān*). Probably, however, in antiquity, when irrigation was better cared for, the place now called Tell el-Ḳāḍī was perfectly healthy. On the whole, the grounds of the proposed identification seem to the present writer to be strong. Robinson, Guérin, Porter, Buhl, and Moore have given their support to the same theory.

Tell el-Ḳāḍī rises out of a dense jungle of thorn-bushes and rank weeds. 'Its circumference is about half a mile, and its greatest elevation above the plain eighty feet. There are some traces of old foundations, and heaps of large stones on the top and sides of the S. part of the rim, where perhaps the citadel or a temple may have stood. There are also ruins in the plain a short distance N. of the *tell*. There are doubtless other remains, but they are now covered with grass and jungle' (Porter).

See Rob. *BR*; Guérin, *Galilée*, 2 338 *ff.*; G. A. Smith, *HG*, *l.c.*; *PEF Mem.* 1 139 *ff.*; Buhl, *Geog.* 237 *f.*; Moore, Judges, 390.

2. For Dan in Ezek. 27 19 AV, see JAVAN, § 1 *g*.

T. K. C.

DANCE. 'There is a time to raise the death-wail and a time to dance,' says the Preacher (Eccl. 3 4).

1. Among the ancients: in Egypt, etc. We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral, as well as with festival. observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song. The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum;[1] but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Polynesia, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians loved their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.[2] In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*raḳādu*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice'; and so great was the demand for singers (music and singing naturally go together with dancing) that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Nineveh (Prism Inscr. 3 39).[3]

2. Among the Bedouin. Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing. What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.[4] There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dancing at the merry Circumcision Feast (*muzayyin*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.[5] The prince-poet Imra-al-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (ox antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going swiftly round the

[1] There is a corrupt duplication. Read וַיִּרְבֵּק [עליהם] עַד־דָּן וַיִּדְבֵּק עליהם עד־לישה. וידבק for וַיֵּחָלֵק is due to Ball; but it is also the original of וירדף. C. Niehuhr bas already suspected a place-name in לילה. In fact, the Pasek after עליהם warns us that the text is doubtful. Ewald (*GVI* 1 73) supposed that דָּן was substituted late for לַיִשׁ—an arbitrary and inadequate theory.

[2] On Jer. 4 15 (*Opera* (1770), 2 433).

[1] Gill, *Front Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252.

[2] See Erman, *Egypt*, 216.

[3] Correcting *KB* 2 97 by Del. *Ass. HWB* 257 *b*.

[4] Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 31.

[5] *See* We. *Ar. Heid.*(1) 106, 165; and cp Hesiod, *Theog.* 2 59 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4 30; Liv. 26 9; Verg. *Æn.* 8 285; Plut. *Thes.* 21, ἐχόρευσε περὶ τὸν κερατῶνα βωμόν.

Dawâr or sacred stone. Mohammed himself could not abolish this custom. The procession round the Kaaba is really the *Ḥajj*: this term is now applied to the Mecca pilgrimage; but its root-meaning plainly is to go in a circle (cp Ps. 107 27 יָחוֹגּוּ).

Pre-Islamic Arabia explains much that is characteristic in Israelitish life. This is specially true of religious rites.

3. Hebrew ḥag. The chief original Hebrew term for a religious dance was doubtless חַג, *ḥag*. The rendering 'feast' or 'festival' will indeed suffice in most cases, but only because religious festivals necessarily included the sacred dance, at least as long as the sacred stones remained in the sanctuaries. In Ps. 118 27 Cheyne (*Psalms*(1)) renders 'Bind the procession with branches,' with reference to the swiftly moving procession which took the place of the older dance; Baer, more boldly, 'Bind the dance' (*i.e.* the dancers). Unfortunately, the text of this passage is not free from corruption;[1] but it is, at any rate, permissible to recognise the sacred dance in Ex. 10 9, 'Let my people go that they may keep a feast with dancing to me in the desert'—not that all would take part in the dance: the dancers would represent the people, all of whom would 'rejoice before Yahwè,' as the phrase was. Perhaps we may compare 1 S. 30 16, if חֹגְגִים (applied to the Amalekites who had plundered Ziklag) means 'circling in the sacred dance' (see BDB). At any rate, in Ps. 42 4 [5] the best sense is obtained by reading, not הָמוֹן חוֹגֵג, 'a multitude that kept holyday' (AV), but הֲמוֹן חוֹגְגִים, 'the music of those who kept festival'[2] (המון, 'music,' Am. 5 23 Ezek. 26 13). That dancing is here referred to, however, is not evident.

4. OT Vocabulary. Words for dancing in general. (1) צָחֵק, *ṣiḥēḳ*, or שִׂחֵק, *śiḥēḳ* (Arab. *ḍaḥika* 'to laugh,' whence *maḍḥakun* 'mimus'; Syr. *geḥakh*; 𝔊 παίζειν) meaning 'to sport, or jest.' Though commonly used to denote any kind of sport (Gen. 21 9, RVmg. 'playing'; 26 8 RV 'sporting'), it may denote simply 'dancing' (see 2 S. 6 5 = 1 Ch. 13 8 Judg. 16 25 Jer. 31 4).

2. In late writings we meet with רקד, *rāḳadh*, prop. 'to leap,' 1 Ch. 15 29; Ass. *raḳādu* [see above]; Syr. *reḳadh*, Pa. 'to dance,' Aph. 'to lament' (*plangere*); Tg. טְפַז; 𝔊 ὀρχεῖσθαι, σκιρτᾶν; cp Ar. *rakaḍa*, 'to move the feet, to hop.'

3. The root חוּל, *ḥūl*, 'to writhe, whirl,' Judg. 21 21 (whence מָחוֹל, *māḥōl*, מְחוֹלָה, *meḥōlah*, 'dance,' χορός) suggests a more intricate movement.

4. Lastly, we have in 2 S. 6 16 the two ἅπ. λεγ. פִּזֵּז, *pizzēz*, and כִּרְכֵּר, *kirkēr* (the latter also in *v.* 14) (Ar. *karra*, 'to advance and retreat,' *karkara*, *id.*; 2 S. 6 14 מְכַרְכֵּר, Targ., מְשַׁבַּח, Pesh. *mešabbaḥ*, Vg. *saltabat*). Most probably, however, מְפַזֵּז וּמְכַרְכֵּר should rather be read מְפַסֵּחַ וּמְרַקֵּד (Che.); the former of these participles is justified by the facts brought together by Toy, *JBL* 16 178 *f.* ['97]), which show that פסח (*pāsaḥ*), the root of פָּסַח, means virtually 'to dance,' and the latter by the authority of 1 Ch. 15 29.

Dancing, then, was of the essence of a primitive religious festival. It was not the choral dances (מְחֹלֹת)

5. A part of primitive religion. that provoked the wrath of Moses (Exod. 32 19): Miriam's 'dances' were evidently congenial to all (Exod. 15 20 *f.*; cp Judg. 11 34 1 S. 18 6 21 11 [12]). It was the worship of the steer-god that angered the great leader. The Hebrews never ceased to be religious dancers, though the form of the ceremony may have changed. Some idea of the early rite may be gained from the account in 2 S. 6 14 of David's dancing 'before Yahwè' (*i.e.*, before the ark; cp. *v.* 5). Michal indeed took her husbands act amiss. She was too unimaginative to see the meaning of a practice which was beginning to be antiquated. She thought that by leading the dance in such attire, and mixing with the common people, her husband was playing a part which was within the province of a woman only, and unworthy of his character and office. David's answer well expresses his own devoutness, though he cannot have guessed what issues of world-wide importance hung upon the transference of the ark to Jerusalem.

Again, at the great religious crisis in the reign of Ahab it is not the 'dancing' that Elijah disapproves, but its connection with a bad, foreign religion. The prophets of Baal, we are told, 'leaped'—*i.e.*, danced after a special rite—around their altar, not eucharistically, but as suppliants (1 K. 18 26). Elijah, though too confident of his Gods favour to attempt to work upon him by ritual, does not hesitate to use the word פסח ('to leap') in his taunting address to the Israelites (*v.* 21).[2] Indeed, Toy seems to have shown that the spring-festival called Pesah (EV Passover) derived its name from the dances (פסח, see above, § 4 4) connected with it. A conservative prophet like Elijah could never have opposed religious dances.

Indeed, one may fairly say that prophecy itself—at any rate, that represented by Elisha—was under some obligations to dancing. The inspiration of those who belonged to the guilds of prophets (see PROPHECY) was prepared for by music and rhythmic movements of the body (cp 1 S. 10 10 11 19 20-24). It was the wild proceedings of prophets when in this preparatory state that degraded the whole order in the eyes of many Israelites (cp 2 K. 9 11). It is difficult, when looking at dervishes performing their exercises, not to think of the so-called 'sons of the prophets' (again see PROPHECY). 'Ulemas and dervishes with the chief muftis at their head were leaping, bounding, swaying their arms, and whirling in time to the din of drums, trumpets, and cymbals which followed them' (Tristram).

For the stated religious ritual of the pre-exilic age we are ill-provided with authorities. Still, we know that

6. At festivals. the three great festivals (especially that of Tabernacles) were celebrated with an exuberant joy which expressed itself in dancing. The Psalter proves that even in the post-exilic age dancing as well as music formed part of divine service (see Pss. 149 3 150 4). Eucharistic procession (no doubt at a quick pace) round the altar was customary (26 6, and according to MT [see above], 118 27). Processions of God also, which, from the mention of maidens with timbrels, may be presumed to have been a dance-festival, arespokeu of (Ps. 68 24 [25], *SBOT*). Ps. 87 6, however, is too obscure to be quoted.

There was dancing at tribal and family festivals (cp the place-name ABEL-MEHOLAH [*q.v.*], 'dancing meadow'; 1 K. 19 16). It was at a yearly tribal festival that the daughters of Shiloh came forth for choral dances (Judg. 21 21 לָחוּל בַּמְּחֹלוֹת), and there is a singular story, which almost seems like an attempt to account for marriage by capture (see M'Lennan, *Primitive Marriage*), respecting the Benjamites who chose wives from among the dancers (מִן־הַמְּחֹלְלוֹת). We must apparently take this in connection with the curious custom referred to elsewhere (CANTICLES, § 9; ATONEMENT, DAY OF), which was evidently greatly toned down in post-exilic times. The young men and maidens of Jerusalem danced in the vineyards, not without results, on the evening of the 15th of Ab (this was the festival of Wood-carrying[3]) and of the Day of Atonement, and sang edifying songs on marriage (Mishna, *Ta'anith*, iv. 8). A dance performed by the chief men of the city was a special incident in the festivities of the Feast of Tabernacles. At the close of

[1] Che. reads—

Make melody with dancing (בְּמָחוֹל) and with timbrels,
Make melody to our king, make melody.

[2] Che. *Psalms*(2).

[1] Che. *Aids to Criticism*, 55 *f.*

[2] On this passage see Klo., and, for a fuller development of the meaning *JQR*, July 1898 (p. 568); cp Jastrow, *JBL*, 1898, 1 108 *ff.* It is useless to compare the Phœnician divine title βαλμαρκως—*i.e.*, בעל מרקד, 'Baal of dancing' (Baethg. *Beitr.* 25 261)—and other similar forms. They have all grown out of Melkart, the name of the Baal of Tyre (Texier).

[3] See Jos. *BJ* ii. 17 6, and cp Neh. 10 35 [36] 13 31, Del. *Iris*, 96.

the first day men of piety and repute, singing hymns, danced with torches in their hands. No one who has not seen this joy, said a proverb, has seen true joy (*Succa*, 5 1-4). Thus the severity of the Law could not extinguish the impulse in the Jewish people towards rhythmic movement.

There was, however, one kind of dancing against which wise men protested. It is no doubt of Greek dancing-girls that Ben Sira is thinking when he warns his readers not to 'use the company of a woman that is a singer' (Ecclus. **9**4). Hellenism, indeed, was even more dangerous morally than religiously. It is just possible, too, that when on Herod's birthday the daughter of Herodias came forward to amuse the guests (*ἐν τῷ μέσῳ*, Mt. 14 6; cp Mk. 6 22 **Lk.** 15 25) her style of dancing was derived from the pantomimic solo-dance of the hired female dancers of Greece.[1]

The few occasions in the Bible in which dancing is referred to may be said to have an interpretative value.

7. Biblical references. It was not always necessary to mention that a happy event was celebrated by dancing, because early readers would supply this detail mentally for themselves. We are thankful, however, that the writers did sometimes mention the dancing, and that so they interpreted for us many other passages. Dancing was continually in request in Israelitish and in Jewish society (Jer. **31** 4 13 Mt. 11 17 Lk. 7 32 15 25). Thus (as in Assyrian) 'dancing' and 'rejoicing' were synonymous terms (Lam. 5 15 Eccles. **3** 4 Ps. **30** 11 [12]). It is an improbable idea of Leyrer (*PRE*(2)) that there is a reference to a kind of square dance in Cant. 7 1 [6 13] (בִּמְחֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם; see MAHANAIM). Much more safely may we suppose **a** reference to a sword-dance, such as Wetzstein found as a part of the wedding ceremonies in Syria (cp CANTICLES, § 9). Dancing has, of course, always been popular at weddings; and the virgins in the parable who go out to meet the bridegroom no doubt looked forward to **a** merry choral dance. Modern Arabs still sing and dance with lighted torches on the day of a wedding.

Literature. Lucian, ***De Saltat.***; Spencer, ***De Saltat. vet; Hebr.***; 'Saltatio' in ***Dict. of*** Gk. ***and Rom. Anfiqq.***; Tanz' in *PRE*(2) 15 206; Riehm, *HWB*(2) 1636 *f.*; Wetzstein, ***Zeitsch. für Ethnol.*** 1873, p. 285 *f.*; Franz Delitzsch, *Iris* (ET), 189-206; Tristram, Eastern Customs, 207-210; Grove (Lilly), ***Dancing*** ('95); **R. Voss, *Der Tans u. seine Gesch.*** ('69).

DANIEL (דָּנִאֵל, Kt.; Kr. דָּנִיֵּאל [Bä. and Ginsb.], Ezek. 14 14 20 28 3; דָּנִיֵּאל—*i.e.*, God is my judge, or, the defender of my right; ΔΑΝΙΗΛ [BℵAQΓ]. The name דנאל occurs in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, no. **93**). On the name Daniel in Ezek., *see* the suggestion in ENOCH, § 1.

1. A man of extraordinary wisdom and righteousness (Ezek.; see above). This Daniel appears to have become proverbial, as did Noah and Job; but when and where he was thought to have lived we are not told.

2. **A** Jewish captive, said to have been carried to Babylon 'in the third year of Jehoiakim' when Jerusalem was taken (Dan. 1 1 2 6), and to have become, through his supernatural wisdom, chief of the sages of Babylon and the minister of successive dynasties. The latest date mentioned in his life is the third year of Cyrns (Dan. 10 1; cp, however, 1 21). Outside the book which bears his name, and the apocryphal additions to it, the only biblical passages which mention this Daniel are 1 Macc. **2** 60 and Mt. **24** 15 (= Mk. **13** 14). The former contains only a didactic reference to the story of the lions' den. The latter apparently makes Jesus speak of 'Daniel the prophet'; but, as the form of the citation shows, it is rather the evangelist who speaks (cp B. Weiss, *Das Matthäusevang.* 508). *See* DANIEL, BOOK OF.

3. A priest of the line of Ithamar in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2; ii. § 15 (1) *d*), Ezra 8 2 = 1 Esd. 8 29 (**γαμηλος** [B], γαμαηλ [A], a corruption of **δανιηλ[ος]**, not = Gamaliel, as van Hoonacker); and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 6 [7]. Among his contemporaries we find a Mishael (Neh. 8 4), an Azariah (Neh. 10 2 [3]), and a Hananiah (Neh. 10 23 [24]). Cp. Dan. 1 7.

4. One of the six sons born to David in Hebron; his mother was Abigail (1 Ch. 3 1; see DAVID, § 11, iii. *d*). According to *We.* the name is miswritten for Delaiah (cp 𝔊); but, as Klo. more plausibly thinks, it is rather a corruption of Dodiel (דֹּדִיאֵל); 𝔊AL reads **Δαλουια—*i.e.*, Δαδουια** = Dodiah (דֹּדִיָּה), another form of the same name. Cp the names Dodai, Dodo, Dodavahu. 𝔊B, however, has **Δαμνιηλ**; Jos. (*Ant.* vii. 1 4) **Δανίηλος**. The ‖ 2 S. **3** 3 has Chileab (כִּלְאָב) in MT, but 𝔊BAL has Δαλουια; the other versions (Cod. 243, in Field, 1 550) **Αβια**. Chileab, though adopted by Ki. (Chron. *SBOT*), is surely wrong[1] (cp Berachoth. *4a*). This was David's second son, and after the death of Amnon would he the heir to the throne. His brothers Absalom and Adonijah played so important a part that it is surprising that nothing is told of their elder brother. Perhaps he died early or was removed.

DANIEL, BOOK OF. If we adopt the mediaeval division of the book into twelve chapters,[2] the first six form a narrative half, which can be distinguished naturally enough from the second, in which Daniel records his visions.

1. Sub-divisions. More important, however, than any such division into twice six chapters is a recognition of the fact that the aim of the book is not historical but parenetic: it aimed at exhortation and encouragement. It falls, accordingly, into several more or less detached and (so to speak) independent pieces or pictures, designed to lift the minds and hearts of its original readers, the contemporaries of the tyrant Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, above the oppressive present to the heights of a glowing piety and a strong spiritual faith. These detached pieces, of which there are ten, Ewald groups so as to divide the book into *(a)* an introductory part (chap. 1 *f.*); *(b)* a second part (chap. **3-6**), containing four narratives prefiguring events; and (c) a third part (chap. 7-12), containing four prophetic pieces. This threefold division is favoured by the consideration that the twice four pieces contained in parts *(b)* and *(c)* then serve as further amplifications of part (a)—for (a) also contains a narrative prefiguring events (chap. 1), and a Messianic prophecy (chap. 2) in which four kingdoms (corresponding to the four beasts of chap. 7) are followed by the everlasting Messianic kingdom which brings the history of the world to its close.

2. Contents. The *first* of the ten pieces thus indicated (chap. 1) tells how Nebucbadrezzar king of Babylon after a siege and capture of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah (605 B.C.), took Daniel and three other youths of noble descent from Judah to Babylon, where he had them brought up for the service of the royal court. Casual mention is made of some of the sacred vessels having been conveyed to Babylon—as the author intends afterwards (chap. 5) to speak of their desecration—and we are told with some minuteness of the scrupulosity with which Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah guarded themselves against certain pollutions, and how marvellously God rewarded them for this: when they came to stand before the king, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in his realm.

The ***second*** piece (chap. *2)* relates an astonishing proof of the supernatural wisdom of Daniel, by means of which he was able to save his own life and the lives of the other magicians. The king insists on having the dream which has disturbed him not only interpreted hut also, first of all, recovered for him, and Daniel meets the unreasonable demand. The great image seen hy the king is interpreted as signifying by its head of gold the present kingdom of Nebuchadrezzar, whilst the remaining arts of the body of silver, brass, and iron are referred to three Kingdoms which) are destined to follow thk Babylonian. The fourth kingdom, to which, as a divided kingdom, the legs (of iron) and the feet (partly of iron and partly of clay) correspond, is followed by the everlasting kingdom set up by the God of heaven. Just as the stone cut out without hands breaks in pieces the whole image, and itself becomes a great mountain that fills the whole

[1] Or, if Oriental analogies be preferred, we may consult Thomson, LB, 555-6; Tristram, *Eastern* Customs, 208; Lane, ***Mod. Eg.*** **1240** 2 94 *f.*; cp also Erman, *Anc.* E., 249-250).

[1] לאב in כלאב is the beginning of לאביניל; כ is a miswritten fragment (for נ) of the true name of David's son (cp NAMES, § 4). Kerher's derivation of the name from 'Caleb' is surely too precarious (*Hebr. Eigennam.* 36).

[2] The division into chapters has been unskilfully made at three points: **chap.** 11 ought not to begin till **11** 2*b*; and in MT chaps. 3 and **5** ought to end, as in EV, with 3 30 and **5** 31 [6 1] respectively.

earth, so every earthly dominion must give way before the imperishable kingdom of God.

In the *third* piece (3 1-30) we are told how as a punishment for their refusal to worship the great golden image which Nebuchadrezzar had set up, the three friends of Daniel (himself silently passed over) were cast into the burning fiery furnace, and how at last, when the fire had not been ahle to hurt the men of Judah who had been thus steadfast to their faith, the great king is compelled to do homage to their god.

The *fourth* piece (4 1 [3 31]-4 37 [34]) tells, in the form of a proclamation by Nebuchadrezzar to all the peoples of the whole world—a form which is not carried out with-uniform consistency —how an evil dream (which the king himself in this instance relates) had thrown him into dismay, and how Daniel alone was able rightly to interpret the vision, prophesying to the king that as a punishment for his pride he should for a long time he bereft of reason. Nebuchadrezzar is thus for a third time constrained to give the glory to the Ruler of heaven.

Next, in the *fifth* piece (5 1-5 31 [6 1]), we have Belshazzar's feast and overthrow: we are told how in a wild orgy this king, unwarned by the fate of his father Nebuchadrezzar, desecrated the sacred vessels of the temple, and thereupon was horror-stricken by the miraculous handwriting on the wall.[1] The explanation of this, which Daniel alone was able to give was soon shown to have been correct, for that very night the'king was slain, and his crown passed to Darius the Mede.

The ***sixth*** piece (6 1-28 [2-29]), that of Daniel in the lions' den, has reference exclusively to Daniel—just as a corresponding section, that of the burning fiery furnace, relates only to his three friends. We here read how King Darius suffered himself to be induced 'by his nobles, who were envious of Daniel, to promulgate the foolish decree that any one who for the space of a month should offer any petition to god or man should he thrown to the lions. Naturally Daniel transgressed this command; but the king, who had been compelled against his will to consign his faithful servant to punishment, soon became convinced of his error by the protection which Daniel's god vouchsafed to his worshipper, and, condemning the accusers to the fate which they had prepared for Daniel, commanded all his subjects to serve Daniel's god.

The *seventh* piece (7), the first in the prophetic section, is a picture in companionship to chap. 2, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar, not from the time of Nebuchadrezzar, to which the first group of four pieces belong. If, moreover, as we read in 10 1, the last great vision which Daniel saw immediately before his death is to be assigned to the third year of Cyrus, exactly seventy years after Daniel's deportation from Judah, it seems fitting that the ***eighth*** piece also should be assigned to the Babylonian period, and that only the last two prophetic sections should be given to that of the Medes and Persians. Most of the years—they amounted to an ordinary lifetime—that Daniel spent in the East must have fallen under the reigns of the Babylonian kings; for, whilst Darius the Mede was already in his sixty-second year when he ascended the throne of Babylon (5 31 [6 1]), Daniel saw only the beginning of the reign of his successor Cyrus the Persian.

In chap. 7 we have Daniel's account of his vision of the four beasts, from each of which successively the supremacy is taken away to he at last and for ever bestowed upon the Messiah, one 'like a son of man' who comes from heaven, and so at the same time the kingdom is possessed by the saints of the Most High.

If, in 7 25, the angel's interpretation of one of the horns of the fourth beast has already unmistakably pointed to a king who persecuted the Jews on account of their religion, it is made still more apparent in the ***eighth*** piece (in the interpretation which Gabriel gives of Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar) that by the fourth kingdom, which arises after the reigns of the Medes and Persians, we are to understand the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. By the reader acquainted with Jewish history the description of the horn which at first was small, or of the bold overbearing king who deprives the Most High of his continual burnt-offering and gives up his sanctuary to wanton desecration, and at the same time rages furiously against the holy people, cannot fail to be understood as referring to the Syrian king Antiochus **IV.** Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) who, by his religious edict (1 Macc. 1 41 *f.*), designed to bring about the establishment of the Greek cultus throughout his whole dominions, and, by setting up an altar to the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of. burnt-offering in Jerusalem (Dec. 168), provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167). The eighth piece contains the comforting promise that after 2300 evenings and mornings the temple of God will be again restored to its rightful position, and the shameless king overthrown, but not by human hand.

The ***ninth*** piece (chap. 9), after a prayer of Daniel which, notwithstanding its borrowings from Ezra 9 and Neh. 9, is still pathetic, gives Gabriel's interpretation of the seventy years, predicted by Jeremiah, as meaning seventy weeks of years, after the lapse of which the day of salvation is to dawn.

[1] Clermont Ganneau's theory (*JA*, 1886), accepted by Nöld. (*ZA* 1 414 *ff.*) and Bevan, that the mysterious inscription consists really of names of weights, is rejected by Behrmann. See MENE.

Whilst this vision comes to Daniel in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of Babylon, the last or ***tenth*** piece (chaps. 10-12) is dated from the third year of Cyrus his successor. In correspondence with the great importance of this last vision is the long introduction, after which, by a sketch (chap. 11) mainly devoted to the complicated relations between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and a picture of the downfall of the Syrian tyrant, the final destiny of the people of God is brought more precisely into connection with universal history. Chap. 12, however, does not give any one absolutely precise indication of the exact time when the troublous days, such as have never before been known, are to come to an end: it vacillates between 1290 and 1335 as the number of days that are to elapse between the setting up of the idolatrous worship in the temple and the coming of the glorious time of the end.

The view taken over by the church from the synagogue, which makes Daniel not only the principal hero but also the author of the book, has not unreasonably passed current among theologians down to the present century. To the unprejudiced reader the book appears to claim to have been written by Daniel. The narratives in the first six chapters do not expressly make this claim; but in 7 2 we find Daniel himself presented as the narrator by the use of the first person singular. The use of the third person in chaps. **1-6** and in the beginnings of chaps. 7 and 10 is not against the authorship of Daniel (cp Am. 7 12 *ff.*), who, at the beginning of chap. 8 and of chap. 9, speaks in the first person in giving the date. The close connection of chaps. **1-6** with the visions which follow may fairly be held to carry over the claim for Daniel's authorship to the beginning of the book also.

3. Authorship.

No attentive reader will allow himself to be misled as to the oneness of the anthorship of the book by the fragmentary or detached character of the ten pieces of which it is composed, if he attentively observes how the earlier portions allude to the later, and conversely how the later portions attach themselves to the earlier, and how the same general manner of presentation, thought, and language pervades the whole.

4. Unity.

The organic unity of the Book of Daniel, denied hy Reuss and Lagarde, has been once more defended by Frhr. von Gall in **a** monograph (see below, § 23). The grounds, however, which he offers (123 *ff.*) for regarding 9 4-20 as a late insertion are no more than plausible. The contents of this section are of a higher type than those of the hymns in the apocryphal additions to Daniel. **A** certain solemn fulness is characteristic of the liturgical style, and is not wanting in passages which may have served the author as his models—*e.g.*, Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. Von Gall's changes in 9 2 *f.* are arbitrary; the change in the names of God, which is quite appropriate, proves nothing. It is a pure fancy that the author of Daniel, who was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah, does not regard misfortune as penal; see **4** 34 **5** **22** **30,** etc. Besides, if we expunge 9 4-20, how much remains for chap. 9? Only ten verses. This is surely not enough for the ninth of the pieces which form the hook.

What has been said as to the true unity of the book is only apparently contradicted by the use from **24d** to the end of chap. 7 of the Aramaic language in a book otherwise written in Hebrew.

5. Interchange of language.

This interchange of language has given rise to many hypotheses. Spinoza thought the first seven chapters might be an extract made in the time of Judas the Maccabee from old writings of the Chaldaeans (cp Bertholdt. *Einl.* 1508 *f.*). Huetius, on the other hand, suggested that the whole Book of Daniel had been originally written in Aramaic, and shortly afterwards translated into Hebrew, and that, the original work having been partly destroyed in the dark days of the Seleucidæ, the text was restored by borrowing the Heb. sections that we now have from the Heb. version (cp Berth. *Einl.* 1544, 1549). It is hardly an improvement on this view when J. D. Prince, adopting the theory of Lenormant and Bevan, says: 'The work was probably written at first all in Hebrew; hut for the convenience of the general

reader, whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same pen as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must he supposed then that, certain parts of the Heb. manuscript being lost the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaic translation' (*Book of Daniel* ['99], p. 13).

The hypothesis that 'the Heb. edition was partly destroyed in the troubled Seleucidan period, and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic version,' leaves unexplained why the change of language should occur precisely at 24, where the Aramaic language happens to he mentioned. This name cannot be regarded as a gloss, although 'the author of Daniel evidently fill into the error of regarding "Chaldæan as the language of Babylonia. If to begin with, the loss of *part* of a MS of no great length is 'in itself very improbable, still less satisfactory is the assertion that in the second century before Christ such Palestinian Jews as were able to read hooks at all could hardly understand any Hebrew. Reusch is right when he says (*Einl. in das AT*(4), 1870, p. 118): 'The change of language occurs in the middle of a section that cannot he divided (24). which shows that the author was so familiar with both languages that he could glide from one into the other without noticing it, and could assume for a great proportion of his contemporaries a knowledge of them both.' No one asserts as Prince expresses it, that both languages 'were used quit; indifferently': the author of Daniel and his readers were certainly more at home in the Aramaic vernacular. When Prince asks why chap. 7, 'which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions,' was written not in Heb. but in Aram., we may answer that chap. 7 was written in the same Aramaic idiom as chap. 2 simply in order to make every observant reader feel that the hook was one, and that the four visions were inseparable from the six narratives.[1]

The change of dialect is made quite naturally thus : In chap. 2 the author has introduced the 'Chaldaeans' as speaking the language which he believed to be customary with them; afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chap. 2 ; for the last three visions (8-12) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that this had from of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects. Whether the Aramaic of Daniel, which is closely allied to that in Ezra, can really be taken as historically the language spoken in the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C., or for the native language of the Chaldæans, cannot be discussed until we have faced the whole question of the historical validity or invalidity of the book (see § 10). It is enough in the meantime to say that the Aramaic or 'Chaldee' portion of Daniel cannot possibly have formed an independent work; on the contrary, the change of language serves to bind the different parts of the work into a firmer uni ..

The position of fhe Book of Daniel with reference to historical fact, a question most intimately bound up with that of its date, can be discussed to advantage only after we have, in a purely exegetical way (Bleek in *JDT*, 1860, p. 53 *ff.*), firmly established the fact that makes for the unity of authorship in all five prophetic pieces (chaps. 2 and 7-12): the fact, namely, that the range of vision in each case reaches down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of all that had been hostile to God in all history, and that, with Epiphanes' destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected. This done, we shall have no difficulty in finding other weighty reasons for fixing the composition of the book of Daniel at a date shortly before the death of Antiochus IV.

6. Range of vision.

The extraordinary precision with which the exilic Daniel seems to prophesy about things that are to happen several centuries afterwards is particularly conspicuous in chap. 11, where, for example, reference is made in *v.* 18 to the victory which the Consul Lucius Scipio gained over Antiochus III. at Magnesia, in Lydia, in 190 B.C., or in *v.* 30 to Popilius Lænas, who in the name of the Roman Senate forced Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to quit Egypt with great precipitancy, upon which the king, as we learn from 1 Macc. 1 30 *ff.*, wreaked his wrath upon his Jewish subjects. Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the prophets of the OT (cp PROPHECY), orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (cp the case of the name of Cyrus in Is. 44 28). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration.

7. Always Antiochus IV.

In spite of Pusey's energetic warning against 'half-measures,' modern apologists, pressed by the constantly increasing historical difficulties caused by cuneiform decipherments, have been driven more and more to seek refuge in the 'half-measures' thus deprecated, so that, as Bevan (*Dan.* 8) humorously says, 'the defenders of Daniel have, during the last few years, been employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces.'

It may suffice if reference is made here to hut one of the equally arbitrary and nugatory attempts which have been made to save the authenticity of the book as a whole by surrendering its oneness of authorship. Zockler in his exposition of the Book of Daniel ('70) declared 11 5-39 to be a later interpolation; he had come to see quite clearly that such a piece of history could never have been penned by an exilic prophet. The attempt, however, vas just as vain as the attempt made elsewhere to change the name of Cyrus (Is. 45 1) into an appellative, for it left altogether out of account Dan. 2 43 and the relation of that verse to 11 6 17. These two verses treat of two unlucky intermarriages between Seleucids and the Ptolemies : namely, *v.* 6, of the marriage of Berenice, danghter of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, with Antiochus II. Theos, and *v.* 17, of that of Cleopatra (daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III., the Great, and thus sister of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes), from whom all the Egyptian Cleopatras have taken their name, with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. But these marriages are quite plainly alluded to in 2 43, where we read as follows regarding the kingdom represented in the vision by the legs of iron and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay : 'And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, hut they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mingle with clay.' From this it follows at once that by the fourth kingdom in chap. 2 is meant that of Alexander the Great, which became divided into that of the Seleucids and that of the Ptolemies (the other kingdoms of the successors of Alexander have here no interest for the author, and are, therefore, passed over). But if in chap. 2 the first of the four kingdoms has been made out to he the Babylonian, and the Greek to be the fourth, it follows, from what we are told of the dynasties under which Daniel himself lived, that the second and the third kingdoms, touched upon so lightly in Daniel's interpretation in 2 39, must be the Median and the Persian. Still more clearly than in chap. 2 does the author's special interest in the period of the fourth kingdom disclose itself in the visions of Daniel ; the relations of the people of God to Antiochus Epiphanes possess such great importance, because, immediately upon the fall of this tyrant—which is to be brought about without human intervention (cp 2 34 45 with 8 25)—the Messianic kingdom is forthwith to he set up. It is universally admitted that the reference to Autiochus Epiphanes is as plainly manifest in the second vision (8 9-14 23-25) as it is in the last vision (11 21-45), which occupies itself wholly with the reign of this king. Chap. 12 1 7 11 *f.* also relates to his persecution of the saints and its longed-for cessation. To the unprejudiced interpreter there can he no possibility of douht that in the three other pieces also the rang? of vision is limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. What is true of 2 43 is true also of 7 8 *ff.* 20 *ff.*, where the little horn (cp. 8 9), to whose power the saints are delivered up for three times and a half (cp 7 25 with 12 7), must again he the same persecutor who had made himself so hateful to the Jews. The same holds good, finally, of chap. 9. Here the sixty-two year-weeks which follow the first seven present, it is true, a historical difficulty which will have to he discussed (see § 20); hut thus much at least is certain, that the 'anointed one' in 9 26 is the high-priest Onias III., who was put to death in 171 B.C.,[1] so that the last year-week comes down to 164 B.C., and the suspension of sacrifice and offering which is predicted in 9 27 for the second half of this week enables us plainly to see that it is the action of Antiochus Epiphanes that is referred to.

8. Authenticity.

Now, on the assumption of the authenticity of the book, it is very hard indeed to understand how, out of the ten pieces of which it is composed, so many as five, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom is predicted, should stop short at the reign of a Seleucid sovereign whose king-

[1] Considerations of space prevent us from considering the hint thrown out by v. Gall (123) that it is not yet critically established that the LXX was based on the text in the two languages, or the complicated hypotheses of König (*Einl.* 384) and Ryssel (*TLZ*, 1895, col. 560 *f.*).

[1] Cp., however, ISRAEL, § 69.

dom—not to speak of the Greek kingdom out of which it and the other Seleucid kingdoms had arisen—had no existence in the days of the exilic Daniel.

Even the early father Hippolytus did not fail *to* notice the allusions to the history of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies which occur in the book of Daniel; but it was the Neo-platonist Porphyry (*ob.* 304 A.D.) who first drew the right inference from the acknowledged facts, and took Daniel's professed authorship to be **a** mere literary form, ascribing the book to a Jew who wrote during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. As, however, this denial of the authenticity of the book came from an opponent of Christianity, it produced no effect. It was necessary that, within the Church itself, a truly scientific and historical method of dealing with the OT should arise.[1] This has at last come to pass. As the result **of** the labours of several generations, we can safely hold it *to* have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. A fundamental rule of all sound exegesis was violated when the utterances of chap. 7 were not interpreted in the light of the other four parallel texts, but were torn from their connection in the book in order to give them a meaning divergent from the sense of the rest of the book, as if the fourth beast signified not the Grecian but the Roman Empire. To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, seems, indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which, from a historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darins as being the second of the four world-monarchies, and places this as an independent intermediate link between the Chaldaean and the Persian monarchies (cp 6 1 [5 31] 8 3 20 9 1), distinguishing it qnite plainly from the Persian, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median empire between those **of** Babylonia and Persia (cp PERSIA), the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground. Quite apart, however, from the numerous contradictions of history to be afterwards spoken of (§ 10, etc.),—contradictions which absolutely exclude the supposition that the author was an eye-witness living during the period of the 'exile,'—the fact that the horizon of the book is throughout bounded by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the fierce persecutor of the Jews and their religion, with whose fall the Messianic salvation is represented as being ushered in, makes it abundantly plain that the figure of the exilic Daniel is employed only as a literary form. The Messianic hope could not possibly have taken this special form so early as during the 'exile,' but only under the oppression of the Syrian tyrant who sought to extirpate the religion of Israel, and to compel the Jews to adopt the idolatrous worship of Greece.

9. Aim. The book of Daniel being, as Wellhausenwell describes it (*IJG*(2), 240 *f.*), 'a hortatory and consolatory writing for the persecuted, designed to strengthen and cheer them by the knowledge that within a very short time the overbent bow will break,' its author was able to allow himself great freedom in the use of his materials. His aim was not the communication of historical information. Using as a vehicle the materials, historical or unhistorical, that tradition had placed at his disposal, he availed himself of the literary artifice of employing the name of the exilic Daniel to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth.[1] As in the cases of Job and Jonah, so also in that of the book of Daniel, a great injustice is done if the standard of strict historicity is applied,—a standard by which the book is not in the least intended to be tried. We find in it (cp Kamph.

10. Unconcern about history. *Daniel,* 16 *f.*, **28** *ff.*, 45) not only many historical errors but also, frequently, a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities, of which the author, in spite of his great literary art, certainly was not always conscious. If it is permissible to find in 6 8, no less than in the demand mentioned in 2 11, a scornful reference to that religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes which the pious Jew could regard only as a piece of insanity, these passages without doubt contain other conscious allusions to historical fact. In many cases, we can quite confidently conjecture their presence, though we do not always quite understand them. If it is only with difficulty that we are able to form any visual image of the fiery furnace (3), or of the lion's den (ti), still less are we able to comprehend how Daniel, who had constantly remained steadfast to the God of Israel, could have come to be the chief of the heathen Magi (2 43); and in like manner we fail to make clear to ourselves how Daniel (cp 8 26 12 4) could have managed to secure that what he had seen should remain a secret for centuries. The matter becomes at once natural and intelligible if we suppose that the exilic Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come. Anachronisms and historical difficulties of every sort occur throughout the whole of the book, not only in its preliminary narratives.

Orthodoxy shows a natural reluctance to recognise the unhistorical character of the book. As even its latest expounder,[2] although dating it in the Maccabean period, greatly exaggerates its historical value, and justifies himself in his refusal to recognise its true character by urging that in substance the book is not pure invention, but rests upon tradition, it seems fitting to call attention to one outstanding instance in which tradition is no guarantee of historical truth, before we proceed to enumerate some samples of the unhistoricity of the book.—Among the apocryphal additions to Daniel contained in 𝔊, that of the 'Dragon at Babel' (cp Schr. in Riehm's *HWB*) is certainly not pure invention. This legend, which in its present literary form is very late, had already been brought into relation with the old Babylonian mythology by Schrader and Ball (Wace, *Apocr.* ii. 348 *ff.*); but quite recently Gunkel (*uf sup.* 320 *ff.*) has conclusively shown that what lies at the root of it is the primeval Babylonian myth of the conquest of the Chaos-monster or the great

[1] Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 325. [Doubts as to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel were uttered again in the seventeenth century by Hobhes (*Leviathan,* 33) and Spinoza (*Tract. theol. polit.* 10); hut Anthony Collins, the 'free-thinker,' was the first who treated the subject with something like modern thoroughness. As Lechler has shown, the eleven grounds which Collins adduces (*Scheme of Literal Prophecy,* 1726, p. 149 *ff.*) are mostly those on which recent criticism relies for proving the Maccabæan date of Daniel. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that critical doubts were confined to sceptical theologians. Richard Bentley, scholar and apologist, had reached by 1701 a conviction of the late origin of Daniel. Jehb in his monograph (97 *f.*) makes too light **of** Bentley's doubts. In spite of Whiston's somewhat disparaging language, it is clear that Bentley found serious difficulties both in the narratives and in the predictions of Daniel, in consequence of which he 'supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias the high priest, and that this Onias was Daniel's Messiah' (see Whiston's *Memoirs by himself,* Lond. 1749, p. 108 *f.*) Whiston was **a** Boyle Lecturer.]

[1] 'It is possible, no doubt that he derived some part of these narratives from Jewish 'or Babylonian popular stories. But even if we accept this conjecture, the historical setting, thq moral purpose, and the skill in presentation are all 'his own' (Che. *EB*(9), art. 'Daniel').

[2] Georg Behrmann, ***Hand-cornmentar,*** 1894.

dragon Tiāmat by the god Marduk.[1] Instead of merely pronouncing this apocryphal narrative, as Zockler (*Apocr.* ['91], 215 221) somewhat imprudently does, foolish and silly, we ought rather to learn from it that dependence on ancient tradition is not incompatible with complete unhistoricity.

As a contemporary, the author of Daniel 11 21-39 was in circumstances which enabled him to depict with the utmost accuracy the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his two Egyptian campaigns; but for the concluding portion of ch. 11 he can no longer be taken as a historical source, inasmuch as *vv.* 40-45 go beyond the author's present; the actual course of events in which Antiochus Epiphanes perished on an eastern raid in the Persian city of Tabæ in 164 B.C. is glaringly inconsistent with the author's anticipation that the king, after a successful expedition against Egypt, was to meet his end suddenly in Palestine.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the book was written during the life-time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

11. Language. The conclusion that it belongs to a very late date in the post-exilic period is forced upon us also by its language.

The many Persian words in the book are, in the mouth of Daniel, anachronisms which clearly testify against the authenticity of the book; as also testifies the use of the word *Kasdīm* (EV 'Chaldæans' [*q.v.*]) for the Babylonian priests, soothsayers, or magicians. True, our book sometimes, in agreement with those prophets who lived under the new Babylonian kingdom, understands by the Kasdim the people who had the predominance in Babylon (cp Dan. 38 530 91 with Is. 4314); but it stands alone, opposed not only to the Assyrio-Babylonian *usus loquendi* but also to that of all the rest of the OT, in the manner in which it everywhere else (cp 224, etc.) makes Kasdim synonymous with 'Magi,' a practice which is found, long after the downfall of the Babylonian empire, in Greek and Roman authors. As the number of words borrowed from Persian certainly exceeds a dozen, the few Greek expressions do not come so much into account; but attention is worth calling to *psantērīn* in Dan. 35, because this form, alongside of the Greek *psaltērion*, proves the influence of the Macedonian dialect (which substituted *n* for *l*), and because it is in the case of this word that the Semitic derivation of the foreign words in Daniel, so much insisted on in the apologetic interest, is strikingly seen to be untenable.

The non-Hebrew language of Dan. 24 *ff.* is introduced as being the speech of the 'Chaldaeans,' and is kept up

12. Aramaic. by the author down to the end of chap. 7, because in his time (though not so in 2 K. 1826) both languages were readily understood; it is thus possible for us to form definite conclusions as to its character. Although it is called Aramaic correctly, it is at the same time intended to be taken as the language of the 'Chaldaeans,' and this on any assumption involves a historical error. The biblical Aramaic (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 3 *f.*) is now known to belong to the West Aramaic group and to be closely related to the language of the Targums and of the Palmyrene and other inscriptions. We know also that this language, of which the remains preserved to us come for the most part from Palestine, did not, as the language of current intercourse, supersede the old Hebrew (which had now begun to assert its claim to be regarded as a sacred language) until the end of the third century B.C. The actual language of the 'Chaldaeans' also we know from the cuneiform inscriptions to have been Semitic, but very different from the West Aramaic, so that Luther's free translation of 24—'Then spake the Chaldees to the king in Chaldee'—is indeed exegetically correct but historically false. If, on the other hand, in order to avoid supposing that Aramaic was confounded with 'Chaldaean,' it is maintained that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic, we may point to the linguistic peculiarities of the old Aramaic inscriptions,[1] which abundantly show that the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been spoken in Babylon in the sixth century.

How little the Book of Daniel can be depended on in matters of history appears from its very first verse. Not

13. Mistakes in names. only do the real contemporaries (cp Jer. 462 Ez. 267) of the famous Chaldaean king call him Nebuchadrezzar; but also Strabo, in transliterating the name, comes near the cuneiform form. In Dan. 11, on the other hand, the name is given in a later corrupt form (with *n* instead of *r*) in connection with the unhistorical statement (cp Jer. 251 3619 29) that Nebuchadrezzar conquered Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Whatever be the case with the rest of the OT, Daniel betrays no trace of acquaintance with cuneiform; the error made in 48 [5] is an urgent warning against any attempt to interpret the writing on the wall in 525 by reference to the real speech of the 'Chaldaeans.' In 48 [5] Daniel's name Belteshazzar, which is already taken in the LXX to be the same as Belshazzar (51), the name of the alleged last Babylonian king, is wrongly supposed to be a compound of the divine name Bel (Is. 461), although Bēl-šar-uṣur (that is, 'Bēl preserve the king') and Belaṭsu-uṣur (that is, 'may his life be preserved') are philologically distinct.[2] It would take us too far afield were we to show how even Nebuchadrezzar's insanity and the equally unhistorical conception of Belshazzar or even of the legendary Darius the Mede (whom Xenophon's romance, the *Cyropædia*, cannot make a historical person) carry us back to traditions which, widely different as they seem, in part at least, to have been, were in any case greatly distorted. How strained are the author's relations with history can be seen by a glance at chap. 11 2 *f.* As only two Babylonian kings are known to him, so he knows of only three Persian sovereigns besides Cyrus (101), their names being those of the four that occur elsewhere in the OT (cp Ezra 45-7); as Xerxes is clearly intended by the fourth, this sovereign is made to be the successor of Artaxerxes (whom he really preceded), and the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

In these circumstances Driver's correct statement (*Introd.*(6) 510), that 'the book rests upon a traditional

14. Daniel the hero. basis,' ought not to have been followed by the statement that 'Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon.' A book which does not admit of being used as a historical source, save for the author's own time, cannot possibly be a guarantee for the existence of an exilic Daniel. When we cast about us for information concerning Daniel independent of our present book, we find that the name Daniel is of rare occurrence in the OT, being met with (see DANIEL i. 1) only once on perfectly historical ground; and, moreover, what is very remarkable, we find also in Ezra's time (see DANIEL i. 3) a Mishael, an Azariah, and a Hananiah (cp Dan. 16)—a coincidence of rare names which led Bleek to conjecture that our author had thrown back the contemporaries of Ezra by more than a century in order that he might represent them as living

1 Similarly Marduk reappears later in the Christian knight St. George.

1 Cp Dr. *Introd.*(6) 503 *f.* (the language of Daniel, [*c*] end). We possess monuments of the official use of Aramaic for the times of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian supremacies, which indicate that there was in the case of the smaller parts of speech, such as the relative and demonstrative pronouns which have special value for the determination of the age of a language, a notable difference of form between the older and the younger Aramaic. Whilst the old Aramaic of the inscriptions from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. has זי, זא and זנה, in biblical Aramaic these much used particles have the forms דִּי, דָּא and דְּנָה. The Book of Daniel is thus, in its use of ד for the older ז, quite in agreement with what we know of the usage prevailing in Aramaic inscriptions and books dating from the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D.

2 On the name and asserted kingship of Belshazzar, and on Darius the Mede, see BELSHAZZAR, DARIUS, 1.

in the time of the 'exile' at a heathen court, and showing an example to his countrymen under the oppression of the heathen. This hypothesis and that of Cheyne (*OPs.* 107) are, at any rate, preferable to the view of Ewald, who places the original Daniel among the North Israelitish exiles at the court of Nineveh (***Prophets,*** 5 111).

In confirmation of the date (during the lifetime of Antiochus Epiphanes) already made out, we have many additional facts which point to the early Maccabean period even if they do not enable us to fix the time with absolute precision.

15. Other signs of late date.

Among these are the *argumenta e silentio* supplied by the fact that Daniel is not named by the **son** of Sirach who wrote about 190 B.C. (Ecclus. 48 *f.*), and—a still weightier argument—by the complete absence of any influence of Daniel upon post-exilic prophetic literature. Conversely this book, to which the angelic names Gabriel and Michael, the resurrection (**12** 2; cp ESCHATOLOGY), and a collection of sacred boolts that included the prophecies of Jeremiah (9 2) are known, plainly reveals its dependence not only on Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also on the post-exilic Book of Zechariah. If the absence of Daniel from Ecclus. 49 6-10 is itself a proof of late origin, a still stronger proof lies in the fact that it has found its place in the Hebrew canon, not in the second division, the collection of prophetic books, but in the third or last division, between Esther and Ezra (cp CANON, § 49). Not until the time of the **LXX** (which, moreover, has treated the text of Daniel in a very arbitrary fashion) does it find a place, after Ezekiel, as the fourth of the 'great' prophets, and thus it comes to pass that once in the NT[1] Daniel is designated as a prophet.

The very arbitrary treatment of the MT of Daniel in the LXX, particularly in chaps. 3-6, and the false interpretation of 9 25 *ff.* (*šābhū'īm*, 'weeks' confounded with *šibh'īm*, 'seventy') brought it about that long before

16. Greek translations.

Jerome's time, Theodotion's translation of Daniel (already employed by Irenæus)[2] superseded the **LXX** in ecclesiastical use. Though Theodotion did not remove the apocryphal additions not found in MT, yet, by making use of Aquila's version, he brought the text of the **LXX** into closer relation with MT. From a MS (Cod. Chisianus) of the **LXX** in the library of Cardinal Chigi, not very old, but supplied with Origen's obeli and asterisks, an edition of the **LXX** Daniel was published at Rome in 1772, and another and better one by Cozza in 1877. The Syriac Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, edited by Bugati in 1788 and photographically reproduced by Ceriani in 1874, is justly held to be purer than the text of the Cod. Chisianus (Swete's 87), which is, indeed, full of errors. The text-critical importance of 𝔊 is, for the Book of Daniel, fortunately very small ; so far as the integrity of the consonants of the original text is concerned, the book is one of the best preserved in the whole OT.

As distinguished from the older prophets the Book of Daniel is often spoken of as the first apocalypse (cp Dan. 2 19). It makes a revelation of the coming end of the world, although in a veiled manner, so as to avoid the dangers of open speech. Upon the basis of his study of earlier writers (9 2),[3] and conscious of his own divine enlightenment, the author wrote his work of admonition and comfort in the name of the ancient Daniel ; it is only

17. Pseudonymity.

ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of Ball in Wace's *Apocr.* 2 307) or misapprehension that can lay to his charge as a fault his employment of a literary form which was common throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, unduly exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Maccabean period, that prophecy had become extinct—a feeling which may have contributed, along with other causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our author pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims which were sought by the older prophets, and it is by no means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity. In presenting, as still future, past occurrences in which, as one world-empire perished after another, he saw the hand of his God only as preparing the way for that which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognise in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7 12) : the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp Smends lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *ZATW*, 1885, p. 222 *ff.*). Cp ESCHATOLOGY.

If we turn now to the question how our author set about fixing by computation the date of the accomplishment of the Messianic hopes of the Jews, we are able to arrive at a more precise determination of the date of his writing.

18. Chronological data.

It must have been either soon before, or soon after, the purification of the temple. This we learn from the number given in **8 14**. As already said, the years of weeks (cp *2* Ch. 36 21) present some historical difficulty, inasmuch as, after the first seven weeks of years (which suit the Babylonian 'exile'), instead of the 62 x 7 = 434 years of the interval which we should expect to find between Cyrus and the death of Onias III. (538-171 B.C.), we are, according to the actual chronology (which gives 367 years), 67 years short. As the Jewish Hellenist Demetrius, however, who wrote about 210 B.C., has fallen into a mistake precisely similar to our author's—a mistake which could easily be made in the absence of a fixed era—we need not be surprised at such an error in a book historically so inaccurate as that of Daniel. The last week of years, which begins in 171 B.C., extends (precisely reckoned) to 164 B.C., and it has certainly contributed greatly to the esteem in which the book has been held, that Antiochus Epiphanes actually did die in the year 164. For our author the division of the seventieth week of years into two equal parts was suggested by the history of his time, inasmuch as towards the end of 168 B.C. the Abomination of Desolation was set up, and idolatrous worship in the temple began. The three-years-and-a-half which remain after deduction of the historical three-years-and-a-half stand for the still incomplete period of the last and greatest tribulation in the course of which our book was written. For the correctness of this second number ($3\frac{1}{2}$) faith had to be the guarantee; and that it was known to be a round number or a number of faith is shown not only by the vague periphrasis in 7 25 and 12 7, where the plural 'times' takes the place of the linguistically impossible dual, but also by the three numbers, 1150 (cp the 2300 evenings and mornings in 8 14), 1290, and 1335 days, used in an approximate way to express three years and a half—apparently with precision but in reality only in round

1 In Mt. 24 15, but not in the ‖ Mk. **13** 14.

2 Porphyry, too, made use of Theodotion's translation and even (according to Jerome's express testimony) regarded it as the original (cp Bevan, *op. cit.* 3).

3 Following ont a suggestion of Nöldeke (*Alttest. Litt.* 224), Prof. Bevan has offered this interpretation of 9 2, 'I understood the number of years by the Pentateuch,' the special reference being to Lev. 26 18 21 **24** 28, where it is declared that the Israelites are to be punished ***sewn times*** for their sins. 'The 70 weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. 25 11 29 10 with Lev. 26 18 *ff.*' 'The 70 years of Jeremiah were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected.' But the expression 'seven times' has here, as in Prov. 24 16, simply the sense of 'often.' The text in 9 2 cannot ascribe to Daniel a *comprehension* of 'the number of the years by the (holy) books,' because such a comprehension is, as a fact, only obtained through the angel in *vv.* *14-27.* Besides, it is unnatural to explain the phrase 'the books' as referring to the Pentateuch when the context speaks only of Jeremiah. Behrmann's rendering of בינתי ('I took notice of') is preferable *to* that of Bel-an and of EV ('I understood').

numbers. Behrmann, with Cornill, continues to fix the date of the book as in the beginning of the year **164**, because the number in 8 14, which does not seem to be symbolical, is held to point to the purification of the temple as having already been accomplished; but Cornill,[1] reckoning backwards 1150 days from 25th December **165** B.C., sought to make out 27th October **168** as the probable date of the religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes. The difference of **45** days between the number in 12 11 and that in 12 12, which it is merely arbitrary to attempt to explain as a gloss, points to months of **30** days. In that case the **1290** days (*v.* 11), or **43** months, would fit in if we were to add an intercalary month to the **42** months of the three years and a half. However we may reckon (cp H. Oort in *Th. T* 28, 450 ['94]), the end of chap. **9** forbids the dissociation of the restoration of the temple service from the final close so decidedly that the present writer now unites with Kuenen and Wellhausen in preferring the usual view, according to which 8 14 still lies in the author's future, and holds the date of the book to be **165** B.C.

19. Apocryphal additions.

When the hook, which rapidly became popular, first began, perhaps as early as 150 B.C. (cp 1 Macc. 1 54 2 59 *f.*), to be translated by Egyptian Jews into Greek, the legends of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon (cp Bevan. 45), which may very well have had an independent circulation,[2] had certainly not as yet been taken up into it. In fact, as late as the fifth century A.D. we have it on the authority of Polychronius that the Song of the Three Children was still absent alike from the Syriac version and from the original text. We cannot tell at what date it was that these apocryphal additions (which are contained in all the MSS that have reached us) were taken up into the Greek and the Syriac Daniel. In view of the great popularity of their contents, shown by the variety of the forms in which they are presented, we can only conjecture that they must have been adopted comparatively early (the book from the first was freely rendered rather than faithfully translated in the LXX), although the growth of the four different Syriac texts of Susanna (cp Wace, 2 330 *f.*) may have been later. The so-called genuine LXX text, which we possess in the Cod. Chisianus (Sw. **87**) and (in Syriac) in a valuable Milan MS (cp Swete, *Septuagint*, vol. **3**, p. ii *f.*) contains, of course, the additions just as fully as do the many MSS which give us Daniel in the text of Theodotion, already described above (§ **16**) as a revision of the LXX. Swete (as above) has conveniently printed together the text of Theodotion, which obtained ecclesiastical sanction, and that of the LXX, which had lain in oblivion for almost fifteen centuries. Even if we suppose, with Schürer (*PRE*(3) 1 640), that the LXX text must have been in existence before the Daniel legend received new developments *in Greek*, we may safely assume that the additions to the Greek Daniel had been made before the beginning of the Christian era. The balance of probability is that they were not translated from any Semitic source, but were originally written in Greek (cp Pusey, Daniel, 378 *f.*). They are distinguished—as indeed is the LXX version of Daniel—from the Jewish Greek that prevails in the rest of the LXX by their purer and more elegant diction; another indication in the same direction is the well-known play upon Greek words in Susanna (*vv.* 54 *f.* 58 *f.*, cp HOLMTREE), which even Julius Africanus urged as proof of the spuriousness of the piece in his letter to Origen, who wished the narrative to be retained in the canon. As Protestants are in no way bound by the

20. Susanna.

decree of the Council of Trent (cp Wace. *Apocr.* 1 368 *f.*), which declares the apocryphal additions to be true history, and as we hardly require a full enumeration of reasons such as is given, *e.g.*, by Reuss (*Das AT übersetzt*, **1894**, 7 411 *f.*) in proof of the unhistorical character of the Susanna legend, we are able to approach without any prejudice the question as to the language in which it was originally written. It may be frankly conceded that in view of the small extent of the additions—plainly the work of a Hellenistic Jew (or Jews)—and in view of the fact that even in the case of a comparatively poor language it is always possible by *free* translation to imitate any play upon words whatever, we have not the means that would enable us to prove conclusively that the original language was Greek.

To estimate the additions correctly, we must consider their substance rather than their present Greek form. Without prejudice to the literary freedom which is manifestly presupposed by their present form and by the fact that the Susanna legend appears in several shapes (cp Salmon in Wace, p. xlvi), it is clear that they contain more or less of traditional matter, and, like the canonical book itself, cannot be regarded as pure invention. So long ago as **1832** Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vortr.* 122 *f.*) called attention to the fact that traces are preserved in the Haggādā of wonderful doings of a Daniel famous for his wisdom—*e.g.*, the fight with the dragon, already mentioned, in Midrash *Ber. Rab.* par. **68** (in Wünsche's transl., Leipsic, **1881**, p. **334**). As for the position of the legend of the beautiful Susanna, whom Daniel (represented in *v.* 45 as a very youthful boy) saves from the false accusation of the two elders by his wise judgment, Theodotion, for the sake of the presumed chronological order, has placed it before Dan. 1 (though after chap. 1 would be more appropriate), while the LXX and Vg., on the other hand, place it as a thirteenth chapter after the twelve canonical chapters; Bel and the Dragon being a fourteenth. Daniel's wise judgment recalls 1 K. 3 16 *ff.*; but the lascivious old men recall still more Ahab and Zedekiah, the two adulterous false prophets living in Babylon and threatened by Jeremiah (cp Jer. 29 20-23 with Sus. *v.* 57). about whom the Talmud and Midrash have so much to say. Brüll even thought that he had discovered the explanation of the flower-name Susanna in the Midrash *Wayyiḳra Rabba*, par. **19** (p. 129 in Wünsche's transl.), and Ball (Wace, 2 330) would fain have it that the piece is an anti-Sadducean 'tendency' writing. More likely is the connection suggested by Ewald (*GVI*(3) 4 636) of the Susanna story with a Babylonian legend, an allusion to which occurs in the Koran (*Sur.* 2 96), of the seduction of two old men by the goddess of love.

21. Bel and the Dragon.

While in Susanna Daniel, as his name implies, appears as a judge, he comes before us in the other two related pieces—Bel and the *Dragon of Babylon* (see *vv.* 24 28)—which immediately follow in all MSS and editions. as the successful opponent of heathenism, distinguished for wisdom and piety. In the first of the two, Daniel convinces the king (called Cyrus only in Theod.) of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel, who pretended that their god was an actual living deity, while it was they themselves with their wives and families who consumed the food and drink offered to Bēl. After the execution of the priests and the destruction of the helpless Bēl and his temple (*v.* 22) we read (*vv.* 23-42) of further exploits of Daniel in Babylon. He subdued the invulnerable dragon (Job **41** 18 [26] *ff.*) which they worshipped with divine honours, by throwing indigestible substances into its jaws, whereupon the king at the instigation of his enraged people caused the destroyer of their gods to be cast into the lions' den (cp Dan. 6); here he was divinely protected, and supported by food miraculously brought to him from the land of Judæa by the prophet Habakkuk (cp Ezek. 83). In 𝔊 **87** (see Sw.) the superscription of the twofold narrative of Bēl and the Dragon runs: 'From the prophesy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesu, of the tribe of Levi.' Here, doubtless, there is a reference to some Jewish prophetic legend, although only Theodotion calls this Habakkuk a prophet (see HABAKKUK). The only addition

[1] See his *Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, 1889.
[2] Cp above, § 10.

which, strictly speaking, supplements the canonical book of Daniel is the double hymn introduced after 323, consisting of 67 verses numbered in Greek and Vg. as *vv.* 24-90. The EV treats this entire section as one, headed 'The Song of the Three Children'; Luther, following the Vatican superscription, divides it into two, under the titles 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace.' The prayer named after Azariah (cp Dan. 17) is spoken in the name of the three friends; but its language is as general as if the entire Jewish people, oppressed and penitent, were speaking. After a brief connecting narrative relating their miraculous preservation from the devouring fire—a preservation regarded as an answer to Azariah's prayer—we have in *vv.* 52-90 the song of praise sung at the same time by all three together. This speaks of the deliverance from the fire only in the verse where they call upon themselves by name (*v.* 88). whilst the rest takes the form of a prolonged litany, reminiscent of Ps. 103 20 *ff.* and still more of Pss. 136 148 and Ecclus. 43, where in quite general terms all created things are summoned to praise the Lord.

22. Song of 3 Children.

To the bibliography in Bevan's ***Short Comm. on Daniel*** (Cambr. '94), p. 9, and in Strack's *Einl.* ('98), p. 214 *f.*, add Kamph. 'Daniel' in ***SBOT;*** Dr. *Introd.*(7) 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 524-537; Che. *OPs.* 94, 105 107, *Founders*, 363-371; Behrmann, ***Das B. Daniel***, Göttingen, 1894 (his exegesis is conscientious and sober; his etymologies are weak, hut he cri'cises Kautzsch's ***Gramm.*** in several points successfully); Breasted, *Hebraica*, July ('91), p. 244 *ff.* (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax)., Lohr, 'Text-krit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklarung des B. Daniel,' *ZATW*, 1895-96; Dillm. ***ATliche Theol.***, Leipsic ('95), p. 522 *f.*, 538. Baer, *Libri Dan. Ezr. et Neh. Text Mas.* etc., 1882 (with pref. by Franz Del., and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. D. Prince, ***A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*** ('99); Nestle, Marc. *u. Mat.*, 1893 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurzg. Gram. des Bibl.-Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus' Werke*, i.; Leipsic, '97); see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Komm. Hippolytus' in ***Archiv f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller***, i. ('97); Bludau, *Die Alexandrin. Uebersetzung des B. Dan. w. ihr. Verhältniss z. Mass. Text* ('97), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX: chaps. 1-3 7-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deutero-canonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel,' *JBL*, 17('98) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, ***PREP***(3) ('98), 4 445-457. A. K.

23. Literature.

DAN-JAAN (דָּנָה יַּעַן; ειc δαν ειδαν και ουδαν [B], eic AAN ιαραν και ιουδαν [A], εωc AAN [L]; *IN DAN SILVESTRIA* [Vg.]), a place mentioned (2 S. 246) in a description of the limits of David's kingdom, after the 'land of TAHTIM-HODSHI' (*q.v.*). Conder (*Hdbk.* 408), following Schultz, identifies it with *Dāniān*, a ruined place between Tyre and Akka, 4 m. N. of Achzib. That, however, is too far west. *'Dan'* must be the historic Dan, and *-jaan* (for which Ges.'s *ya'ar* 'forest' is a poor conjecture; but see 𝔊A Vg.) is plainly corrupt. To emend the text so as to read '(they went) to Dan, and from Dan they went round (וּמִדָּן סָבְבוּ) to Zidon' (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) is possible. It is better, however, especially if Klostermann is right in his emendation of Tahtim-hodshi, to change *-jaan* into *wĕ-'iyyōn*, 'and (to) Ijon'; Ijon, like Kedesh, belonged to the territory of Naphtali. We should then continue, 'and they went round (וַיָּסֹבּוּ, 𝔊BAL καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν) to Zidon.' Observe that Klostermann's emendation (וְעִיּן) is easier, and probably gives a better sense than that of Wellhausen and Driver. It is also proposed by Gratz. T. K. C.

DANNAH (דִּנָּה; ρεννα [BAL]), a city of the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15 49), mentioned between Socoh (Shuweikeh) and Debir. Suitable to this position in the modern *Idhna*, the Ιεδνα of the *OS*, 6 m. SE. of Beit-Jibrin; the variation in the form of the nanie is a not unusual one (cp Ibzīķ and Bezek).

DAPHNE (Δαφνη [AV]), 2 Macc. 4 33. See ANTIOCH, 2, § 1.

DARDA (דַּרְדַּע), one of three wise men, sons of MAHOL (the Chronicler differs; see ZERAH), compared nith Solomon (1 K. 4 31 [5 11]; 𝔊 4 27: Δαραλα [B], τον Δαραα [A], Δαρδαε [L]). In 1 Ch. 26 the name appears as Dara (δαρα [BA], δαραδε [L]); but, as it seems intended to be analogous in form to Chalcol [Chalcal?), a second *d* is indispensable. The largest group of MSS of 𝔊 read in 1 K. and 1 Ch. *του* δαρδα; three cursives in 1 K. have *τον* δαρδαν (so Arm.). Pesh. Targ. and some MSS (Kenn.) support MT in both passages.

DARIC (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, אֲדַרְכֹּנִים), RV 1 Ch. 29 7 etc., AV DRAM [*q.v.*].

DARIUS (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ; Old Pers. Dārayavauš, Darayavaš; Bab. *Dāri'amuš* (*vuš*); Sus. *mTariyamauš* (*vauš*); Δαρ[ε]ιος [BℵAQL 87]).

1. Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. 6 1 [2] 28 [29] 91 and 111 (*κυρου* [BAQ—*i.e.*, Theod.; 87 —*i.e.*, the LXX], Δαρειου [Aq. Sym.]). The name is here applied in error to the conqueror of the new Babylonian empire. In Dan. 91 Ahasuerus is the father of Darius the Mede, who, we are informed (cp 11 1), 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans' after the death of Belshazzar. We are told of Darius that he was then (638 B.C.) sixty-two years old, from which it follows that Ahasuerus his father must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadrezzar. With this agrees Tob. 14 15, where it is said (but not by ℵ) that the population of Nineveh was deported by Nebuchadrezzar and Ahasuerus. All this proceeds upon a mistake. Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares (Old Pers. Uvakhshātara), the predecessor of Astyages, with the assistance of Nabopolassar (Nabū-pal-uṣur) the father of Nebuchadrezzar. In the list of Median kings one searches in vain for a name that can by any possibility be taken for that of Ahasuerus or Darius. Even if it be argued that Darius was indeed a Mede, though nowhere called king of Media, we have to reckon not only with the notices given by the Greek historians but also with the Nabū-nā'id-Cyrus cylinder, from which it appears that Cyrus himself, immediately after the fall of the capital, ascended the throne of Babylon, and appointed to the governorship of the province of Babylon Gobryas (Old Pers. Gaubaruva, Bab. Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, who, it would appear, was superseded, as king, by Cambyses the Persian. This Gobryas may very well have been the person who, seventeen years afterwwds, joined forces with Darius Hystaspis against the pseudo-Smerdis. As governor of Gutium, which lay on the Median frontier, he may well have been called a Mede, and, as the ally of Darius, have been confounded with him. The name, however, of the father of Gobryas was Mardonius (Marduniya), not Xerses, and it is not to be supposed that Cyrus made such a political blunder as to entrust the control of so important a province as Gutium to a Mede. See DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13.

2. Darius I. Hystaspis, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), who allowed the Jews to rebuild their temple, is referred to in Ezra 4 5 24 5 5 6 1 Hag. 1 1 2 10 Zech. 1 1 7, and probably in Neh. 12 22.[1] His liberality towards the Jews is in complete accord with what we know otherwise of his general policy in religious matters towards the subject nations. He took the great Cyrus for his model, and contrasts strongly with Cambyses.

If Camhyses dealt the sacred Apis-hull of Memphis a mortal wound, Darius presented the city with a new Apis, and restored the temple of Amun-Ra at the oasis of El-Khargeh with great splendour. In Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean, temples were indeed sometimes destroyed by his generals, especially where, as at Naxos and at Eretria (Herod. 6 96 101),

[1] It is stated in Neh. 12 22 *f.* that the priests were registered under 'Darius the Persian': the Levites (if we emend the text) not till the period from Eliashib to Jaddua. The text of *v.* 22 *f.* has passed through changes, probably through the redaction of the Chronicler. So Kosters, *Herstel*, 109. [For other views see Meyer, *Entst.* 103, and NEHEMIAH, § 1.]

revenge was to be gratified; but he himself gave special orders to spare Delos, and also caused three hundred talents of incense to be burnt on the altars of Apollo and Artemis. If be discerned some affinity between Apollo and his own god Mithra, he may well have seen resemblance enough between Yahwè and Ahura-mazda to lead him to do homage to the god of Israel.

C. P. T.

3. Darius III. Codomannus, the last king of Persia (1 Macc. 1 1). Cp DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13; PERSIA.
4. 1 Macc. 12 7 AV; RV ARIUS. See SPARTA.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן; BDB compares Ar. *daraka*, 'hasten,' *darakatun*, 'shield'; ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [B], Asp. [AL]).

The B'ne Darkon, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); Ezra 2 56 = Neh. 7 58 (Aoprwv [BאA]) = 1 Esd. 5 33, LOZON following 𝔊BA Λοζων (δερκων [L]).

DART. On the various Heb. and Gk. words see WEAPONS.

DATES (דְּבַשׁ), 2 Ch. 31 5 AVmg.; EV HONEY (*q.v.*).

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (דָּתָן, ΔΑΘΑΝ, meaning obscure; and אֲבִירָם, see ABIRAM), Reubenites who led a revolt against Moses in the interval between the return of the spies and the final march towards Canaan.

In Nu. 15-17 the revolt of Dathan and Abiram is mingled and confused with another revolt, that of Korah.

1. The story: in Numbers. Consequently, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to interpret the narrative as it stands. There are sections of the narrative from which Korah disappears altogether. We have three causes for the revolt: impatience with the civil authority of Moses, discontent with the exclusive right of the Levitical tribe (as against Israel in general) to exercise priestly functions, and a desire on the part of the Levites who were not descended from Aaron to vindicate their equal right to the priesthood. These various motives are not combined, but appear in various parts of the narrative independently. The confusion reaches its highest point when we are told that the company of rebels who had already been swallowed up by the open earth were devoured by fire from Yahwb (cp 16 33 with 35).

If, however, we turn to Dt. 11 6, we find the means of escaping from this confusion ready to our hand. There

2. In Deuteronomy. Moses begs the Israelites to remember what Yahwk their God 'did to Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the sons of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all Israel.' From this passage, with which cp Ps. 106 17, we might naturally conclude that the Deuteronomist had a text of early Israelite history before him, in which the revolt of Dathan and Abiram was mentioned without any reference to Korah, and the rebels, instead of being devoured by fire, were swallowed up alive by the earth.

We ask, therefore, if any such independent narrative of the revolt led by Dathan and Abiram can be extracted

3. Original narrative. from the composite text of Nu. 16. The answer must be given, and is in fact given by all recent scholars, in the affirmative. We have but to read 16 1*b* 2*a* 12-15 25 26 27*b*-32*a* 33 34 by themselves, in order to obtain an account which is nearly complete and is also consistent and intelligible. This is the history from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed his summary—from which he has taken not only his facts but also his words and phrases. That, however, is not all. The verses just mentioned form a literary unity. Their style is partly that of the Yahwist, partly that of the Elohist, whose allied works here, as elsewhere, have been combined by an editor into a whole. The rest of the narrative in ch. 16 *f.* is in the style of the priestly writer (P), a style so clearly marked and uniform that it cannot be mistaken. The Deuteronomist makes no allusion to the priestly narrative—for the simple reason that in his time it did not exist. One difficulty remains. In *v.* 1 On is mentioned as one of the rebels but not a word is said of him in the sequel. Here in all probability the text is corrupt, and most scholars accept the emendation proposed by Graf (*Gesch. Bücher*, 89): 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben.' The emendation is abundantly justified by a comparison of Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 8 1 Ch. 5 3.

When disentangled from the later priestly story of the rebellion of Korah, with which it was mingled

4. The old tradition. by the compiler of the Hexateuch, the old tradition is in substance as follows. Dathan and Abiram belonged to Reuben, the oldest tribe, which had, however, forfeited its claim to the hegemony or princedom among the sons of Jacob (see the so-called Blessing of Jacob; Gen. 49 3 *f.*). As Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram resent the supremacy of Moses. When Moses bids them come up to judgment, they insolently refuse. They reproach him with his unfitness for rule. Instead of leading them into a land flowing with milk and honey, he has led them away from Egypt, which deserved to he so described, and has exposed them to the deadly perils of the wilderness. It is only by blinding the people that he can maintain his position. Moses, in answer, protests that he has neither done them any hurt nor robbed them of so much as an ass, and he begs Yahwk to pay no respect to their offering. These last words refer, apparently, to the sacrifice which every Israelite might offer for his honsehold, and may be compared with Gen. 4 4 *f.*, where the Yahwist tells us that Yahwk looked favourably on the offering of Abel but not on that of Cain. The writer is not thinking of any special priesthood, but simply takes for granted that Yahwk, whose favour was always sought by sacrifice, will not accept the offering of rebels against just authority. Thereupon Moses, accompanied by the elders of Israel, goes down to the tents of his opponents. He predicts the divine chastisement which will fall upon them, and his threat is fulfilled. The earth opens her mouth and Dathan and Abiram go down into Shĕōl, the receptacle of the shades: only, they, unlike other men, go down into it alive. Their wives and little ones perish with them.

We have made no attempt to distinguish between the work of the Yahwist and that of the Elohist. There

5. Redaction. are marks of style and expressions proper to the one and to the other, and again and again the same thing is mentioned twice. Kuenen (*Ond.*(2) § 8, n. 14) and Kittel (*Hist.* 1 212 n.) attribute the narrative (of course after exclusion of P) as a whole to the Elohist; Cornill (*Einl.*(4) 20), with better right, to the Yahwist. The frequent doublets show that two hands have been at work. We believe that Yahwist and Elohist told much the same story, and that the editor who combined their histories into one here made the Yahwist his basis, adopting at the same time some expressions from the Elohist. We cannot see any solid ground for Dillmann's belief that the Yahwist represented Dathan and Abiram as claiming the priesthood. He urges the words in *v.* 15, 'respect not thou their offering'; bnt such a curse, while all Israelites were allowed to sacrifice, might be naturally invoked against any enemy. The Yahwist makes little or no mention of a special priesthood, and though, no doubt, he was familiar with the institution, assuredly did not impugn the right of lay Israelites to offer sacrifice. The whole narrative now before us depicts a rebellion directed against Moses as a civil ruler. Had Dathan and Abiram claimed to exercise priestly functions we should have heard more about it. See KORAH.

W. E. A.

DATHEMA (ΔΑΘΕΜΑ [A], -ΘΑΙΜΑ [א], -ΜΕΘΑ [V], Syr. ܪܡܬܐ in 1 Macc. 5 9; ΔΙΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΟ ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 1), one of the strong places in Gilead to which the Jews had betaken themselves when threatened by Timotheus and his host. It was relieved, with great slaughter of the enemy, by Judas the Maccabee (1 Macc. 5 9 8 24 *ff.* 29 *ff.*).

Dathema has not been identified; from the description it must have lain between Bosora and Maspha (Mizpeh). The Syr. reading may he only a mistake for *Damtha* (Ew. *Hist.* 5 314); hut within the distance from Bosra of a night's march (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 3) lies the modern *Remtheh*, a considerable village and station on the **Hajj** road (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 17).

DAUGHTER. The word 'daughter' (בַּת, θυγατηρ) in **EV** often has Hebraistic senses, the chief of which are here mentioned.

1. Native Canaanite or Philistine women are 'daughters' of Canaan (Gen. 36 2) or of Philistia (2 S. 1 20).

2. 'Daughter' is a synonym for 'girl' or 'woman' (Gen. 30 13 Judg. 12 9 [30 'daughters'] Cant. 2 2 6 9); in addressing a person (Ruth 2 8 Ps. 45 11 Mt. 9 22).

3. The population of a place, or the place and its population, may be called collectively a 'daughter.' A typical phrase is בַּת צִיּוֹן (Is. 1 8 10 32, etc.): lit. 'daughter of Zion,' but, since the genitive is appositional, more correctly rendered 'people of Zion' (so sometimes in *SBOT*). So, too, 'daughter of Babylon' (Ps. 137 8), 'daughter of Egypt' (Jer. 46 11 19 24); also 'daughter of my people'—*i.e.*, my country-people (Is. 22 4 Jer. 4 11). A phrase which is generally synonymous is 'sons' (*i.e.*, inhabitants) of Zion, Babylon, etc. See *ZDMG*, 40 169; König, *Syntax*, § 255 *e*.

4. Dependent towns may he called 'daughters.' Thus the 'daughters of Judah' in Ps. 48 11 [12] are the cities of Judah (cp GENEALOGIES, i. § 1). Cp the use of 'mother' for a provincial capital in 2 S. 20 19. See TOWN, VILLAGE.

5. 'Daughter,' like 'son,' in combination with a noun, may also express some speciality of character or capacity. Examples of this are few in number. A 'daughter of Belial' is certainly a 'grossly wicked person' (1 S. 1 16). 'Daughter of troops (בַּת־גְּדוּד; Mic. 5 1 [4 14]) is explained 'those who subject to attack'; hut the text is doubtful. 'Daughters of music' (בְּנוֹת הַשִּׁיר, 'daughters of song') in Eccles. 12 4 might he singing women; hut others think that the sounds of music are thus figuratively described.

DAVID (דָּוִד, דָּוִיד; Δαυ[ε]ιδ [BAL][1]). The name may be explained (1) as meaning 'beloved, a friend, NAMES, §§ 5, 56; or (2) as meaning 'paternal uncle,' if we pronounce דּוֹד (*i.e.*, Dōd), for which Gray (*HPN* 83) offers Semitic analogies, though the explanation is certainly 'at first sight unlikely'; or (3), best of all, as an abbreviation of Dodiel, which was perhaps the name of one of David's sons (see DANIEL i. 4), or of Dodijah = DODAI (*q.v.*). See also DODO.

The chronology of the life of David is most uncertain. We have elsewhere (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 29, 37) assumed 930 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Rehoboam. To accept the round number of forty years assigned to the reign of Solomon in 1 K. 11 42 and to that of David in 2 S. 5 4 and in 1 K. 2 11 as strictly historical, would be uncritical. The chronological statements referred to are, at most, editorial guesses which may, as good critics think, be not very far from the mark.[2] The early history also of David is in many respects uncertain. It intertwines to a great extent with the still obscurer record of his predecessor (see SAUL); and keen criticism is necessary to arrive at the kernel of fact which there undoubtedly is in the legends that have come down to us. Winckler indeed denies that there is such a kernel of facts in the romantic story of David's early vicissitudes. Such exaggerated distrust, however, appears to arise from a preconceived theory respecting David, and most critics hold strongly to the view that the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition. If it should appear that this imaginative element contains some details which we have allowed a warm place in our regard and it would pain us to miss from the history of Israel, we must comfort ourselves with the thought (1) that what remains unshaken becomes more precious than ever, and (2) that even pure legends are of great historical value for the characterisation of the age which produced them.

(*a*) *First appearance.*—The only ancestor of David known to early traditions was his father Jesse,[1] who was believed to have been a citizen of Bethlehem.[2] David was the youngest of his four[3] sons (so 1 S. 17 13 14 [B omits]; cp 16 5-9), and was sent to keep his father's sheep in the steppes of Judah. Such at least is the statement of one of our traditions, which, at any rate, has the merit of accounting for the agility, endurance, and courage, so constantly ascribed to David (cp 1 S. 17 34 24 2 2 S. 17 9). There, too, David is supposed to have acquired that skill in music (cp Gen. 4 20 *f.*) which led to his first introduction to Saul, after which he became the king's armour-bearer and slew Goliath. This, however, is not in accordance with the older and more trustworthy account, which simply tells us that David was a valiant Israelitish warrior who happened to be also clever with his tongue and with his lyre, and who was sent for from Bethlehem (a feature borrowed, perhaps, from the other tradition) to charm away Saul's melancholy. Nor is the statement that the shepherd-lad slew Goliath the Philistine consistent with the plain and thoroughly credible, because unlegendary, tradition given elsewhere, that the slayer of Goliath was Elhanan, and the period of his exploit not in Saul's but in David's reign[4] (see ELHANAN, GOLIATH). We must, therefore, if the superior antiquity and probability of a narrative are to count as recommendations, give up the more romantic of the two sets of statements respecting David's introduction to Saul and his early prowess. That he became Saul's armour-bearer and musician need not be disputed.

1. Stories of earlier days.

(*b*) *Break with Saul.*—Another point in which the ordinary view of the life of David needs rectification is the occasion which gave birth to Saul's jealousy of David. The MT of 1 S. 18 6 states that 'when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines,' the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing, 'Saul hath slain

[1] The MSS generally have δαδ. Lag. gives Δαβιδ in a few places.

[2] See Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. der hebr. Könige*, 16 *f.*, cp (for David) St. *GVI* 1 264 297. Wi. (*GI* 1 174) questions this.

[1] This is intelligible enough in the light of David's words in 1 S. 18 18 (not in 𝔊B). That a later age claimed descent for the most popular of the kings from the ancient princes of Judah (Ruth 4 18 *ff.*) is also intelligible (see RUTH, BOOK OF); David was not to he of less distinguished origin than Saul (1 S. 9 1). Cp the case of Sargon. It was only in the time of Esar-haddon that a genealogy was produced giving the Sargonic dynasty (which had simply usurped the throne) the necessary line of ancestors. See the inscriptions quoted by Wi. (*Hebraica*, 4 52 *f.*).

[2] The connection with Bethlehem has been rendered doubtful by Marq. (*Fund.* 23 *ff.*), who thinks 'that the belief in it arose from a false reading in 1 S 20 28, where, for 'asked leave of me unto Bethlehem' (cp 𝔊BAL) he reads (with Klo.) 'asked leave of me until the meal-time' (*'ēth leḥem* for *bēth leḥem*)—a sound emendation. From the fact that David's sister ABIGAIL (1) (*q.v.*) married a man of Jezreel (near Carmel in Judah, the native place of David's favourite wife Abigail), and that David himself took his first wife from that place (see AHINOAM), Marquart suspects that the hero's real home was farther south than Bethlehem, perhaps at Arad. This view he supports by a plausible but unprovable conjecture, viz., that Shammah the Aradite (so he reads in 2 S. 23 25; see HARODITE)—*i.e.*, the man of Arad—is Shammah, David's brother, and that Ahiam b. Shobab the Aradite (2 S. 23 33; see HARARITE) was also a relation of David. Both these persons were enrolled among David's 'thirty. The name of the home of David may conceivably have been forgotten, and (quite apart from 1 S. 20 28) a tradition such as that in 2 S. 23 14-17 may have suggested to narrators the choice of Bethlehem for his birthplace. This is probable. Cp Winckler, *Gesch.* 1 24.

[3] A later tradition increased the number to seven (1 Ch. 2 13 15) or rather eight (1 S. 16 10 *f.* 17 12 [B om.]). The names of three out of the seven in 1 Ch. *l.c.* (viz., NETHANEL, 2; OZEM, 1; and RADDAI) appear to be fictitious; cp Gray, *HPN* 233, Marq. *Fund* 25.

[4] The duplicate narratives of Saul's first meeting with David and of the slaying of Goliath respectively are:—

(*a*) 1 S. 16 14-23 17 1-18 4 (part), and
(*b*) 1 S. 17 1-18 4 (part), 2 S. 21 19.

On these passages what is most necessary has been stated by Dr. *Introd.* 169; cp also the writers referred to in GOLIATH. WRS (*OTJC*(2) 433) finds some of the arguments for the existence of two opposite traditions as to David's introduction to Saul inconclusive. But there seems no strong objection to regarding the words אשר בצאן 'who is with the sheep' in 1 S. 16 19 as a harmonistic interpolation (see St. *GVI* 1 224 n. 2; Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 211), and it seems unnatural to take the words of Saul's servant in 1 S. 16 18 proleptically. The true continuation of 1 S. 16 23 is not 17 1, but a lost description of David's early exploits (see above), which was followed by 18 6 (in a shorter form)—8 *a*.

his thousands and David his ten thousands,' from which (see *v.* 8b) Saul inferred that the ambition of his spoiled favourite would not rest satisfied without the crown itself. It is certain, however, that MT does not give the original form of this passage. Whether the Hebrew text underlying the LXX contained the words 'when David returned,' etc., and the clause at the end of *v.* 8, is a point on which critics differ. Even if, as Budde supposes, the LXX translator, to produce a simpler narrative, omitted these clauses, it is not denied by that critic that the former clause is an editorial insertion;[1] it was not, therefore, the slaughter of Goliath by the shepherd lad that (according to the tradition) made Saul suspect that David nourished hopes of becoming king.

This, however, is merely a negative statement. What was it, we may ask, that, according to the best analysis of chap. 17, aroused the jealousy of Saul? To the present writer, as well as to Stade and Wellhausen, 1 S. 18 6 (with the omission of the reference to Goliath) seems to presuppose some account of David's early exploits as a warrior which stood in no connection with the story of Goliath, and indeed was removed by the editor to make room for it. It was these early exploits of a trained warrior that excited the jealousy of Saul, but (since *v.* 8b-11, which 𝔊[B] omits, are derived, like *vv.* 17-19, which also 𝔊[B] omits, from another source) did not suggest the thought of David's wish for the crown. This is no doubt psychologically intelligible. Saul could not bear the sight of his too popular armour-bearer, and so he transferred him to a post which would remove him from his own immediate presence. The tradition adds that this served to promote David's interests. Even Michal, Saul's daughter (see MICHAL, EGLAH, ITHREAM), fell under his fascination, and her jealous father resolved to put the young captain on a perilous enterprise, promising him his daughter's hand in return for the customary proofs of victory, but secretly hoping that he would never return. David went forth, slew a hundred Philistines, and won his wife;[2] but the anxiety of Saul went on increasing after such a manifest proof of the divine protection of David.

This is certainly an improvement upon the ordinary view which treats chap. 18 as a homogeneous narrative; but who can assert that this view of the facts produces the impression of being perfectly historical? It will be noticed that we have laid no stress on the song of the women (18 7). The fragment is indeed clearly ancient; but it seems best understood as coming from a time when David was already king. This, however, is not the most important point. We need a narrative of still greater simplicity and verisimilitude. It is, as Stade remarks,[3] more credible that Saul gave his daughter in marriage to David of his own accord, in order to bind the young hero to the family of his benefactor, and that Saul's jealousy broke out after, not before the marriage. Besides, it would be inconsistent in Saul, first, to send David away as a captain of a thousand (18 13), and then to bring him back to the court as the king's son-in-law. For this position had attached to it the captaincy of the bodyguard (see 1 S. 22 14, 𝔊[BAL]), which gave its holder a rank next to Abner the general (1 S. 20 25), so that Saul would be continually liable to fresh irritation from the sight of David. We cannot, however, positively assert that Stade's correction of the tradition brings us face to face with facts, and must be content to believe that the early story of David's life is not altogether a popular fiction, without insisting too much on the most romantic and interesting, and therefore least certain, parts of it. One of these least certain parts is the account of David's early relations with MICHAL (*q.v.*).

(c) *Various late narratives.*—On the episode of Saul's broken promise of Merab as a wife for David (1 S. 18 17-19) it is unnecessary to dwell. The story, as all agree, interrupts the original context of chap. 18, to which the insertion has been clumsily fitted by an interpolation in *v.* 21*b*. We have here, therefore, a notice drawn from a distinct source. The language of *vv.* 17 and 19 seems to presuppose the story of David and Goliath (17 25 speaks of the king's promise of his daughter, and the whole narrative implies that David is as yet a mere lad, too young in fact to marry). It might of course be historical in spite of its close connection with that highly imaginative story. Since, however, Michal, not Merab (𝔊[L], however, has Μεροβ), appears in 2 S. 21 8 as the mother of Adriel's children, it is more than probable that the whole episode of Merab rests on a confusion of names.[1] In short, we have two variants of the same tradition, and the form given in 18 20 *ff.* is the more likely to he historical.

Nor need we pause long on some other late narratives. (i.) The account of Samuel's solemn consecration of David as king in 1 S. 16 1-13 has evidently not a historical but a religious motive. To devout readers the 'man according to God's mind' would have seemed to be disparaged if he had not, equally with his predecessor, been anointed by Samuel. (ii.) The episode of David's visit to the prophetic community at Ramah (19 18-24) is an attempt, in the style of the midrash, to explain the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' On this, as well as on (i.), see SAMUEL, ii. § 5. (iii.) The pretended madness of David at Gath (21 11-16; see ACHISH). To these we should, not inconceivably, add (iv.) a part of the story of David and Bathsheba (see BATHSHEBA).

Let us now resume the thread of the narrative. David was at first known to the servants of Saul as a brave warrior and a skilled musician, and also as clever of speech and comely in person. Whatever he did seemed to prosper, for he had not only unusual abilities, but also a power of fascination which seemed a special sign of the divine favour (cp Ps. 45 2). His prowess in the war against the Philistines marked him out as one worthy to be the king's friend. He was, in fact, rewarded, first of all with the position of a royal armour-bearer, and then with the hand of Saul's daughter, Michal. For a time all went well. In the intervals of military service he played on his harp, and by his skill in music chased away the 'evil spirit' of melancholy, which already threatened to mar the king's career. Saul's gratitude, however, was not proof against the severe trial to which it was exposed by David's growing popularity, and, it would seem, by his close intimacy with Jonathan. The heir to the throne had, like Michal, passed under the spell of David, and become his devoted friend, probably his sworn brother,[2] and the disturbed mind of the king conceived the idea that Jonathan had stirred up David to be his father's enemy, in the expectation (we must suppose) of succeeding him as king (22 8). Saul brooded over this idea, and even reasoned with his son on the folly of supposing that his crown, if he came by these unholy means to wear it before the time, would be secure from such a powerful and ambitious subject as David (20 31). Hence, tradition reports, Saul 'spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David' (19 1), and even sought, in a fit of frenzy, to pierce David with his javelin (18 10 *f.* [𝔊[B] omits] 19 9). Whether it was due to Jonathan's influence that the final breach between Saul and David was averted, we cannot tell; the story in 19 1-7 seems really another version of that in chap. 20. It is equally uncertain whether the story in 19 11-17 has any claim to represent the closing scene in David's life at Gibeah. There are difficulties in regarding it as the true sequel to 19 8-10. It may possibly come from another source,[3] and refer

2. At the court of Saul.

[1] See Budde's interesting analysis, as embodied in *SBOT*, Heb. edition. This critic seems to hold that the Goliath-story was originally closed by a description of the festal rejoicing which greeted the returning warriors and especially David, and that the same document then went on to relate the terror with which David's success inspired Saul, the king's removal of David to a high military post, and the episode of Merab. For Stade's view, see SAMUEL, ii.

[2] On the coarse but not in itself incredible requirement of Saul (1 S. 18 25 27 2 S. 3 14), see MARRIAGE, and cp St. *Gesch.* 1 232.

[3] *GVI* 1 233; cp We. *CH* 251.

[1] This is the view expressed in *EB*(9), art. 'David.' WRS there emphasises the fact that the episode of Merab (including *v.* 21*b*), like the section of chap. 17 to which it specially refers, is wanting in 𝔊[B], the text represented by which he regards as superior to that of MT in chaps. 17 *f.* (cp *OTJC*(2) 431 *f.*).

[2] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 335; COVENANT, § 4: and cp also, with caution, Trumbull, *Blood-covenant* ('85).

[3] Verse 10 should end at 'escaped,' and *v.* 11 should begin, 'And it came to pass that night that Saul sent' (so 𝔊[BA], but not L).

to a slightly later period in David's life. The daring spirit of that hero might prompt him to visit his wife, even after his first flight,[1] or at least the first reciters of the tale may have meant it to be so understood. There remains the story in chap. 20, which (putting aside the opening words as a misleading editorial insertion, and *vv.* 4-17 as an expansion, due to an early editor[2] who loved the theme of Jonathan's friendship for David) evidently gives a traditional account of the rupture between Saul and David. Whether it is historical, however, is quite uncertain. There were, of course, gaps in the tradition, especially as regards the earlier period of David's life. Two great facts were certain, viz., the transformation of Saul's original kindness towards David into its opposite, and the firm friendship between David and Jonathan. Out of these facts the reciters of legends, aided by a traditional acquaintance with the general circumstances of the time, had to produce the best detailed account of David's flight from Saul that they could.

As was natural, David turned his steps southward. In the hill-country of Judah he would find hiding-places enough, and if the arm of Saul threatened to reach him even there, he could easily seek the hospitality of some one of the neighbouring peoples. This, it is true, would be most displeasing to a worshipper of Yahwè (see 26 19); but it must have already occurred to David as a possibility, for he soon afterwards placed his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab (22 3 *f.*; see MOAB). At present, his first impulse was to fly with his men to the sanctuary at Nob, or perhaps rather Gibeon (see NOB), where he had already, it would seem, had occasion to consult the priestly oracle (22 15). On his arrival, so the tradition declares, he obtained bread, by a plausible but fictitious story, from the consecrated table, and, as a pledge of victory in the king's 'business,' the mighty sword of Goliath (see GOLIATH, § 3). We can hardly venture to accept this account as correct;[3] it is most probably a later writer's attempt to fill up a gap in the old tradition. Whatever took place, it is certain that David very soon hastened on to the fortified hill-town of Adullam. Here he was still in his native land, though probably not among Israelites (see ADULLAM); he could worship his own god, and might hope to be safe from his pursuers. In the fort (not the cave) of Adullam he was joined by his family, and by a small band of fellow-outlaws (about 400 in number). Meantime Doeg, the Edomite, who had seen David conversing with the priest Ahimelech at Nob (or Gibeon), had reported the circumstance with details, which may or may not have been his own invention,[4] to Saul, and the king inferred from the report that Ahimelech had used the sacred oracle in snpport of treasonable designs of David. It is only his rooted belief in David's treason that excuses the fierceness with which Saul destroyed, not only the eighty-five priests,[5] but also the entire population of the city of Nob or rather Gibeon (22 18 *f.*); see GIBEON, DOEG, ABIATHAR, BAN. He also indicated the expulsion of David from the royal family by giving Michal, David's wife, to a new husband (see MICHAL).

3. Flight.

David now became a captain of freebooters, levying blackmail on those who could pay it, in return for protection against Amalekites, Philistines, or other enemies. We have an attractive and sympathetic sketch of his conduct, and of the generous spirit which softened the harsher details, in chap. 25. Besides the means of subsistence, David looked, of course, for timely warning of the approach of his bitter enemies. In this way he held his ground manfully (with the support of the priest Abiathar) against almost overwhelming odds, trusting that he was being preserved for high ends. He must have felt that none but he could provide Israel with the leader that it needed, though to work directly towards the attainment of the crown would have been contrary to his loyal nature. One point in his favour there was, the value of which can hardly be overrated—viz., the peculiar conformation of the hill-country of Judah. It is necessary for the untravelled student to form by books and photographs some idea of those 'tossed and broken hills where the valleys are all alike, and large bodies of men may camp near each other without knowing it.' Major Conder goes even further, and claims that through recent identifications the narrative assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. 'From Gibeah (Jebaʿ near Mukhmās) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell eṣ-Ṣāfieh), from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, then bounded by the Shĕphēlah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistia and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich cornlands of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct, it is but a march of 4 m. distance. Here, as at Adullam, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem. At Ḥarās he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invaded Ḳĕʿīlah immediately beneath him, and it is this propinquity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.'[1] There can be no doubt that exact identifications of the sites referred to would give the narrative of David's outlaw-period a greater approximation to consistency. But this able explorer's identifications are too often (like that of Gath above) unproven, and he has, on principle, omitted to take account of the composite character of the biblical narrative.[2]

4. An outlaw.

We left David at Adullam; we next find him before another fortified town (1 S. 23 1-13), called KEILAH (*q.v.*), of which Ahithophel was perhaps a native (see GILOH). His hope was to secure the gratitude of the inhabitants by chastising the Philistines who were besieging it. Supported by an oracle, he attacked and defeated those most dangerous of foes. He was disturbed, however, by another oracle, warning him that the men of Ḳĕʿīlah would surrender their benefactor to Saul. The king was, in fact, on his way with his whole fighting force, and David would sooner trust himself to the intricacies of the wilderness than to the 'bolts and bars' of Ḳĕʿīlah. Whether David really went from the 'forest of Hareth' to Ḳĕʿīlah, is highly uncertain. The anecdote in 23 1-13 is not necessarily the sequel of the connected narrative in 21 1-9 22. Nor can we assume (with Conder) that the generous action related in chap. 24 took place immediately before the events described in chap. 25; for, as critics agree, the narrative is but a duplicate of the traditional story given in a better form in chap. 26.[3] If we ask how much of the

1 The danger of such an enterprise was diminished by the reluctance to violate the apartments of women and to attack a sleeping foe, which appears also in Judg. 16 2, and among the Arabs. Wellhausen cites a closely parallel case from Sprenger's *Leben Muhammad* 2 543.

2 See the text as bxhihited by Budde in *SBOT*.

3 It is incredible that David should have passed by the sanctuary without 'inquiring of Yahwè,' nor does the reference *to* the 'sword of Goliath' incline us much to accept the rest of the story. That the words assigned to Saul in 22 8 rightly express the king's belief is, however, more than probable.

4 It is certainly not impossible that David did take the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracle. The reference to the sword of Goliath in 22 10 b is interpolated (see Budde).

5 So MT Pesh. and Vg.; 𝔊BA by a manifest error, 305. Jos., combining the two readings, 385 (Ant. vi. 126). 𝔊L has 350.

1 *PEFQ*, '75, p. 149.

2 See Conder, 'The Scenery of David's Outlaw Life.' *PEFQ*, '75, pp. 41-48.

3 That the story in chap. 26 is more original than that in chap 24 is obvious. The conversation which it gives is full of antique and characteristic ideas, wanting in chap. 24. That David is recognised by his voice is meaningless in 24 16 (cp. *v.* 8), but appropriate in 26 17. See Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 227 *f.*; and cp Che. *Aids,* 58-62.

details of these hairbreadth escapes is historical, the reply must be equally disappointing to literalists. The central facts of the stories are all that we can safely rely upon. Such a detail, for instance, as the meeting of David and Jonathan in the wilderness of Ziph (23 16-18) is obviously an innocent piece of romance; in fact it is but another version of the favourite story of the 'covenant' between the friends, Nor can we venture to assume that, if David once, in accordance with a chivalrous rule still common in Arabia, spared the life of his sleeping foe, either he or Saul displayed that delicacy of sentiment which a later age attributed to them.

Strangely enough, the two accounts of David's generosity towards Saul are the setting of a perhaps more completely historical story—that of David and Nabal (chap. 25). The portrait of David here given is less idealistic, but seems much more truthful than that in chaps. *24* and 26. Not less interesting is the sketch of Abigail. To her it was that David owed his avoidance of blood-guiltiness. To her, too, he was indebted for the improvement which took place in his social status. As the husband of Abigail, he was no longer a mere freebooter, but the wealthy head of a powerful Calebite family, and so took one step forward towards his ultimate enthronement at Hebron as king of Judah.[1]

How long David remained in the Calebite district of Carmel, we do not know. He is next introduced as despairing of being able to hold out any longer against his foe; 'there is nothing better for me,' he said, 'than speedily to escape into the land of the Philistines' (27 1). So he placed himself and his 600 at the disposal of Achish, king of Gath. Ill at ease, however, among the Philistine chieftains, he induced his new suzerain to give him as a residence the outlying town of Ziklag. Here he still maintained amicable relations with his friends in Judah, and though he craftily professed to be engaged in raids against the Negeb of Judah, he was in reality more honourably employed (see ACHISH, AMALEK, § 3).

5. With the Philistines.

At length, in the second year, a change in his relation to Achish became imminent. The Philistine lords, who had probably long been suspicious of his intentions, refused to let David join them in their campaign against Saul. David on his side professed eagerness to fight for Achish; but we are not bound to take his words too literally. Historians, it is true, differ in their view of David's conduct. It seems psychologically probable, however, that David was only too glad to be sent back by Achish to Ziklag, with a charge not to cherish revengeful thoughts against his friendly suzerain (1 S. 29 10, 𝔊). A picture, Homeric in its vividness, is given of the effect produced on David and his men by the sight that met them at Ziklag, which the cruel Amalekites had plundered (30 3-6). An oracle encouraged David to pursue his foes. He came up with them, and chastised them severely. The account closes with a list of the towns in Judah, to which David sent politic gifts. His ambitious plans were no doubt maturing.

Meantime Saul had fallen on Gilboa and Israel was in a state of chaos. The Philistines were masters of the fertile lowlands of Jezreel and the Jordan, but disdained to interfere with the poorer country of Judah. There were some even in northern Israel who thought that David and David alone could help them, and among these were probably the men of Jabesh-gilead, to whom he sent graciously expressed thanks for their chivalrous rescue of the bodies of Saul and his sons (2 S. 2 5-7 cp 3 17). David, however, was content to let Abner have his way, and attempt to consolidate the weakened regal authority in the North, nominally for Saul's incompetent son, Ishbaal. For the present, David transferred his residence, in obedience to an oracle, to Hebron, placing his men in the neighbouring towns or villages. The elders of Judah took the hint, and solemnly acknowledged him as their king.

6. At Hebron.

It was not a grand position. As king of Judah, David was no less a vassal of the Philistines than when he was only lord of Ziklag;[1] indeed, he still retained Ziklag. This only shows his caution, however, not his want of patriotism. Even Abner could not venture to let the puppet king Ishbaal revolt from the Philistines;[2] rest was the first need both of Israel and of Judah. We cannot, however, suppose that David and his band were idle. It is, on the whole, probable that the conquest of the Jebusite fortress of Zion belongs to the period of David's tribal kingship,[3] and not (as is generally supposed) to the commencement of his enlarged sovereignty. When the Philistines made that bold attempt to seize David which is related in 2 S. 5 17, David, we hear, took refuge in 'the stronghold.' It is difficult to suppose that a different 'stronghold' is meant from that mentioned in *vv.* 7 9 (which there is reason to assign to the same document). The Philistines themselves are uncertain where they will find David; clearly then David had more than one place of residence. We are also told that they 'came up' to seek David, and spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem. It is true that where the narrative 2 S. 5 6-9 is placed, it *seems* to have reference to the beginning of David's kingship over Israel. Probably, however, something has fallen out before *v.* 6. The lost passage presumably referred to David's removal of his residence to Jerusalem; the narrative which has been preserved explains how the king and 'his men' possessed themselves of the all but impregnable fortress.

By this important conquest David secured his position from all possible enemies, whether Philistine or Israelite. He also doubtless hoped to make Zion what it ultimately became—the capital of united Israel. We may assume that this caused uneasiness to Abner, who doubtless had dreams of a reunited Israel under the sceptre of a descendant or kinsman of Saul. These dreams must have been rudely interrupted by the news of David's success. Abner well understood what the conquest of Zion portended, and it was natural that he should seek to counteract David's ambition. He had no occasion to form an elaborate plan of operations; he had but to allow the unsleeping jealousy of Israel and Judah to display itself. There would be constant border hostilities, and Judah, as the weaker of the two, would (he must have hoped) be reduced to vassalage to Israel, and in time perhaps incorporated into the kingdom. A 'very sore battle' is reported between the men of Ishbaal and those of David by the pool of Gibeon. It began with a mere sham fight; but such a contest could not be expected to end without bloodshed, and Abner must have foreseen this when he and the men of Ishbaal set out from Mahanaim (2 S. 2 12-17). The result was disastrous for the cause of Ishbaal, and year after year the war was renewed with constant loss of prestige to the house of Saul. Fierce private passions, too, added to the horrors of the time (see ABNER; ISHBAAL, 1; JOAB, 1). At length, Ishbaal being removed, David stood alone, sad but confident, for who else could be thought of in this hour of need? Had he not in the olden time been Israel's leader against the Philistines, and was he not by marriage a member of

[1] Wi. (*GI* 1 25) sees underlying the Nabal-story a tradition that David was 'prince of Caleb' (a tribe or district), and, following C. Niebuhr, he even finds this title in 2 S. 3 8, where, according to EV, Abner says, 'Am I a dog's head?' but where Wi. renders, 'Am I the prince of Caleb?' (כָּלֵב). Marquart's theory (see above, § 1, note 2), that David was really a man of S. Judah, might be used to corroborate Wi.'s opinion. In any case, the facts on which Marquart's theory is based illustrate this period. See DOG, § 3 (5).

[1] This view is accepted by St., E. Mey., We., Kamph., Kittel.

[2] See Kamph. *ZATW* 6 43-97 ['86]; Ki. *Hist.* ii. The older view (see St.) was that Abner upheld the banner of Israel against the Philistines; but Kamph. shows at great length that the evidence will not justify this.

[3] See Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.* 146 *ff.*; *Gesch.* 159.

Saul's house (2 S. 5 2 3 13-16)? So the elders of Israel accepted the inevitable, and anointed the son of Jesse king over Israel.

David was now, according to a not very early tradition,[1] in his thirty-eighth year; seven and a half years had elapsed since he first became king at Hebron. His training had been long and varied, and he might now fairly hope to finish the work which Saul had begun, and remove for ever the danger of Philistine invasions.

7. King over Israel: the Philistines.

The Philistines knew what they had to expect from the new king of 'all Israel and Judah,' and lost not a moment in 'seeking him.' They felt towards him as the Syrian king felt towards Ahab: if he were only slain or captured, the fate of Israel was settled. They knew, too, the rapidity of his movements, and sought to capture him before he could retire into his newly-won stronghold of Zion. They were too late for this, and challenged him to battle in the valley of Rephaim westward from Jerusalem (2 S. 5 18-25; cp BAAL-PERAZIM). Two great victories are said to have been won on this occasion by David. We have also a record of individual exploits and of personal dangers run by David in 2 S. 21 15-22 23 8-17 (see ISHBI-BENOB, etc.), which must, it would seem, have stood originally close to 56-12 17-25. It is singular that this should be almost all that is told us respecting what, if entirely David's work, would be the greatest of all his achievements. One more notice indeed has come down to us (2 S. 8 1); but it is tantalisingly short. It states that 'David smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took' something of importance 'out of the hand of the Philistines.' The Chronicler thinks that what David 'took' was 'Gath and its towns' (1 Ch. 18 1), and this is certainly plausible, for deeds of high renown were performed near Gath (see **ELHANAN, 1**), and afterwards we find 600 men of Gath in David's service (2 S. 15 18; see below, § 11). It is more probable, however, that Ashdod was the city spoken of in the true text (see METHEG-AMMAH). Still it is doubtful whether such a total defeat of the Philistines as the passage just quoted ascribes to David, is historical. That the Israelites were delivered from the dread of these foes is indisputable; but that David broke the power of the Philistines is not probable. It is a reasonable conjecture that the deliverance of the Israelites was helped either by an Egyptian, or by a Muṣrite (N. Arabian) intervention.[2] Moreover, the friendly terms on which David appears to have stood with the Philistines at a later time suggest that he had made a treaty of peace with this people on conditions equally honourable to both sides, one of which, as we have elsewhere seen reason to think, was the restoration of the ark (see **ARK**, § 5).

However this may be, David was certainly not deficient in the qualities of a general. This is plain from his wise measures on the rebellion of Absalom, of which we have very full particulars.

8. Other wars.

His other wars, with neighbours only less dangerous than the Philistines, may be conveniently referred to here. We have a summary of them in the same section that refers to the subduing of the Philistines (2 S. 8 1-14, cp 1 S. 14 47, and see SAUL, **1 § 3**), and further information respecting the Ammonite wax in 2 S. 10 11 1 12 26-31. It is important, however, tc study these notices critically, both from a purely literary, and from a historical, point of view. The two points o view, it is true, cannot be kept very long apart. A preliminary literary analysis, however, will quickly show u: that in 2 S. 8 1-14 we are dealing, not with an origina arrative, but with a panegyric made up from various ources, containing strong traces of editorial work. As 2 S. 10 the case is not at first sight so clear; but a irther investigation reveals here, too, the hand of the ditor. The contents also must be criticised, and this ill greatly clear up the problems of literary analysis. 'he historical results of the whole process are not unimortant.[1]

(*a*) *Moab*.—Little enough is told us of David's war rith the Moabites (cp MOAB); but that little is suggestive. Vith cold-blooded precision the conqueror destroyed wo-thirds (such is the meaning of 2 S. 8 2) of the entire ghting force of Moab. The description seems to imply hat it was an act of national retaliation, and the offence which caused this may be plausibly conjectured. The ingdom of Ishbaal, as Kamphausen has shown, was y no means so powerful as the early writers supposed. The defeat on Gilboa had brought the Israelites to the erge of ruin, and Saul's feeble successor had to make erms, not only with the Philistines, but also with the Moabites and the Ammonites, to whom his capital, Mahanaim, was only too accessible. It is probable that oth Moab and Ammon granted him peace only under nsulting conditions, and we can form some idea of the nsults that were possible in such circumstances from : S. 11 2 2 S. 10 4. David **of** course had to give these nsolent neighbours a lesson.

(*b*) *Ammon*.—Passing on to the Ammonites, we otice that, if there is a doubt as to the degree of the everity of their punishment (2 S. 12 31),[2] there is none as o the gravity of their offence (2 S. 10 1-5). The account of the details of the war requires very careful criticism. The conduct of the host of Israel was entrusted to Joab, nd it was owing to the politic self-restraint of this general that David in person stormed the Ammonitish capital, and carried away the crown of the idol-god Milcom (see AMMON, § 8). The difficulty of the narrative is caused by the statements which it contains respecting the Aramaean allies of the Ammonites and the successes which David gained over them.[3] Was the Zobah mentioned in 2 S. 10 6 (undoubtedly an ancient passage) as joining with Beth-rehob to send help to the Ammonites, a powerful kingdom N. of Damascus, to which all Aram W. of the Euphrates was subject (as stated in 2 S. 10 16), or was it a small state near the land of Ammon, which on various grounds agrees best with our expectations? If the latter view be adopted, we must regard 2 S. 10 15-19*a* as a late editorial insertion, akin to the much edited passage 8 3-8, and all that we know respecting David's relations to the Aramaeans is that Joab routed the forces sent by them to help the Ammonites, so that they 'feared to help the Ammonites any more' (2 S. 10 13 19*b*). The statement of 8 6, in itself so improbable, that David annexed Damascus, is due to a misreading of a passage which appears over again in *v*. 14. The editor, by mistake, read 'Aram' instead of 'Edom,' and then interpreted 'Aram' as 'Aram-Damascus.'[4]

(*c*) Edom.—Lastly we come to the war with Edom, which, as we are told in 2 S. 8 14, was incorporated by David into his kingdom. We are left entirely ignorant as to the cause of the war,[5] and know next to nothing of the details, though the conquest of such a difficult region would have been well worth describing. A great

1 See 2 S. 5 4 (the work of a Deuteronomistic editor).

2 If an Egyptian intervention be supposed we must place i during the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty. See WMM (As. *u Eur.* 389), who thinks that the notice in 1 K. 9 16 presuppose the Egyptian occupation of Philistia. Observe that Caphtorin is called a 'son' of Mizraim (see **CAPHTOR, § 4**). The alternative theory, however, seems much more probable (see *JQR* 1 ['99] 559, and cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

1 On the criticism, see **SAMUEL, ii. §§** 4, 6, and cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 245 *f.*, 249 *ff.*; Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.*; Wi. *GI* 1 138 *ff.*, 194 *ff.* For another estimate of the evidence, see **ISRAEL**, § 19.

2 RVmg. gives the more favourable view (on which see Dr. *TBS* 228) that David put the Ammonitish captives to forced labour at public works.

3 See Wi. *GI* 1 138-144.

4 Klo., on the other hand, wishes to correct 'Edom' in *v*. 14 into 'Aram.' The traditional view of 2 S. 8 5 3 has been thought to he confirmed by 1 K. 11 24; hut there the words 'when David slew them' are a gloss, not found in 𝔊BL, as Klo. himself candidly points out.

5 Wi. regards the war as the resumption of hostilities between David as 'prince of Caleb' and his Edomite neighbours at an earlier period (*GI* 1 194).

victory is ascribed to David in the VALLEY OF SALT (*q.v.*), to the S. of the Dead Sea (2 S. 8 13, where read 'Edom' for 'Aram' with 𝔊BAL; Ps. 60, title). There is also an incidental reference to the war in 1 K. 11 15 *f.*, which tells us that the Edomites contested every inch of ground, but received no quarter from their conqueror. This is the extent of our information.

9. Later theory of a Davidic empire.

To sum up. If it is one of David's titles to fame that he for a time united 'all the tribes of Israel from Dan to Beersheba' (2 S. 24 2), it is another that he secured the united kingdom from foreign attack. From Assyria and Egypt indeed there was then nothing to fear;[1] but the small neighbouring peoples needed the lesson which he gave them. That his suzerainty or sphere of influence extended to the Euphrates is not, however, supported, in the opinion of the present writer, by a thorough criticism of the documents. The editor of 2 S. 8, who perhaps wrote also 10 15-19*a*, confounded the two Zobahs[2] and made other mistakes, and on the basis of this mis-reading of the evidence he and his school erected the airy fabric of a Davidic empire large enough to be named respectfully among the 'world-powers.' This theory (for such we must call it) fell in with the later tendency to glorify David, and with the idea of a great Messianic kingdom of which the Davidic was a type (Am. 9 11 *f.*, post-exilic; see AMOS, § 10, CHRONICLES, § 9). It cannot be resigned without regret, and should archæological discoveries disclose some grains of fact which may have assisted the growth of historical error, it will be a satisfaction to find that the ancient editors were not entirely arbitrary in their procedure. That David's power was respected as far north as Hamath (even if the report in 2 S. 8 10 be not altogether accurate) need not be denied. The question is, Can it be proved that friendship had given place, on David's side, to suzerainty?

10. The new capital.

David's next aim was to provide a worthy centre for the united people of Israel. In this he showed a truly masterly statesmanship. The kingship of Saul was not altogether different from the authority exercised by the greater 'judges.' It never entirely divested itself of a tribal character, as is clear from the striking narrative, 1 S. 22 6-8. At the risk of alienating the men of Judah, who, in fact, appear as the chief malcontents in subsequent civil disturbances, David transferred his royal residence from the remote southern city, Hebron, to Jerusalem. The new capital had not indeed all the natural advantages which could be wished (see JERUSALEM); but it had two great recommendations: (1) it was neither Israelite nor Judahite, having been recently won by David and his men, and (2) whilst easily accessible from the north, it lay close to David's own tribe of Judah. The king not only strengthened its fortifications, but also consecrated it by solemnly transferring to it the newly recovered national sanctuary (see ARK, § 6) from its temporary home at Baal (see KIRJATH-JEARIM) in Judah. This must not be disparaged as merely a proof of political wisdom. It was this, no doubt; but it also sprang from deep religious feeling, as the old tradition clearly states (2 S. 6 21; see 𝔊BAL). David felt that the true principle of national unity and strength lay in fidelity to Yahwè, and it is to him therefore that the world is ultimately indebted for the streams of spiritual life which have issued from Jerusalem. That he built a palace for himself, but no temple for the ark, seemed a strange inconsistency to a later age. Whether the course that he took was prescribed by an oracle, it is now impossible to say; the narrative in 2 S. 7, with the accompanying prophecy, is one of the late Deuteronomistic insertions and cannot be safely followed.[1]

11. Administration, etc.

(*a*) Army.—Both in military and in civil affairs David was careful to combine the necessary innovations with a due regard for the old habits and feelings of the people, which he thoroughly understood. The tendency to disintegration inherent in the old clan-organisation (see GOVERNMENT, § 18) he sought to counteract by the institution of a bodyguard, which was a natural development out of his old band of freebooters. This well-disciplined and absolutely trustworthy 'standing army' was sufficient to exhibit a high standard to the old national militia, but not so large as to excite popular suspicion. Specially honoured were the thirty-seven heroes of whom a list is given in 2 S. 23 (see below, i.). It is uncertain whether they were called 'the thirty' or 'the knights';[2] but most are in favour of the former view. They were conspicuous for their fearless courage, of which some anecdotes are preserved. Foreigners were by no means excluded from the ranks of the Gibbōrīm (AV 'mighty men'). Shortly before the rebellion of Absalom, Ittai the Gittite had entered David's service with 600 other Philistines[3] (2 S. 15 18), and Uriah the Hittite was one of the trusted 'thirty.' How well these Philistine mercenaries repaid David's confidence, is proved by 2 S. 15 18 20 7 1 K. 1 38. (See CHERETHITES, and on later OT references to the king's foreign guards [*e.g.*, Zeph. 1 8 Ezek. 44 6 *ff.*], WRS *OTJC*(2) 262 n.)

[(i.) The list of heroes in 2 S. 23 enumerates 'the Three' κατ' ἐξοχήν:—ISHBAAL (2), ELEAZAR (3), and SHAMMAH (3); then follow Abishai and Benaiah who occupy an intermediary position; and finally, the heroes themselves, thirty-seven in all (*v.* 39). There is some difficulty in arriving at this number (see ELIKA, ELIPHELET, 2), and the numerous textual corruptions preclude complete certainty as to their names and origin (besides the special articles cp Marq. *Fund.* 15 *ff.*).

The heroes seem to have been originally arranged in pairs according to their homes, thus Maharai and Heleb from Netophah (28*b*, 29), two from Jattir (38), one each from the neighbouring places of Pirathon and Gaash (30), etc. It is noticeable that they are almost wholly of Benjamite and Judæan origin, and this supports the conjecture that the list in the main refers to the early part of David's life (cp, *e.g.*, 1 S. 22 1 *f.*), before his supremacy was spread over the rest of Israel. Note the mention of Asahel and Uriah, and that Benaiah is merely the head of David's guard, and has not apparently reached the position he holds in 2 S. 8 18 (see below [*c*] 2). The omission of Joab as the holder of any official position is remarkable, and suggests that he had not yet become 'captain of the host,' although the references in *vv.* 18 (Abishai, the brother of Joab; cp *v.* 24), 37 seem to show that he was not unknown. It is highly probable that the whole chapter owes its present form to a comparatively late editor (cp Kue. *Einl.* i. 2, § 22, n. 13).

(ii.) In 1 Ch. 11 the same list is substantially repeated—in a few cases with better readings,—and a few names recur in 1 Ch. 27 1-14 (see below, [*c*] i.). Verses 41*b*-47 add sixteen other heroes, who, to judge from the gentilicia (often doubtful, see MAHAVITE, MESOBAITE, MITHNITE) were partly of east-Jordanic origin. The authenticity of these names is a difficult question. They may have proceeded from a source common to both compilers (see Kue. *Einl.* 1 2, § 30, n. 11); but the mention of Reubenites, and the preponderating proportion of theophorous names as well as the relative lateness of such names as Jaasiel, Jeiel, Joshaviah in this chapter, render their genuineness open to question.

(iii.) Further lists of warriors are found in 1 Ch. 12, which enumerates those who came to David (*a*) at Ziklag (1-22), and (β) at Hebron (23 *ff.*). (β) The latter is purely fabulous. It represents the warriors as assembling from all the tribes (not ex-

[1] It is quite needless to suppose that David made a nominal recognition of the suzerainty of Egypt (Wi. *GI* 1 137). This is no doubt a necessary corollary to W. M. Müller's theory of the Egyptian conquest of Philistia; but that theory is not here accepted (see above, § 7, end).

[2] The cuneiform evidence for two Zobahs will be found in Del. *Par.* 280, Schr. *KGF* 122. The historical list of places given in Ašurbānipal's Annals, 7 108-114 (*KB* 2 216 *f.*) proves the existence of a Subiti to the S. of Damascus and near Ammon, and apparently distinct from that in the geographical lists (on which cp Tomkins, *PEFQ*, Apr. 1885, p. 113). See ZOBAH.

[1] The modifications introduced into this narrative both by the author of the gloss in *v.* 13 and by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 17) are interesting evidence of the constant recasting of old material carried on by the editors. See SAMUEL, ii. § 5, and cp We. *Prol.*, ET, 177.

[2] שְׁלֹשִׁים and שָׁלִשִׁים were sometimes confounded (see 1 Ch. 11 11 15, 12 4 18, Var. Bib.). Klo. prefers שָׁלִשִׁים (cp Di. on Ex. 14 7). At any rate such a term as 'the thirty' would soon become conventional (see 2 S. 23 39). Cp CHARIOT, § 10.

[3] Read 'and all the men of Ittai the Gittite, 600 men,' with Klo., Ki., Bu. It seems doubtful whether David had really had any prolonged or bitter strife with the Philistines.

cluding the two halves of Manasseh !), and gives a theocratic air to the whole by the inclusion of Aaronites. *(a)*, In the first half (1-22) we have probably a *few* traces of old material, and very possibly a confused recollection of events in David's early life. The lists comprise men of Saul's brethren and of Benjamin (3 *ff.*), Korahites (6) and men of Gedor (7). In the case of the Korahites it is possible that the Chronicler is thinking of the later priestly class. His inclusion of such warriors among David's band is as intelligible as his ascription to David of the division of priestly courses and other works dealing with the priests and Levites. On the other hand, with Be., we may more probably think of the Judæan Korah (1 Ch. 2 43). It was under David that the S. Judæan populations attained power, and it is perfectly natural to suppose that individuals from among them joined him. This, of course, does not mean that the names are necessarily old or genuine. Finally, are enumerated (1) certain Gadites, 'captains of the host' (רָאשֵׁי הַצָּבָא), who put to flight David's enemies on eitherside of the Jordan (8-15); (2) Amasai (= AMASA, *q.v.*), who, at the head of men of Benjamin and Judah, came to David in the 'hold' (16-18); and (3) certain chiliarchs of Manasseh (19). Underlying the account of Amasai, we may possibly find the traces of a confused and mutilated recollection of the revolt of Ahsalom, wherein Amasa plays so prominent a part in bringing Judah and the king together (2 S. 19 14). S. A. C.]

(b) Justice.—To the chief civil duty of a king—the administration of justice—David paid the utmost attention (2 *S.* 8 15, cp 14 4 *ff.*), for Absalom's complaint that the king was inaccessible (2 *S.* 15 3) is merely factious. He does not appear to have made any change in the old local administration of justice; but he introduced—simply by acting as supreme judge—an element which profoundly modified the traditional system (see GOVERNMENT, § 19).

(c) *Officers.*—In this and other departments David was aided by his great officers of state (2 S. 8 16-18); see BENAIAH, HUSHAI, JEHOSHAPHAT 2, JOAB, and below. It is important to notice that in all probability he had a Babylonian scribe or secretary (see SHAVSHA)—a late trace of the early preponderance of Babylonian civilisation in Palestine.

[It will be convenient here to note briefly the lists of David's officers, treasurers etc.

i. 1 Ch. 27, a passage of obviously complex character, after reproducing (*vv.* 1-15) the first part of the list of David's warriors (see above ai.) in the form of a list of twelve **captains** of divisions (עַל־מַחְלְקֹת 1-15), enumerates twelve ***princes*** (שָׂרִים) of the tribes of Israel (16-24), including Levites, Aaronites, the twofold division of Manasseh and the post-exilic priestly names Honhea, Iddo, Jeroham (?), Zichri; Jaasiel (*v.* 21) is probably borrowed from 1 Ch. 11 47. This is followed in 25-31 by a third list of twelve—David's *overseers* or ***treasurers;*** the names seem to be old (Gray, *HPN* 230 *ff.*), and so far as this goes, the list might be trustworthy (but cp Kue. *Einl.* 12, § 31, n. 11. Besides Gray, *HPN* 229 *ff.*, see CHRONICLES, § 9, and cp We. *Prol.*(4) 171 *ff.*).

ii. David's supreme officers of state are variously enumerated in 2 S. 8 16-18 (cp 20 23-26 [where they are obviously out of place], 1 Ch. 18 14-17) and 1 Ch. 27 32-34 (cp Solomon's officers 1 K. 4, and the list given by 𝔊BL at the end of 1 K. 2). In the case of the list in 2 S. the genuineness of the passage has been questioned by Bonk (*ZATW* 12143) and probably rightly. JOAB h. Zeruiah is said to he 'over the host' (הצבא), but with the exception of 8 10 (David's wars) he appears, on the other hand, to be over the Cheretbites and Pelethites (2 S. 20 7); and BENAIAH, who in the list is credited with this office (*v.* 18), was 'head of the משמעת,' 2 S. 23 23*b* (see COUNCIL, i. 2) and perhaps also 'chief of the brick-kiln' (1 K. 2 46h 𝔊BL; cp הַמַּלְבֵּן 2 S. 12 31). JEHOSHAPHAT (*q.v.*) b. Ahilud was recorder (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21) and Shisha (see SHAVSHA) the secretary. The priests were David's sons (but see MINISTER, CHIEF); but at the head stood Zadok h. Ahitub and Ahiathar h. Ahimelech. Abiathar is a descendant of the famous Eli, Zadok is of unknown origin, and although mentioned first (cp similarly 2 S. 15 24 *ff.* 36) did not obtain pre-eminence until the time of Solomon. The Chronicler's list (27 32-34) mentions a Jonathan, the דּוֹד of David, as a counsellor, and JEHIEL [*q.v.*], who was 'with the king's sons.' Ahithophel, and Hushai the 'friend' of David (see HUSHAI), are well-known characters in the revolt of Ahsalom, according to the Chronicler their places were filled by Benaiah and Ahiathar. S. A. C.]

(d) In another respect too David followed the example of Oriental kings: with the aid of his ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, he built himself a palace of stone and cedar wood which rose proudly above the low dwellings of Jerusalem. There he combined a regal generosity with a not less regal luxury. Mephibosheth (MERIBBAAL) and Chimham were among his court-pensioners (2 S. 9 7 *ff.* 19 28 33 38); singing men and singing women enlivened his repasts (2 S. 19 35).

Another piece of genuine Oriental magnificence was the harem (2 S. 5 13, etc.), which, though it does not seem to have shocked the nation (2 S. 16 21), was fraught with moral danger to the king, and was the source of, much of the unhappiness of his later years. It is clear from passages like 2 S. 13 21 14 24 15 1 14 19 5 12 14 that the moral weakness of his last days had begun many years before, under the influences of his harem.

[Lists of David's sons are found in *(a)* 2 S. 3 1-5 (= 1 Ch. 3 1-3) and (β) 2 S. 5 13-16 (= 1 Ch. 3 5-8 = 1 Ch. 14 3-7). It is probable that originally these stood together, and Budde (*SBOT*) accordingly places them before 8 15. *(a)* The former list gives the names of the six sons horn at Hehron and reflects David's policy of strengthening his power by alliances with neighbouring clans or tribes. Besides the two wives from Jezreel (in Judah) and and Carmel (Caleh), we have one from the S. Palestinian GESHUR [*q.v.*, 2] and, possibly, one from Gath (see HAGGITH). The two remaining names, SHEPHATIAH (more common in later literature) and ITHREAM, are unknown. The death of Ammon left Chileab (if the name he correct—see CHILEAB) heir to the throne, and it is therefore the more remarkable that nothing whatever is told us of his fate: for an ingenious conjecture, cp Marq. ***Fund.*** *25 f.* (β) The second list contains eleven names—sons horn at Jerusalem. Of these the first two, Shammua (or Shimeah) and Shobab, may probably recur (see above § 1, n. 2). These and the two following (Nathan and Solomon) are, according to 1 Ch. 3 5, *all* sons of Bathsheha. The statement in Ch. has probably arisen from the desire to render Solomon's birth as stainless as possible (Solomon is mentioned last), since from 2 S. 11 *f.* it appears that Solomon was really the ***second*** son. These names are increased to thirteen in 1 Ch. 3 = 14 by the addition of Nogah and a second Eliphelet. Perhaps Nogah is original and should be inserted in 2 S. (Th. Be.), thus raising the number to twelve; hut it is possible that it has arisen from the following Nepheg and should (with Eliphelet) be omitted. It is noteworthy that in 2 S. 5 13-16 𝔊B (hut not 𝔊A) bas a double list the second of which (based upon Ch.) agrees with 𝔊L in including the two doubtful names. S. A. C.]

That the government of this great king was perfectly successful cannot, of course, be maintained. His people was far from homogeneous, and it is not surprising that the jealousies of Judah and Israel reappeared. Great discontent was also produced by his attempt to number the people, which was no doubt regarded by his subjects as introductory to an attempt upon their liberties, and was checked only by the rebukes of his seer Gad and the breaking out of a pestilence[1] (2 S. 24).

According to the early narrative, the conscience of the king accepted the rebuke; but most probably David still felt as a statesman that the position of Israel was precarious without that improved military organisation which he had contemplated. On the other hand, he continued to tolerate some ancient usages inconsistent with the interests of internal harmony. The practice of blood-revenge was not put down,[2] and, by allowing the Gibeonites to enforce it against the house of Saul (see GIBEON, RIZPAH), the king involved himself in a feud with the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 21 with 16 8, which refers to a later date). Yet he might have braved all these dangers hut for the disorders of his own family. Need we tell over again the story of his great moral disaster? Nowhere is the impossibility of upholding the saintliness of this king more apparent than here. And yet a laudable desire to believe the best of David has perhaps blunted the edge of the scalpel of the critic (see BATHSHEBA).

It is certain that the narrative in 2 S. 11 1-12 25 is not without later insertions and it is very prohahle that the most fascinating part of the story was imagined by an editor in the interests of reverence and edification—in fact that the process of converting David into a saint had already begun. That later ages were profoundly shocked at David's action is a proof of the providential education of Israel to he the greatest of moral teachers. The Chronicler shows his own feeling very clearly by omitting the narrative altogether, though, had he accepted the view adopted in the late heading of Ps. 51, he would have shown

1 The event must have been subsequent to David's foreign war: the king has no longer any enemy to fear. On the statement of the boundaries of the kingdom in 2 S. 24 5-7 see TAHTIM-HODSHI, DAN-JAAN, and on the literary criticism of chap. 24, see SAMUEL, ii. § 6.

2 It is clear, however, from 2 S. 3 28 *f.*, 14 1-10, that his sympathies were against this harharous usage.

David to be more nearly a saint than he appears to ns in almost any part of the Chronicler's biography.

The effects of David's sin lasted to the close of his life, for the undue influence of Bathsheba is conspicuous in the sad story of the competition for David's crown. Even apart from this, however, the royal princes could not but display the faults due to their birth and education. The narrative is impartially exact. We shudder at the brutal passion of Amnon, and the shameless counsel of the wily Jonadab. If a brilliant suggestion of Ewald may be accepted, we see the 'inauspicious expression,' or in plain English the black scowl that for two long years rested on the face of Absalom,[1] and the panic of the court when the blow was struck, and Amnon was assassinated in the midst of his brethren. Not less valuable psychologically is the graphic description of Absalom's unfilial revolt (see ABSALOM, 1).

On the tragic death of the popular favourite, better thoughts came to David's people, who bethought themselves of the many occasions on which he had saved them from their enemies. The men of Judah, however, took the opportunity of putting forward that claim to precedence (2 S. 19 41-43) which the king's policy had steadily ignored, and a rupture ensued between north and south, which, but for Joab's energy, might have led to a second and more dangerous rebellion (see, however, SHEBA, ii. 1). After this nothing seems to have occurred to trouble the peace of the kingdom. David had not many more years to live, for Absalom's rebellion must have occurred near the last decade of his father's life (Kittel, *Hist.* 2 175). The closing scene in the biography (1 K. 1 1-2 11) represents David as decrepit and bedridden, and an easy prey to the partizans of Solomon. The unedifying account of the palace-intrigue (see ADONIJAH, 1), which placed Bathsheba's son upon the throne, and was followed by the execution of Adonijah and Joab, shocked the Chronicler's sense of reverence. He therefore (as also perhaps the author of a lost Midrash on which he bases his work) substitutes for it a great religious function, in which David plays the leading part, and Solomon appears as the meek recipient of much highly spiritual advice and of minute instructions as to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 22-29).

We have now to estimate the character of David.[2] We may safely assert that, if the narratives can in the main be trusted, no ancient Israelite exercised such a personal charm as David, and that he owed this not merely to his physical but also to his moral qualities. In him the better elements of the Israelitish character start at once into a new life. There are some points in him that repel us; in these he is the child of the past. There is more in him that attracts us; in this he is a herald of the future. One of the later writers who have contributed to the story of Saul and David describes the latter as 'a man according to God's mind' (1 S. 13 14), which means, as the context interprets it, one in whom Yahwè God of Israel has found the qualities of a leader of his people (cp Jer. 3 15). That David was an

12. David's character.

[1] On 2 S. 13 32 see Ew. ***Hist.*** **3172.** The suggestion is given in fuller form by Dr. *TBS* 234, whose 'only doubt is whether a word (*šu'mun*) meaning in itself simply "unluckiness" could he used absolutely to signify a "token of unluckiness" for others.' WRS (DAVID, *EB*(9)) accepted the view; We. and Bn. are also attracted by it. The present writer prefers Ew.'s alternative suggestion, viz., to read שִׂטְמָה instead of שימה (Kt.) or שׂוּמָה (Kr.); hut עַל־פִּי remains unexplained. Almost certainly Grätz is right. Read, with him, כִּי עַל־לֵב . . . מַשְׂטֵמָה, 'for hostility was in Ahsalom's heart'; cp 𝔊L.

[2] The most helpful characterisation of David from a moderate traditional point of view is that of Köh. *Lehrb.* ***der*** *bibl.* ***Gesch.*** ii. 1 184-188 373 ('84). Owing to the progress of criticism, however, all the earlier sketches of David's character need a thorough revision. A bridge between the old and the new is offered in Cheyne's ***Aids,*** 15-73, where the results of recent criticism of the Books of Samuel and of the Psalter are presupposed, and all that is still tenable in the earlier estimates of David is restated. See also ISRAEL, §§ 17-22.

DAVID

honest **and** vigorous ruler both in peace and in war, the evidence given above sufficiently shows. In after-times his name became the symbol of a righteous rule (Jer. 23 5), and further criticism of the records has only confirmed the eulogy given to David by Robertson Smith in 1877—that his administration **of** justice 'was never stained by selfish considerations or motives of personal rancour.'[1] Nor does he deserve to be blamed for his cruelty to Israel's foreign enemies, when we consider the imperfect development of the idea of morality in his time, and the fate that would have been in store for himself and his people, had the conquerors and the conquered changed places. He doubtless thought it absolutely necessary to cripple Israel's cruel and malicious neighbours; to the Canaanites at his own door he was gentle.[2] Compare him with Sargon or Ašur-bāni-pal, in whom cruelty was joined to the lust of conquest, and how great is his moral superiority! Nor can we easily admit a doubt as to the genuineness of his religion. He lived in the fear of God, according to the standard of his times.

The generous elevation of David's character is seen most clearly in those parts of his life where an inferior nature would have been most at fault—in his conduct towards Saul (with which the story of RIZPAH is in no way inconsistent), in the blameless reputation of himself and his band of outlaws in the wilderness of Judah, in his repentance (which we so greatly desire to believe) under the rebuke of Nathan, and in his noble and truly religious bearing on the revolt of Absalom, the accuracy of the account of which is guaranteed by the antique elements which it contains. His unfailing insight into character, and his power of winning men's hearts and touching their better impulses, appear in innnmerable traits of the history (*e.g.*, 2 S. 14 18-20 3 31-39 23 15-17). His knowledge of men was the divination of a poet rather than the acquired genius of a statesman, and his capacity for rule stood in harmonious unity with his lyrical genius. But was David really a poet? Did he, like the Arabian prince Imra' al-Kais, fascinate his half-primitive people by song? The old tradition knows him as a musician (1 S. 16 14-32); late editors of the psalms, but not Amos (as most have supposed[3]), as a poet. Several poems, too, are ascribed to his authorship in the Books of Samuel, and those who inserted them had a very definite belief on the subject (see SAMUEL, ii. § 7). One

13. Was he a poet?

[1] It would be a strange exception to this rule if out of pure vindictiveness David urged his son Solomon to put certain persons who had injured him to death (1 K. 2 1-9). Three answers may be given to this charge. (1) If David spoke in substance these words, it was because he feared to leave Joab's bloodshedding unexpiated and Shimei's solemn curse unneutralised by the death of the offenders: continued clemency would according to the prevalent belief, have been dangerous. (2) Thk words ascribed to David imply a vigour of mind and a regard for the interests of the kingdom which the narrative does not permit us to assume in the dying king. After neglecting to communicate with the elders of Israel and Judah respecting the successor to the throne, it is not likely that David's mental powers suddenly rallied, so as to enable him to make this forcible and even eloquent speech. (3) This is precisely one of the occasions on which a narrator was likely to invent. Solomon needed to he excused to unfriendly readers for having put Joab and Shimei to death. The excuse (which in the narrator's view was perfectly valid) could best he given by introducing it into **a last** speech of David.

[2] The allusion **is** to Araunah, or rather Adonijah, as the name should probably he read. See ARAUNAH.

[3] Even the **MT** of *v.* **56** only says, 'Like David, the,: devise for themselves instriiments of (*i.e.* to accompany) song. This does not snit the context, which says, 'who chant (read המזמרים; cp 𝔊 23: ז fell ont) to the sound of the harp,' and then speaks of the wine-hibbing and the rich unguents. Some detail of the banquet must be referred to in ***v.*** 5*b*. All but the last word שיר seems to be the conjecture of an ancient editor (before 𝔊 was made), who found the letters of his text almost illegible. On 𝔊 see Vollers, *ZATW* **3 26**7 ['83]. Probably the verse should read thus, המזמרים על־תף ונבל ושמחו לקול שיר 'who play on the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of song.' כדויד 'like David' is a gloss, as J. P. Peters and Winckler have independently pointed out. Cp **Is. 6** 12, and especially Job **21** 12; also זמרת נבליך Am. 5 23.

of them—the deeply-felt elegy on Saul and Jonathan—was taken from the so-called Book of JASHAR (*q.v.*, § ?), and another—the short elegy on Abner—may have been copied from the same book. These occur in 2 S. 1 19-27 and 3 33 *f.* respectively. They have an antique air and are worthy of David. Whether any religious elements formerly present have been removed, we cannot say; but there is no special reason to think so. That the song of triumph in 2 S. 22 (=Ps. 18) and the 'last words of David' in 23 1-7 (both highly religious compositions) are Davidic, is not, on grounds of criticism, tenable. Nor can any of the psalms in the Psalter be ascribed with any probability to David. The eager search for possible Davidic psalms seems to be a proof that the seekers have taken up the study of the Psalter at the wrong end. That David composed religious songs is of course probable enough. When he and his companions 'played before Yahwè with all their might, and with songs and with (divers musical instruments),'[1] it is reasonable to conjecture that 'some of these songs had been made for the purpose by the poet-king.'[2] But how much resemblance would these psalms have had to the psalms of the second temple? and how could the David known to us from history have entered into the ideas of Psalms 32 and 51, which are assigned by Delitzsch and Orelli to the sad period of David's great sin? Would not that have been one of the greatest of miracles? See PSALMS.

[In the above sketch sentences have been here and there borrowed from the late Robertson Smith's art. 'David' in the *EB*, especially where David's character and his originality as a ruler are referred to. The advance of criticism since 1877 required a fresh survey of the subject. On Renan's view of David in his *Hist. d'Israel*, see WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1888, p. 134 *f.* Duncker (*Hist. of Ant.* vol. ii.) is hardly less unsympathetic than Renan, and his narrative needs adjustment to the results of critical analysis. St.'s G *VI* 1 223-298, and We.'s *Prol.*, ET, 261-272, and *IJG*(3) 56-64, are of the highest importance. Wi.'s *GI* 1 is fresh and original, but often rash. Cheyne's *Aids* ('92), part 1, relates to the David-narratives; Ki.'s analysis in Kau. *HS*, the results of which are tabulated in chap. 1, is provisionally adopted. See also Dr. *TBS* ('90); Kamph., *Philister und Hebräer zur Zeit Davids*, *ZATW* ['86] 43-97; Marquart's *Fundamente* ('97); and the articles in this Dictionary on Samuel and Chronicles (with the books there referred to). Prof. W. R. Smiths article in *EB*(9) should be taken with the corresponding portion of Ewald's *History*. Chandler's *Life of David* (1st ed. 1766) gives answers to the very real difficulties suggested by Pierre Bayle which are now superseded. Stähelin's *Leben Davids* ('66) is recommended by Robertson Smith for the numerous parallels adduced from Oriental history. The late H. A. White's art. in Hastings' *DB* has great merit. For an account of David as a tactician, see Dieulafoy's monograph.] T. K. C.

DAVID, CITY OF (עִיר דָּוִד), 2 Sam. 5 7 1 K. 2 10, See JERUSALEM.

DAY. Among the ancients the day was reckoned in a great variety of ways. 'The Babylonians reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the Athenians from sunset to sunset, the Umbrians from noon to noon, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and those by whom the civil day has been defined, as also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight' (Plin. *HN* 2 79, § 188). 'From dawn to dark' (*a luce ad tenebras*) was the ancient and ordinary meaning of a day (יוֹם) among the Israelites; night, as being the time 'when no man can work' (Jn. 9 4), might, it was considered, be left out of account altogether, or, at all

1. Ancient reckoning.

1 2 S. 6 5. We emend, with Klost., after 1 Ch. 13 8.
2 Che. *OPs.* 192.

events, as being the evident complement of the 'day and involved in it, did not require explicit mention. Thus the word 'day' came to have a twofold meaning: at one time signifying the period from sunrise to sunset; at another including day's inseparable accompaniment, the night, and embracing the whole period from one sunrise to the next. Only in cases where the contrast had to be brought out, or there was risk of ambiguity, was it necessary to name the night (לַיְלָה) expressly, as, for example, in Gen. 7 4 12 31 39. Apart from יוֹם and the combination of יוֹם and לַיְלָה, the Hebrews possessed no expression for the civil day as including day and night; for the designation עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, 'evening morning,' which makes its first appearance in the second century B.C. (Dan. 8 14), equivalent to the Greek νυχθήμερον (2 Cor. 11 25), is but a combination precisely similar to the older יוֹם and לַיְלָה.

The Israelites regarded the morning as the beginning of the day; in the evening the day 'declined' or 'went down,' and until the new day (מָחָר, 'morning') broke it was necessary to 'tarry all night' (cp Judg. 19 6-9 and the series in Nu. 11 32, 'all that day and all the night and all the next day'). Not till post-exilic times do we find traces of a new mode of reckoning which makes day begin at sunset and continue till the sunset following. In P, it is true, the expression 'day and night' (*e.g.*, Lev. 8 35 Nu. 9 21) is unhesitatingly used, not 'night and day,' and the evening following the fourteenth day of the first month is regarded as the evening of that day (Ex. 12 18); but Lev. 23 32 certainly reckons the day as extending from evening to evening, and the same mode of reckoning seems to have been in the mind of the writer (P) when, after describing the work of each day, he invariably adds, 'So there was evening and there was morning, a first [second, third, etc.] day' (Gen. 1 5 8 13, etc., וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד, שֵׁנִי, שְׁלִישִׁי). The later mode of reckoning is shown also in the above-mentioned expression in Dan. 8 14 (עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר), in the order of the words 'evening, morning, noon' in Ps. 55 17 [18], and in the 'night and day,' 'night or day,' of the late passages Is. 27 3 34 10 Esth. 4 16.[1] In connection with this later Jewish custom one has to remember the importance which the new moon (visible only in the evening) had for the Israelites in the determination of their feasts, and it must not be forgotten that other ancient peoples who observed lunar divisions of time (Athenians, Gauls, Germans) also began their day with evening. All the same, it is undeniably a somewhat unnatural mode of reckoning, and as far as Israel is concerned can have come into use only when it was desired to fix times with legal and uniform precision for the nation at large.

2. Its subdivision among the Israelites.

The ancient Israelites had no precise subdivision of the day for accurate measurement of time. They designated the various periods of the day by the natural changes which marked its successive stages, or by the successive occupations in ordinary daily routine. Thus it was in the nature of things that morning (בֹּקֶר), midday (צָהֳרַיִם), and evening (עֶרֶב) should be distinguished, and equally so that morning should be spoken of as the rising of the morning, the breaking of the day (Gen. 19 15 32 24 [25]), or the rising of the sun (Gen. 19 23 32 31 [32]); midday, the heat of the day (Gen. 18 1 1 S. 11 11) or the height of the day [EV the perfect day] (Prov. 4 18) afternoon, the time of the day's decline (Judg. 19 8); and evening, the time of the going down of the sun (Gen. 15 12 17) or of 'the wind of the day' or evening breeze (Gen. 3 8 Cant. 2 17 [when the day is cool] 4 6). Specially noticeable is the expression בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, 'between the two evenings,' met with only in

1 In Dt. 28 66 Jer. 14 17 the original text had 'day and night' (see 𝔊); a late transcriber substituted 'night and day' in accordance with the mode of expression current in his own time.

P (Ex. 12 6 16 12 29 39 41 30 8 Lev. 23 5 Nu. 9 3 5 11 28 4 8), which can mean only 'towards evening,' 'about the evening time,' since it is used to indicate the same period that is called in Dt. 16 6 the time of the going down of the sun (cp Ex. 12 6 Nu. 9 3 5 11). Whether the form ought to be taken as a dual, and 'the two evenings' understood as meaning 'the evening of the sun and the evening of its still visible light,' may be left an open question ; but it is important to note that the evening sacrifice prescribed by the law to be made בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם—*i.e.*, towards evening (Ex. 29 39 41 Nu. 28 4 8)—was offered in the first century of our era in the afternoon between half-past two and half-past three (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 3 and Mishna, *Pesaḥim* 5 1 ; also Acts 3 1 10 3 30, where the prayer associated with the evening sacrifice also is made at the ninth hour), and that only the Samaritans and Karaites maintain the old correct interpretation. The change possibly may not have taken place till after the Maccabean period ; for in Daniel (9 21) the daily offering is still spoken of as מִנְחַת עֶרֶב, 'the evening oblation,' and no place in the OT gives any hint of a change (cp on the other hand, the reminiscences of psalmody by night in the temple : 1 Ch. 9 33 23 30 Ps. 92 2 3 [3 4] 134 1; cp 119 62). By reference to functions of daily recurrence, morning is called 'the time of incense' (Lk. 1 10) ; the middle of the afternoon, the time of the offering of the Minha (1 K. 18 29 36); and the evening, 'the time that women go out to draw water' (Gen. 24 11), or 'the time of the evening oblation' (Dan. 9 21 ; cp Ezra 9 4 *f.*). Cp also 'cock-crowing' as denoting early morning (Mk. 14 30 72).

The OT affords no evidence that the Israelites divided their day into twelve hours as the Babylonians did.

3. The term 'hour.' The sundial (?) of Ahaz (2 K. 20 9-11 Is. 38 8), whatever it was (see DIAL), did not lead to a more accurate measurement of time on the part of the people, and even at so late a date as that of Daniel (4 16 5 5) the Aramaic word שָׁעָה ('hour') does not mean any exact portion of time. Reckoning by hours is met with first in the NT, where the day consists of twelve hours (Jn. 11 9) or twelfths simply designated as first [second, etc.] of the day, reckoned as beginning at sunrise (cp Acts 2 15 Mt. 20 3 5 6 27 45 46 etc.). The hour was thus with the Jews a variable quantity, as it was also with the Babylonians, the twelfth part of the day ranging from forty-nine to seventy-one minutes according to the season of the year. The division of the day into twelve parts and the further development of the sexagesimal system as a whole had commended itself to the Babylonians from their observation that, at the vernal equinox, the time between the appearance of the first direct ray of the sun and that of visibility of the entire disk above the horizon amounted to a 360th of the whole time during which the sun was visible in the heavens, or the 720th part of a full day reckoned from one sunrise to another.

Equal divisions of the night were of older date than equal divisions of the day. Three night-watches were recognised: the first (רֹאשׁ אַשְׁמֻרוֹת ; Lam. 2 19), the middle (הָאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה ; Judg. 7 19 ; within which, of course, midnight fell, Ex. 11 4) and the last (אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר ; Ex. 14 24 1 S. 11 11).

4. Night-watches. From the NT we learn that, in the first century of our era at least, the Roman division into four watches had in common use superseded the old division into three (Mk. 13 35 ὀψέ, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία[s] and πρωί ; Mt. 14 25 Mk. 6 48 Lk. 12 38, cp Acts 12 4). From the division of the day into twelve hours the step to a similar division of the night was easy (so, certainly, in Acts 23 23 ; cp also Acts 16 33 Lk. 12 39 and, for the last-cited passage, see the parallel in Mt. 24 43 which speaks of 'watch,' not 'hour').

'Day' is sometimes used in a half-metaphorical sense. Thus in Hos. 2 15 7 5 it means 'high day' ; in Job 3 1 'birth-day' ; in Jer. 50 27 Job 18 20 15 23 Ps. 37 13, etc., 'day of doom' ; in Is. 9 3 [4] 'day of battle.' On the expression 'day of Yahwè' (Joel 1 15 Ezek. 13 5 Is. 2 12) and 'day of Judgment' (2 Pet. 3 7 ἡμέρα κρίσεως) see ESCHATOLOGY, i. Paul uses the expression ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα (1 Cor. 4 3) in contrast to ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (Lk. 17 24 1 Cor. 1 8 [see Var. Bib.] ; ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, Rev. 1 10 ; see LORD'S DAY) to mean an ordinary 'day of trial' (Grimm(3) compares *Landtag*, *Reichstag*). See art. 'Tag' in Winer's *HWB*, as also in *PRE*, and Riehm's *HWB*; Benzinger, *HA* 202 *f.*; Nowack, *HA* 1 214 *f.*; Herzfeld, *GVI* ('57) 2 184 *f.* and Schürer, *GVI* 2 234 3rd ed. 2 290.

K. M.

DAY'S JOURNEY (דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם, Nu. 11 31 ; ημερας οδος, Lk. 2 44).
See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. For 'sabbath day's journey,' see SABBATH, § 4, n.

DAYSMAN (מוֹכִיחַ), Job 9 33 EV ; EV^mg. UMPIRE
(see Murray under 'daysman' ; Davidson quotes Spenser, *Færie Queen*, ii. 8 28). 𝔊^BNA renders by μεσίτης καὶ ἐλέγχων. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10.

DAY STAR.
1. (הֵילֵל ; εωσφορος), Is. 14 12 RV; 2. (φωσφορος), 2 Pet. 1 19. See LUCIFER.

DEACON and DEACONESS (διακονος).

I. *The* Word—We may consider first the use of the word and of its cognates.

1. Usage in Gospels. In the Gospels the word διάκονος is used (1) literally, of a servant who prepares or serves a meal, Mt. 22 13 Jn. 2 5 9 ; (2) metaphorically (Mk. 9 35 10 43 ‖ Mt. 23 11 20 26, Jn. 12 26). It is never used by Lk. who, in what seems a parallel to sayings in Mk., prefers the participle ὁ διακονῶν (22 26 *f.*); in one place (10 40), however, he uses διακονία of the preparation of a meal. The verb (διακονεῖν) is likewise used (1) literally, of preparing or supplying food (Mk. 1 13 ‖ Mt. 4 11 of the angels); 1 31 (‖ Mt. Lk.), Lk. 10 40 12 37 17 8 Jn. 12 2 Mt. 25 44 (rather more widely); and again somewhat more widely (Mk. 15 41 ‖ Mt. 27 55 Lk. 8 3) of the women who ministered to Jesus in his journeyings in Galilee ; (2) metaphorically (Lk. 22 26 *f.* ; Jn. 12 26).

The ordinary word for a servant in the Gospels is δοῦλος, a bond-servant or slave; but a δοῦλος may be called upon to διακονεῖν (Lk. 17 7 *f.*), and in discharge of this function may be termed διάκονος (Mt. 22 8 10 12). Δοῦλος emphasises relation to a master, διάκονος, performance of service. The latter word is free from the associations of slavery which belong to the former. It was thus fitted for adoption as the description of any form of Christian service rendered to Christ or to his Church.

2. In Acts. Accordingly in Acts we find διακονία frequently in this sense : Acts 1 17 25, the διακονία of apostleship ; 6 1, the daily διακονία by which the needs of the poorer brethren were supplied ; and, in contrast to this, the διακονία of the word (6 4). In 11 29 and 12 25 διακονία is used of the help in the famine rendered by Antioch to the brethren in Judæa (a sense which recurs in Paul's epistles). In 20 24 Paul speaks more generally of fulfilling the διακονία which he has received of the Lord Jesus; and in 21 19 he declares what God has wrought among the Gentiles through his διακονία. The word διάκονος does not occur at all in Acts (as it does not in Lk.) ; but διακονεῖν is used in a literal sense in 6 2 of serving the tables ; and metaphorically of Timothy and Erastus, who 'ministered' to Paul (19 22).

3. In Epistles. In the first of the four chronological groups of the Pauline epistles, the only instance of the word or its cognates is 1 Thess. 3 2, where Timothy is called 'the διάκονος [or συνεργός, *BD** arm.] of God in the gospel of Christ.' In the second group the words are freely used. Paul and Apollos are 'διάκονοι through whom ye believed' (1 Cor. 3 5). 'Differences of διακονίαι' are spoken of in 12 5 ; and of the household of Stephanas the remarkable phrase is used, 'they appointed (or 'set') themselves unto διακονία to the saints' (16 15). This passage alone would show that the words were not yet limited to an official use. In 2 Cor. the most noteworthy passages are 8 4 19 20 9 1 12 13, where the words are applied to the collection in the Greek churches for the poor saints in Jerusalem, a service on which Paul laid the greatest stress as being a means of cementing the union between the Jewish and the Gentile portions of the Church. The Epistle to the Romans (15 25 31) shows us his anxiety on this matter, and his fixed resolve to carry out his project in person at any risk to liberty or life. Here again, then, διακονεῖν and διακονία are used of the ministration to temporal needs. In the same epistle (11 13) occur the notable words 'I glorify my διακονία (as apostle of the Gentiles); and the wide range with which he uses the term is seen when he speaks of the temporal ruler as 'the διάκονος of God' (13 4). The application of the word to Phœbe of Cenchreæ (16 1) will be considered presently (§ 4).

In the third group Paul himself is twice styled a 'διάκονος of the gospel' (Eph. 3 7 Col. 1 23), and once 'a διάκονος of the church' (Col. 1 24 *f.*). Tychicus is twice described as 'the beloved brother and faithful διάκονος in the Lord' (Eph. 6 21 Col. 4 7; in the latter place the description 'fellow-servant'

also is inserted), similarly 'Epaphras, who is a faithful διάκονος, on our behalf, of Christ' (Col. 1 7). 'The work of διακονία is referred to in the widest sense in Eph. 4 12; and in Col. 4 17 Archippus receives the message: 'Look to the διακονία which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou mayest fulfil it. In Philemon Paul says of Onesimus the runaway slave, 'that on thy behalf he may minister to me' (διακονῇ, *v.* 13). In Philippians the only instance is of special importance; for the epistle is addressed 'to all the saints . . . in Philippi, together with ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι' (1 1).

The fourth group consists of the Pastoral Epistles; and here the general sense of the words is still the most frequent. The apostle thanks God (1 Tim. 1 12) for having appointed him unto διακονία. Timothy is to he a good διάκονος of Christ Jesus (4 6), and is charged to fulfil his διακονία (2 Tim. 4 5). Of Onesiphorus the apostle recalls how he 'ministered' in Ephesus (1 18); and of Mark he says, 'he is useful to me for διακονία (4 11). On the other hand, the passage of most importance for our purpose is the code of regulations laid down in 1 Tim. 3 8-13 for a class of persons who are definitely designated διάκονοι.

Before considering these regulations we may return to Rom. 16 1, 'I commend to you Phaebe our sister, who is [also] διάκονος of the church which is in Cenchreae.'

4. Case of Phœbe. It is possible *to* interpret the word here either in the general sense in which Paul uses it so often, or in the official sense which we find in the later epistles to the Philippians and to Timothy. It is no objection to the official sense that the person *so* designated is a woman; for we shall presently see that at Ephesus the Order included deacons of either sex.

On the other hand, since there is not in the two earlier groups of Paul's epistles any other indication that διακονία is a special office in the Church, this, which occurs in the second group, would he a solitary and somewhat puzzling exception. Moreover, as Cenchreae was the E. port of Corinth, this case practically belongs to the Corinthian church. In that church special mention is made of the διακονία of Stephanas and his household, the word διακονία being used in its broadest sense. There also Chloe and her household were of note. It may he, therefore, that Phaebe was another woman of influence who held a corresponding pre-eminence of service in the neighbouring port, a pre-eminence that earned for her at the apostle's hands the honourable title of διάκονος of the church; for she had been a helper (perhaps we should render it 'a patroness,' προστάτις) of many and of the apostle himself. If we could assume that the diaconate was formally established in the Corinthian church at this time, we should certainly conclude that Phaehe was one of the women who served it; but this assumption is in sharp contrast with the silence of Paul's epistles as to any kind of definite ecclesiastical organisation at Corinth.

Of Phaehe, then, we may say with security that she is *a* witness *to* the important services rendered by women in the primitive Church; but in tracing the history of the diaconate it will not he wise *to* assume that the word διάκονος is used of her in the strictly official sense. As a matter of historical evidence this passage must he left out of the count as being, at any rate, uncertain testimony. For a technical diaconate in Paul's writings we are thus reduced to two passages, Phil. 1 1 and 1 Tim. 3 8-13.

II. ***Origin and*** *functions of the* Diaconate.—The first recognition of any need *of* organisation in the Christian community occurs in connection with the daily meal in Jerusalem *(see* CHURCH, § 11).

5. Origin of Diaconate. The word deacon is not applied in Acts to the seven men who were on this occasion appointed to the service of the poor;[1] we have already noted that *διάκονος* does nor occur in Lk. or Acts. Nevertheless, by the later Church tradition, they were constantly regarded as the earliest deacons; and so strong was this feeling that the number of deacons in some churches was limited to seven. Names apart, they truly represented the essential feature of the diaconate, as the Church's organ for service to her poorer members. In other communities, especially in the Greek world, this service was destined to take *a* different form; but the deacons of the Pauline epistles at Philippi and Ephesus had a similar function, though the circumstances in which they discharged it were very dissimilar. The definite title is met with first in the Greek churches, and here the order from its commencement is found to include the services of men and women alike. The admission of women to the diaconate could scarcely have arisen in the Jewish communities; but it was probably felt to be natural in places where women were in general accorded a larger liberty. Whilst then we recognise the germ of the institution in the appointment of the Seven in Jerusalem, we must look to the Greek churches for the development of the definite and permanent order.

As the personal ministry of Paul drew to a close, and as it became evident that the 'return' of Christ was indefinitely postponed, it was natural that ecclesiastical organisation should assume a new and increasing importance. It is in harmony with this that we find the apostle in a later epistle recognising expressly 'the bishops and deacons' at Philippi, very much as he had recognised the 'episcopate' of the presbyters of Ephesus, when he thought that he should see them again no more (Acts 20 28). 'Those who ruled,' and 'those who served' under them, were coming to form definite classes, to which the natural designations of overseers (ἐπίσκοποι) and servants (διάκονοι) were beginning to be formally appropriated. Accordingly, in

6. Functions. the first epistle to Timothy the apostle lays down regulations for the two classes under these titles. The differences in the regulations help to show us the nature of the functions to be discharged in the two cases (1 Tim. 3 1-13). The rules which should govern the choice of deacons must be cited in full :—

'Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not eager for petty gains holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And they too are first to he tested, and then *to* minister, if they he irreproachable. Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Deacons are to be husbands of one wife, ruling well their children and their own houses; for they that have ministered well acquire a good standing for themselves and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.

The essence of these regulations is that, deacons, whether men or women, must he persons of character, who can rule their tongues and are temperate in the use of wine. Trustworthiness is demanded of the woman, as strict honesty is of the man: this doubtless points to the fact that Church moneys would pass through their hands. Deacons are to know what they believe, and to live in accordance with it; but no aptitude for teaching is demanded of them, nor any qualifications for exercising discipline. The service of the deacons is the house to house service, which deals primarily with temporal wants.

In the **AV** the women spoken of here are represented as the wives of the deacons. This interpretation puts a serious strain on the original Greek, and it is now generally abandoned. It finds no parallel in any demand for special qualifications in the wives of bishops, It belongs to a period when the diaconate of women had been wholly lost sight of; and it cannot be maintained in face of the fact that women were undoubtedly admitted to this office in the early ages of the Church's history.

For the later confusion between deaconesses and widows see WIDOW., and for a full historical account of the female diaconate see ***The Ministry of Deaconesses*** hy Deaconess Cecilia Robinson ('98). **J. A. R.**

DEAD, THE, and DEATH. The preliminaries may first he briefly considered. To kiss the dead (Gen. 50 1) and to close their eyes (Gen. 46 4) and mouth (Mishna, *Shab.* 23 5)

1. Disposal of the dead. immediately after death was looked upon as a deed of natural piety. In NT times the body was washed (Acts 9 37), anointed with sweet-smelling ointments (**Mk. 16** 1 Lk. **24** 1 Jn. 12 7), and wrapped in linen cloth (Mt. 27 59 Mk. 15 46 Lk. 23 53), or the hands and feet were bound with grave-clothes and the head covered with a napkin (Jn. 11 44). The age of these customs must remain uncertain, as they are not alluded to in OT; but the old belief that in Shĕōl the dead would be known by their dress, the king by his diadem, the soldier by his sword, the prophet by his mantle (1 S. **28** 14 Ezek. 32 27), leads to the inference that the dead were buried dressed as in life. In later times, delicate foods, ornaments, gold and silver, and all kinds of valuables were placed with the body in the graves of

[1] Cp Hatch, ***Early Christian*** *Churches*, 49.

princes and nobles[1] (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 34). If what we read (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 84 xvi. 71) as to the plundering of David's grave by Hyrcanus and Herod is to be accepted, this custom also is very old. EMBALMING [*q.v.*] was not in use. On sacrifices to the dead, cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 3.

The usual method of disposing of the dead was by burial (Gen. 23 19 25 9 35 8 Judg. 2 9 8 32 etc.). In 1 S. 31 8-13, where we read of the burning of the body of Saul, the text is corrupt (see Klost. *ad loc.*), as is also the case with Am. 6 10.[2] Burning was looked upon as something abominable, as an injury to the dead (Am. 2 1); it was used, by priestly law and old custom, only in a few cases, to render the death sentence more severe (Josh. 7 25 Lev. 20 14 21 9); cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. The aversion to the burning of the body was connected with the belief that the soul even after death was bound to the body. Not to be buried was a terrible disgrace which one could hardly wish even to one's greatest enemy (Am. 2 1 1 K. 13 22 14 11 16 4 21 24 2 K. 9 10 Is. 33 12 Jer. 7 32 8 2 9 22 [21] 14 16 16 4 Ezek. 29 5). The spirits of the unburied dead wander restlessly about, and in Shĕōl are condemned to lie in the corners (Ezek. 32 23 Is. 14 15 etc.). Burial alone so bound the spirit to the body that it had rest and could harm no one. It was therefore the sacred duty of every one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 24 Jer. 7 33 2 S. 21 10, and especially Tob. 1 18 2 8). In cases of death by stoning the pile of stones took the place of a regular grave (Josh. 7 26). Cp the Greek idea, as given, for example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Rapid interment was necessary on account of the hot climate, and even without express biblical authority we may assume that then, as now, in the East, it usually took place on the day of death (cp Dt. 21 23). The body was carried to the grave on a bier (2 S. 3 31 [מִטָּה]; Lk. 7 14 [σορός]). Coffins were not used by the Israelites (2 K. 13 21); Joseph's bones were placed in a coffin (אָרוֹן; σορός) in conformity with the custom of the Egyptians (Gen. 50 26).[3] The stone coffin (sarcophagus)[4] was adopted by the Jews (as also by the Phoenicians) from the Egyptians long after the exile, but only by the wealthy. The procession of friends, who would of course often be mourners,[5] was accompanied by hired mourners singing lamentations (2 S. 3 31; cp MOURNING CUSTOMS).[6] The place of burial was determined by the belief that the unity of the family and tribe continued after death. The bodies of those who wished to be reunited with their parents and family in Shĕōl had to be buried in the family sepulchre (see TOMBS, ESCHATOLOGY).

See Benzinger, *Arch.* ('94), § 23; Nowack, *HA* ('94), § 32; and Bender in *JQR*, 1894 *f.* I. B.

2. Biblical references. 'Death' (מָוֶת, θανατος) can mean, not only the process or state of death, but also the realm of the dead, 'Death-land.' See Is. 28 15 Hos. 13 14 Ps. 6 5 [6] 9 13 [14] 22 15 [16] 68 20 [21] 89 48 [49] 107 18 Prov. 2 18 7 27 Job 28 22 38 17 Rev. 1 18 6 8 20 13 *f.* In Rev. 6 8 RV prints Death, to correspond to Hades. Both are personifications; cp the later Jewish representations of ABADDON [*q.v.*] and *Māweth* ('Death') as two of God's chief angels (cp DESTROYER). 'The dead' in AV corresponds not only to הַמֵּתִים (often) but also to הָרְפָאִים (Ps. 88 10 [11] Prov. 2 18 9 18 21 16 Is. 14 9 26 14 19; inconsistently Job 26 5, 'dead things'). RV sometimes has 'they that are deceased' (*e.g.*, Job 26 5); in mg. always 'the shades; Heb. Rephaim.'

We will examine the above passages, beginning with: (*a*) Job 26 5, of which Schultens remarks 'Suhita nox diem solemque adimit.' RV, and virtually Davidson, render thus—

> They that are deceased tremble
> Beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof.

Davidson comments, 'This abode of deceased persons lies deep down under the waters of the sea and all the inhabitants of these waters, for the sea belongs to the upper world. Yet the power of God is felt even at this immeasurable distance from his abode on high.' To us this may appear natural; but to those who believed that the 'shades' were 'forgotten by God' (Ps. 88 5 [6]), it would scarcely appear so. The Hebrew of 26 5 is also not worthy of the context. Probably we should read (*Exp. Times*, 10 382 [May '99]):

> He makes the sea and its billows to start (in alarm),
> He terrifies the waters and the floods thereof.[1]

(*b*) In Ps. 88 10 [11] the shades are represented as incapable of 'arising and praising God.' In 'arise' Kirkpatrick sees a reference to the resurrection, an idea which the psalmist finds inconceivable. (*c*) Prov. 2 18 *f.*, no return from the shades. (*d*) Prov. 9 18. Those who frequent the house of Madam Folly (*v.* 13) are, as it were, shades already (anticipating Dante). (*e*) Prov. 21 16. Folly leads surely to the shades. (*f*) Is. 14 9. When the overthrown king of Babylon appears in Shĕōl, the shades themselves, especially the royal shades, are in excitement. Some tidings of his greatness have reached them, and they marvel to see one who had claimed to sit with the gods reduced to their own miserable state. The poet takes some liberty with the popular belief, or else revives an earlier form of it. In the legend of Ištar, *l.* 19, we read, 'I will raise up the dead to eat the living.'[2] (*g*) Is. 26 14 19. 'The shades will not rise . . . to life shall the earth bring the shades' (*SBOT*). The resurrection hope. See ESCHATOLOGY, § 28 *ff.*

3. Origin of term Rephā'īm. Böttcher (*De inferis*, § 112 *ff.*) derives the word *Rephā'īm* (רְפָאִים) from √רפה, *projicere*. The giants are 'hurled' to Shĕōl, and then, as the chief inhabitants of Shĕōl, give their name to the whole population. Duhm (on Is. 14 9 and Job 26 5) holds the same view as to the transference of the title *Rephā'īm* from the giants to all other inhabitants of Deathland. This theory mistakes the meaning of the *Rephā'īm* of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and gives a doubtful meaning to √רפה. It also assumes as correct a passage (Job 26 5) which is certainly corrupt. It is an old view revived (see Schultens on Job, 1737, p. 705). Most critics, however, hold that *Rephā'īm* = 'the flaccid, weak,' a natural development of √רפה (cp Jer. 6 24 etc.). 'Art thou also become weak (חֻלֵּיתָ) as we?' ask the shades (Is. 14 10, RV). But this is far too easy, and the Hebrews would hardly have spoken of the spirits of the dead as 'the weak ones.' 'I see a *god* coming up out of the earth,' says the wise woman to Saul (1 S. 28 13 RV). The word ought to mean 'the terrible,' or 'the wise,' or the like. In the later OT books the condition of those in Shĕōl is portrayed in very gloomy colours; but these books do not express the primitive popular belief. No doubt *Rephā'īm* is a mutilated or modified form of some primitive religious term. A sister-form is most probably TERAPHIM [*q.v.*]. Cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lects.* 450, n. 5.

§ 1 I B., § 2 f: T. K. C.

DEAD SEA, THE, the usual designation of the lake in which the course of the Jordan terminates, occurs

1. Names. nowhere in OT or NT though it was not uncommon in antiquity (θάλασσα νεκρά; Paus. v. 7 3; Galen 4 20; Justin xxxvi. 3 6; Eus. *OS* 261 32), and is found in Vg. of Josh. 3 16† (*mare solitudinis quod nunc vocatur mortuum*).

In the OT this lake is occasionally called simply 'the sea' (יָם, four times, and in the expression 'from sea to sea'): also 'the Salt sea' (יָם הַמֶּלַח, nine times; ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἁλῶν [ἁλός, ἡ ἁλυκή], *mare salis*, *m. salsissimum*); 'the sea of the plain,' RV 'sea of the Arabah' (יָם הָעֲרָבָה, five times; [ἡ] θάλασσα [τῆς] Ἀραβά; *mare solitudinis*, *m. deserti*): in the three places

1 On Job 3 15, where some plausibly find an allusion to the treasures in royal tombs see TOMBS.

2 See, however, the ingenious suggestions of WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 372. Wellh. is fully conscious of the difficulty of Am. 6 10 (*Die Kl. Proph.*(3) 87); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 48.

3 In Job 21 32 σορός (bier, coffin) is used in 𝔊A to render גדיש, 'tomb' or 'sepulchral mound'; but σωρῶν [BC] or σωρῷ [א] is the better reading. See TOMBS.

4 Cp BED, § 3.

5 Cp Lk. 7 12. Whether we may compare Job 21 33 is uncertain. Di. denies, Duhm affirms this. The whole passage is obscure and not very coherent.

6 On the mourning women in primitive Babylonia see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 684. They also washed, prepared, and arranged the dead body.

1 רֹגַע הַיָּם וְגַלָּיו מְחַתֵּת מַיִם וְשִׁבֳּלֵיהֶם.

2 Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 569.

where both designations are employed 'Salt sea' is used to explain the expression 'sea of the Arabah'); and, in three places, 'the eastern [east, former] sea' (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי : ἡ θάλασσα ἡ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς Φοινικῶνος, ἡ θ. ἡ πρώτη ; *mare orientale*).[1] In Diod. Sic. (248 19 98) and in Josephns (often; see especially *BJ* iv. 8 4) it is Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη ; so also in Pliny (*lacus Asphaltites; HN* v. 1515). Josephus also has $ Σοδομῖτις λίμνη (*Ant.* v. 1 22) ; cp the Sodomitish sea' (mare *Sodomiticum*) of 4 Esd. 5 7. This name occurs also in Edrisi (35, transl. Jaubert, 1 338), who calls it the sea of Sodom and Gomorrah and the sea of Za'rah (Zoar). Its name in Arabic (at least since the eleventh century) is *Baḥr* (or *Buḥeirat*) *Lūṭ;* but this does not prove the name of Lot to have remained attached to the sea in local tradition for four thousand years. It arises simply from the fact that Lot and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned in the Koran.

From the biblical point of view the Dead Sea is not very important. The references to it in the OT occur generally in topographical connections, especially in definitions of the eastern frontier of the land of Israel. There are two notable exceptions : (*a*) where it comes into the story of the Cities of the Plain, and (*b*) where it is referred to in the prophetic descriptions of Ezek. 47 and Zech. 148. The NT does not refer to it at all.

From the geographical point of view it is otherwise : the interest of this lake is quite extraordinary.

2. Geographical interest. The Jordan valley, running from N. to S., begins to sink below sea-level as far N. as a little below Lake Hūleh ; the Lake of Galilee is some 680 feet lower, and thence the 'Arābah or Ghōr continues to fall till the surface of the Dead Sea is reached at a distance below the sea of some 1300[2] feet. At the opposite extremity of this lake ends another valley, coming from the S., formerly called the ARABAH [*q.v.*]. Thus the lake constitutes the deepest portion of what is the most strongly marked depression (unconnected with the sea) on the surface of the globe.' It has no effluent. Should the question be asked, whether in former times the Jordan, after passing through the Dead Sea, may not have flowed on southward falling at last into the Ked Sea (Elanite Gulf or Gulf of 'Akabah), it may suffice to point out how much below sea-level the Dead Sea is, and further, that the valley to the S. of the Dead Sea is really two valleys. One runs N., the other S., and the intersection or watershed is at a height of 650 feet above the level of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean (according to the *PEF* survey)." Thus the two basins are hydrographically distinct, which is confirmed by a stratigraphical study of the sedimentary deposits on the valley floor (Lartet).

The geological investigation of Palestine and of the Dead Sea, carried on mainly by Fraas, Lartet, Hull, and Blanckenhorn, has proved, contrary to previous ideas, that the Dead Sea cannot possibly date from the historical epoch, and that it must have presented, at any rate from the beginning of the quaternary epoch, practically the same aspect and configuration as at present.

3. Geological investigation. Traces can still be seen, however, of a past time when the water stood as much as 1180 feet above its present level, as well as of another phase in which the difference was only 348 feet ; in short, the waters have gradually subsided to their present position.

The actual level is that at which the evaporation exactly counterbalances the daily influx of water from the Jordan and the other affluents. Of these last, the chief, including certain winter torrents, are: (*a*) on the eastern side, reckoning from N. to S., the Wady Ghnweir, the Wadys Zerḳā-Ma'īn (Callirrhoe)-Mōjib (Arnon), Beni-Hamād, ed-Derā'a (Kerak), Numēreh, el-Ahsā (or eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh) ; (*b*) on the S., the Wadys Ṭufīleh, el-Jeib, el-Fiḳreh (these three traverse a marshy plain, the Sebkhah, which stretches immediately southwards from the Dead Sea and is bordered by gigantic thickets of reeds) ; (c) on the western side, going from S. to N., the Wiidy el-Muḥauwaṭ, the Wiidy Seyāl (to the S. of which lies Sebbeh, the ancient fortress of Masada), the spring of 'Ain-Jedy (Engedi), the Wiidy en-Nrir (Kedron), and the spring of 'Ain el-Feshkhah (cp BETH-ARABAH), to the S. of which is the headland known as Rās el-Feshkhah.

The amount of daily evaporation[1] has been estimated at 13½ millimetres, and the daily contribution of the Jordan alone at 6,000,000 tons (the volume of the Rhone at its influx into the Lake of Geneva is 22,000,000 tons). Another feature of it is its great density, which arises from its salinity (the mean is 1. 166). At a depth of 1000 feet the solid matters contained in the water represent 27 per cent of the total weight. These substances are mainly chlorides of sodium, magnesium, and calcium, also certain derivatives of bromium. The chloride of magnesium gives the water 'a very disagreeable taste ; the chloride of calcium gives it its slightly oily consistency. The eyes, and some assert also the skin, are powerfully affected by contact with it. Garments receive from the evaporating water a saline deposit, with indelible spots of an oily appearance. The salt encrusts also the many trees and pieces of wood which lie stranded on the shore ; so much so that they form a characteristic feature of the landscape, and recall the striking antithesis in Jer. 17 5-8.

A bath in the Dead Sea at once proves its difference in density from other seas or from fresh-water lakes.

4. Characteristic features. Eggs float on it. The human body being lighter than the water, swimming becomes difficult, the head alone of the swimmer tending to sink. The boiling point of the water is 221° F. It is remarkably limpid, and has a beautiful colour, now blue, now green. To think of this lake as sombre and sad is quite an illusion ; its intense colouring, its varied effects of light, its scarped overhanging slopes broken by deep gorges, produce a picture of wild and sublime beauty. 'The scenery round the sea is very fine,' says Conder ; 'it is compared, by those who have seen both, to that of the Lake of Geneva.' The present writer, whose home is in Geneva, agrees with this comparison, it being understood that it is between the northern portion of the Dead Sea and the eastern end of the Lake of Geneva towards the embouchure of the Rhone. Another common error about the Dead Sea is that its waters have no motion ; on the contrary, it is constantly agitated by the winds, and storms sometimes drive huge billows to the shore. It does not owe its name to this imagined immobility, but rather to the fact that no sort of living creature—fish, crustacean, mollusc, etc.—can subsist in its waters, the only exceptions being certain inferior organisms and microbes, as shown by the investigations of Ehrenberg and of the zoologist Lortet (not to be confused with the geologist Lartet). This fact—which is conclusively proved by the death not only of the fish carried down into it by the Jordan (their bodies serve as food for numerous birds which frequent the neighbourhood), but also of salt-water fishes—has given rise to various incorrect ideas. Thus it has been said that birds attempting to fly over it drop down dead ; this is a mere imagination—a fable which, like a host of earlier witnesses, the present writer is able to contradict from ocular testimony—or perhaps it may be the result of a confusion with some other lake (see Reland, 244 *ff.*). It is equally false to say that the shores of the Dead Sea derive their barrenness from the pernicious action of its waters. What hinders the growth of plants in its vicinity is not the presence of the lake itself, but the absence of fresh water whether from affluents or by precipitation. Wherever there is fresh

1 Notwithstanding the continued advocacy of the wrong view in *PEFQ*, 1898, 112-13, it is certain that הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן in Dt. 34 2 (AV 'the utmost sea' ; RV 'the hinder sea,' mg. 'the western sea') is not the Dead Sea but the Mediterranean ; cp Dt. 1124.

2 The (not very wide) variations from this figure can for the most part be explained by differences between one season and another, which can cause the level of the lake to rise or fall some 10 or 15 feet. It is at its highest in April and May.

3 The discovery of the great depth of the surface of the Dead Sea below sea-level belongs to modern times ; it was made independently and almost simultaneously by Schubert on the one hand, and Moore and Beek on the other, in 1837 ; and afterwards confirmed by Russegger and by Symonds.

4 The distance from the watershed to the Red Sea is about 46 m., and to the Dead Sea over 73 m.

1 The evaporation produces whitish or bluish clouds which float above the water. Hence 'a smoking waste' (Wisd. 10 7). Cp NIBSHAN.

running water, as at Engedi, where there is a thermal spring (79° F.), vegetation flourishes (cp Cant. 1 14) and, as elsewhere throughout the Ghōr, exhibits a combination of tropical plants with others belonging to the Mediterranean region. Finally, the scant population of its shores is to be accounted for more by the torrid temperature (above 100° F. in the shade) than by any infertility or positive insalubrity.

In fact, the lake has not always been so deserted : witness, for example, the town of TAMAR at the SW. extremity. Even the shores of the Sea of Galilee have gradually come *to* be wholly abandoned except in three or four localities. The shores of the Dead Sea too had once a very different aspect. Both in antiquity (we learn this from Tac. *Hist.* 56 and also from the Madeba mosaic) and so recently as the time of the Crusades when Kerak and other fortresses had such an important position the waters of the Dead Sea were enlivened with passing vessels: Nor were the curative qualities of the water **of the** Dead Sea unknown in the Roman period. Julius Africanus speaks of these baths as wholesome (Reland, 253 *f.*), as also does Galen (*ib.* 241 *f.*), who (wrongly) adds that an artificial substitute could be obtained by the simple expedient of saturating ordinary sea water with added salt. Mention is often made of the mephitic odour exhaled by the Dead Sea (see NIBSHAN); but it has not been shown that the lake itself is the cause of this. It may be occasioned either by the marshy lagoons by which the lake is bordered, or by the mineral springs of the neighbourhood. The sulphurous odoiir, which reminds one of that of rotten eggs, is particularly noticeable near 'Ain el-Fesbkhah.

5. Dimensions.

The lake, as we have seen, lies N. and S., with a maximum length of 47½ m., a maximum breadth of 10 m. (Josephus gives 66 and 17 m. respectively) and a superficial area of 360 sy. m. (the Lake of Geneva being 224 sq. m.). It is divided into two unequal portions by a peninsula, 11-12 m. in length and about 40-80 ft. above the level of the lake, flat for the most part, but with a range of hills rising 300 ft. This peninsula, formed of white calcareous marl, with deposits of salt and gypsum, projects from the E. shore; it is separated from the W. shore by a channel about 3 m. in breadth. The name of the peninsula is el-Mezra'ah or el-Lisān ; the last designation, meaning 'the tongue,' has been brought into connection with the mention of the לָשׁוֹן (EV 'the bay [mg. : 'Heb. tongue'] that looketh southward') in Josh. 15 2 5; but whilst the modern Arabic term is applied to the land in the middle of the lake, the two biblical passages refer *to* the water at the two ends of the lake (cp Is. 11 15; 'the tongue of the Egyptian sea').

The N. promontory of the Lisān has been named Cape Costigan and the S. Cape Molyneux in honour of two hold explorers who navigated the Dead Sea in 1835 and 1847 respectively. We ought also *to* mention the expeditionsof Moore and Beek in 1837 and of Symonds in 1841, and especially that of Lieut. Lynch of the U.S. navy in 1848 and that of the Duc de Lnynes in 1864, both of which were of great importance.[1]

The portion of the Dead Sea to the N. of the Lisān is much the larger, and reaches a great depth (1278 ft.). The S. smaller portion is quite shallow (10-18 ft.), and in parts even fordable. Possibly this portion is of less ancient date than the rest of the lake, and may have arisen within historic times in consequence of some subsidence of the land. The shores immediately bordering on this section are the most saline of the whole country. There are salt marshes in the neighhourhood, and it is there that, running parallel with the W. shore, the curious ridge of rock salt, a veritable *hors d'œuvre* as Lartet (p. 87) picturesquely calls it, occurs. It is called Jebel Usdum or Ḥajar-Usdum or Khasm-Usdum,—thus echoing the name of Sodom,—and rises to a height of 600 ft., with a length of 3¾ m. and a breadth of over half a mile. In its immediate vicinity can be seen, occasionally at least, detached pillars of salt, suggesting some resemblance to a rudimentary colossal statue.

6. Its asphalt.

Another peculiarity is the presence of asphalt in the Dead Sea basin (see BITUMEN). whence the Greek name of Asphaltitis (cp Tac. *Hist.* 56; Str. 16 2 42; Dioscor. 1 99; Diod. Sic. 19 28). Near the lake are found beds of a whitish chalky niarl, tnd also of bituminous marl. It is not, however, from these deposits on its shores that the water of the Dead Sea derives its bituminous constituents, but rather, no doubt, from deep subaqueous beds; there has been observed a marked coincidence between the appearance of considerable bituminous masses floating on the surface and the occurrence of the earthquakes which at intervals desolate the whole of that region. When these take place quantities of bitumen are broken loose and come to the surface; the natives are diligent in collecting them, but hitherto no methodical exploitation of these mineral resources on a commercial basis has been attempted. The existence of bituminous constituents in small quantity in the water can always be shown.

Notwithstanding the presence of this bitumen, of sulphur springs, and of masses of sulphur which are met with here and there, as also of certain igneous formations, the region of the Dead Sea must not be included in the category of volcanic territories properly so called. On the contrary, in opposition to the assertions of certain travellers too richly endowed with imagination (*e.g.*, Russegger and van de Velde), the very competent geologists already named agree in doubting whether any large part in the formation of this region ought to be attributed to igneous forces.[1]

The cretaceous beds rise in regular stages on the W. hank from the margin of the lake. On the other shore the arrangement is no less regular; but under the cretaceous beds there are carboniferous strata and beneath there are other formations still more ancient. At the most it may be admitted that certain volcanic agitations have made themselves felt in the depths of the lake. Blanckrnhorn (*ZDPV*, 1896, p. 59) recalls and attaches importance to an observation made by Molyneux and quoted by Ritter (706 *f.*) relating *to* a whitish belt of foam stretching from the NW. of the lake towards the Lisān and followiiig on the whole the median line of the lake, above which a whitish vapour lingered in the air. From this phenomenon, supported by certain other indications, he concludes the existence of a fault in the floor of the lake which is prolonged in the channel skirting the Lisān and terminates in the S. portion of the lake near the embouchure of the W. Muhauwaṭ. On 10th-12th March of this year (1899) the author of this article witnessed the same phenomenon as that seen by Molyneux in 1847.

7. The story in Gen. 19.

In a general way we might describe the geological formation of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin by the technical expression *effondrement*. The phenomenon occurred at the time of the transition from the tertiary to the quaternary epoch. It is not possible, therefore, to establish any relation between the formation of the Dead Sea as a whole and the catastrophe described in Gen. 19. At most that narrative might possibly admit of being connected with certain events of a niore local character and of secondary importance, which might have occurred within historic times (see LOT, SIDDIM, SODOM).

As we have not *to* deal with the historical side of the question, but with the geographical only, it will suffice *to* say *(a)* that the text of Genesis *speaks* of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven, hut neither of an earthquake, nor of an igneous eruption, nor of an inundation; (6) that there is nothing *to* show that the cities of the Pentapolis were in the plain of Siddim; *(c)* that the remark in Gen. 14 3 'the plain of Siddim *which is the Salt Sea'* may he a conjecture of the narrator or even the gloss of a copyist or late reader, (*d*) that account must be taken of the mention of the *kikkār* of Jordan (Geu. 13 10-12 19 17 *25 28 29)*; *(e)* that possibly a distinction must be made between the actual position of the Pentapolis and the position assigned *to* it by later writers, inasmuch as these entertained perhaps divergent opinions as to this point ; (*f*) that the position of Zoar is as problematical as that of the other four cities; finally (*g*) that scholars are divided into two camps —those who place the Pentapolis in the N. of the Dead Sea, and those who place it in the S.

In complete contrast with its sombre narratives regarding these doomed cities, the OT, in two prophetical passages of Ezekiel and Zechariah already cited, describes the transformation of the waste and barren regions of the Dead Sea by a life-giving stream issuing from the temple, fertilising all that it touches so that fish and fruit-bearing trees abound.

[1] Since 1893 rowing boats, sailing boats, and, more recently, even steam launches have occasionally been at the service of travellers.

[1] The well-known geologist von Hoffmann has adopted this view.

Reland, *Palæstina*, 238-258; Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1 405-430 2 217-274 293-385 37-16 4352-365 367-389 401-403; v. Schubert *Reise in das Morgenland*, 384-94; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* 201-253 463-501 601-608; *Phys. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, 187-216 ('65); Ritter, *Vergl. Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palæstina, etc.* ii. 1553-780; *Der Jordan und die Beschiffung des Todten Meeres* ('50); Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 2906-952; de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte* ('53); Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran et aux bords de la Mer Morte*, 215-306; Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*: *Geologische Betrachtungen* ('67) 62-67 73-78; *Das Todte Meer* ('67); Tuch, *Ueber den Ursprung des Todten Meeres nach dem A T* ('63); Lynch, *Narrative of the US Expedition to . . . the Dead Sea* ('49); *Official Report of the US Expedition*, etc. ('52); Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte* ('75, *seq.*), see especially vol. iii., *Géologie*, par M. Louis Lartet; A. Stoppani, *Il Mare Morto* ('75); E. Falcucci, *Il Mar Morto e la Pentapoli del Giordano* ('81); Hull, *Mount Seir* ('89), chap. 13 *f.*, *Memoir on the Geology and Geography of Arabia Petræa, Palestine*, etc. ('89); Guérin, *Description de la Palestine* ('74): *Samarie*, 160-96; Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* ('84), 389-442; Tristram, *The Land of Israel* ('82), 255-360; G. A. Sm., *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land* ('94), 497-516; Blanckenhorn, 'Entsteh. u. Gesch. d. Todten Meeres,' *ZDPY*, 19 1-59 ('96); 'Noch einmal Sodom u. Gomorrha,' *ib.* 21 65-83 ('98); 'Das Tote Meer u. der Untergang von Sodom u. Gomorrha' ('98); Diener, 'Die Katastrophe von Sodom u. Gomorrha im Lichte geologischer Forschung,' *Mitth. der K.-K. Geogr. Ges. in Wein*, 1897, pp. 1-22). LU. G.

8. Literature.

DEAL, TENTH (עִשָּׂרוֹן), Lev. 14 10. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

DEATH, (θανατος), see DEAD, THE.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΑΒΕΙΝ [B*], -ρ [AL], ΛΑΒΕΙΝ [B^b]), king of Eglon, defeated and slain by Joshua (Josh. 10 3 cp 23).

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΑΒΕΙΡ [BAL]). (1) A place in the S. of Judah (Josh. 10 38 *f.* etc.); see KIRJATH-SEPHER.

2. In Josh. 15 7, דְּבִרָה is by AV taken as a place-name on the N. boundary of Judah; it has been identified by some with the present Thoghret ed Debr near Ṭal'at ed-Dam (Adummim) on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.

The text, however, is uncertain and the word may not be a place-name. 𝔊 renders: 'to the fourth part (רבעית) of the vale of Achor.' Di. suggests the translation 'backwards'—*i.e.*, 'westwards'—דביר meaning 'behind'; but there is no other instance of its geographical application.[1]

3. Josh. 13 26; RVmg. LIDEBIR. G. A. S.

DEBORA, RV **Deborah** (ΔΕΒΒΩΡΑ [BN*], ΔΕΜΒΩΡΑ [A], the grandmother of Tobit (Tob. 1 8).

DEBORAH (דְּבוֹרָה, 'a bee,' § 68; cp WRS in *Journ. Phil.* 14 ['85] 120 *f.*; ΔΕΒΒΩΡΑ [BAL]). 1. A heroine who, with the aid of Barak, delivered the Israelites from their Canaanite oppressors. The victory is celebrated in the triumphal ode, Judg. 5. The Israelites, particularly the tribes which had settled about the plain of Jezreel, had been reduced to great straits by the Canaanites, who, holding the fortified cities along the plain (Judg. 1 27), blockaded the main roads and cut off communication, while from their strongholds they harried the country so that the unwalled villages were deserted (5 6 *f.*). Incited by Debōrah, the Israelites at last took up arms against their oppressors. Under Barak as their leader, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh united with Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, and gave battle to Sisera and the confederate Canaanite kings in the plain not far from Taanach and Megiddo. The Canaanites, notwithstanding their formidable iron chariots, were put to rout; the waters of the Kishon completed their ruin. Sisera, seeking refuge in flight at a nomad's tent, was killed by a woman, Jael.

1. Occasion of her leadership.

The history of the struggle is related somewhat differently in chap. 4,[2] according to which Barak, at the summons of Deborah, raised ten thousand men of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, occupied Mt. Tabor, and from that position attacked Sisera as the latter was advancing against him. A more serious difference is that in chap. 4 the oppressor of Israel, from whom it is delivered by Deborah, is Jabin king of Hazor, a city in Upper Galilee; whilst Sisera is only Jabin's general. In the action, however, Jabin plays no part; and we can only surmise that the story of Sisera has, by mistake, been connected with a tradition of a conflict between some of the northern tribes and the king of Hazor (cp also Josh. 11).

From chap. 4 we learn that Deborah was a prophetess—an inspired woman; that her husband's name was Lappiddth; and that her home was between Bethel and Ramah, whither the Israelites resorted to her for judgment. Chap. 5 15, however, seems to prove that she was of the tribe of Issachar; and other considerations would incline us to think that she lived in or near the plain of Jezreel. (For a conjecture on this subject see DABERATH.) That her home was in Mt. Ephraim may have been inferred by the author of 4 5 (an editorial addition to the narrative) from the existence of a tomb of Deborah under a tree below Bethel, where, according to the patriarchal legend (see below, no. 2), the nurse of Rebekah was buried (Gen. 35 8).

Barak, who shares with Deborah the glory of the victory, was from Kedesh in Naphtali (4 6). This city is somewhat remote, and in the account of Sisera's flight seems impossible. It has been conjectured by Wellhausen (*CH* 221) that the name of the more famous Kedesh in Galilee has here supplanted an obscure KEDESH (*q.v.*, 2) in Issachar (1 Ch. 6 72 [57]—mentioned with Daberath not far from Mt. Tabor); a suggestion which is the more plausible that 5 15, if the text be sound, connects Barak also with Issachar (cp BEZAANANNIM, KISHION). It is possible that Kedesh in Naphtali, in the immediate vicinity of Hazor, comes in some way from the story of Jabin.

2. Barak.

The Song of Deborah bears in itself the evidence that it is the work of one who had lived through the great struggle which it celebrates, and is for that reason of inestimable value as an historical monument. It is also not only one of the oldest Hebrew poems which have come down to us, but one of the greatest. On its date cp SISERA and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (iv.). See also HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 2.

3. The Song of Deborah.

Few odes in the world's literature, indeed, can be compared with this triumphal Te Deum. Unfortunately, the text, especially in *vv.* 8-15, has suffered grievously from the injuries of time.

Until very recent times, Deborah has been universally believed to be the author. It is ascribed to her in the title; and this testimony was thought to be conclusively confirmed by *v.* 7, 'Until I, Deborah, arose.' The form of the Hebrew verbs in this verse, however, is ambiguous, and the clause might equally well be interpreted, 'Until thou didst arise, Deborah' (cp *v.* 12); whilst 𝔊 and Vg. render in the third person (cp *v.* 15). On the other hand, the natural inference from *v.* 15, and especially from *v.* 12, is that the heroine is not the poet.

On the subjects of this article see, further, Moore, *Judges* ('95), and cp JAEL. On the Song of Deborah, cp HADRACH, KADESH (2), KISHON, MEROZ, and see A. Muller, *Das Lied der Deborah* ('87); G. A. Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah* ('92); additional literature in Moore, *op. cit.*, 127, 136.

More recent studies, chiefly in the text, are: Grimme, *ZDMG*, '96, 572 *ff.*; Marquart, *Fundamente isr. u. jüd. Gesch.* ('96); Budde, *Actes d. Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 2 20 *ff.* ('96); Ruben, *JQR*, '98, 541 *ff.*; Riess, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 91 295 *ff.*; D. H. Muller, *Actes d. XIme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 4 261 *ff.* ('98). G. F. M.

2. Rebekah's nurse who, according to J, died and was buried below Bethel under the oak known as ALLON-BACUTH (Gen. 35 8, ρεββωρα [E], δεβορρα [L]). She is alluded to, but unnamed, in 24 59, where she accompanies Rebekah on her departure from Bethuel [J]. To connect these two traditions would make her about 150 years old at the time of her death. [For a radical emendation of the text which removes this difficulty, see DINAH.] See, further, DEBORAH (1).

DEBT (נְשִׁי, 2 K. 4 7; ΔΑΝΙΟΝ, Mt. 18 27), **DEBTOR**

[1] Read מִדְבָּרָה, 'to the wilderness'—*i.e.*, of Judah. Beth-arabah (cp 15 6) was one of its cities (15 61 *ff.*).

[2] On the relation of chaps. 4 and 5 in general, see JUDGES, § 7.

(חוֹב? Ezek. 18 7; χρεοφιλέτης, Lk. 7 41). See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, and TRADE AND COMMERCE.

DECALOGUE (ἡ δεκάλογος, sc. βίβλος; *decalogus*, sc. *liber*), a term adopted from Patristic Greek and Latin, and meaning what we commonly call the ten commandments. Ultimately, the name comes from the LXX which in this case adheres closely to the original Hebrew and speaks, not of ten commandments, but of ten words (δέκα λόγοι or ῥήματα, Ex. 34 28 Dt. 4 13 10 4). The decalogue, according to the biblical narrative, was uttered by God from Horeb and written by him on two tables of stone which he had prepared. Afterwards, when Moses had broken the tables in indignation at the idolatry of the people, he was bidden to hew other tables on which God again wrote the ten words. They were the foundation of a covenant (*bĕrīth*) between Yahwè and his people (Dt. 4 13) and were placed in the ark as the 'testimony' (*'ēdūth*) or revelation of Yahwè's will (Ex. 25 16); see COVENANT, § 6 (ii.).

1. Meaning of the term.

2. The two texts.

The two parallel texts of the decalogue, one in Ex. 20 the other in Dt. 5, present striking points of difference. In Exodus the sabbath is to be kept, because Yahwè made all things in six days and rested the seventh; in Deuteronomy, because the slave as well as his master needs rest. Here, too, as in the command to honour parents, there are amplifications of language peculiar to the recension in Deuteronomy. In Exodus the Israelite is forbidden to covet his neighbour's house, and then wife, slave, and cattle are specified as possessions included within the Hebrew idea of house or household. In Deuteronomy the commandment is adapted to a later and more humane view. First, the Israelite is not to 'covet' his neighbour's wife. Next, he is not to 'desire' his neighbour's house, land, slaves, etc. The separation of the wife from mere property is very significant (see FAMILY, § 6).

How comes it that the parallel texts vary so seriously? The answer now generally given is that originally the decalogue was composed of concise precepts, which were expanded in different ways by later editors. The decalogue was incorporated in his work by the Elohist; it was repeated by the Deuteronomist and lastly by the Priestly Writer. No wonder then that, in the final redaction of the Pentateuch, each text of the decalogue offers clear marks of the Deuteronomical style, whilst in Ex. 20 8-11 the Deuteronomic motive of humanity has been supplanted by the example of God's rest after the week of creation—evidence of a super-redaction in the "spirit of **P** (cp Ex. 31 17*b* Gen. 2 2 f.). Commandments 6-9 preserve their primitive form. We may therefore on that analogy restore the decalogue to its original form thus:—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 20

1. Thou shalt have no other gods beside me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any (graven) image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahwè thy God for a vain end.[1]
4. Remember the sabbath day to hallow it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not hear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

3. Arrangement.

(*a*) In their arrangement the commandments fall into two pentads, or sets of five each, corresponding to the two tables. The first table sets forth the law of piety in the pure worship of Yahwè and in reverence to parents, the second table exhibits the law of probity or duty to fellow Israelites, conceived, however, in an exclusively negative form. This is the scheme known to Philo (*De Decalogo*, 12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 5 5), adopted by the Greek and Anglican churches, as also by the Scottish and other churches of the Calvinistic type, and approved, among recent scholars, by Dillmann.

1 Perhaps for purposes of sorcery.

Another arrangement (adopted by Knobel and, in 1869, by Kuenen) is to count the opening statement, 'I am Yahwè thy God,' etc., as the first 'word,' and bind the commandments against foreign gods and image worship into one. This is the Talmudic division, which is still in force among the Jews, and is also of greater antiquity in the Greek church than some have supposed.[1]

Augustine, too (and he is followed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans), treats the prohibition of serving other gods and worshipping images as one commandment. He makes this the first, however, not, like the modern Jews, the second 'word.' Hence he has to divide the prohibition of coveting into two commandments, viz.: one against coveting a neighbour's wife, the other against coveting his goods. The objection to the Talmudic scheme is the awkwardness of a law which makes up the number ten from one statement of fact and nine precepts. The Augustinian scheme cannot be fitted to the text in Exodus and can scarcely have been intended even by the Deuteronomist.

The order given by the Vatican text of the LXX in Exodus is 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not murder,' and in Deuteronomy 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not steal.' Probably the variation arose from the feeling that the prohibition of adultery, as the destruction of family life, should be immediately connected with the injunction to honour parents.

4. Date.

We come next to the question of date. The Elohist document (perhaps a later edition of it) is our earliest external witness, and that does not carry us back beyond the middle of the eighth century B.C. Nor does internal evidence point to a much earlier time. The character of the decalogue, which is not ritual but almost purely moral; the prohibition of images, apparently unknown to Elijah and Elisha; the refinement which forbids thoughts of covetousness (the Hebrew cannot fairly be taken otherwise); all lend support to the view that the decalogue is grounded on the teaching of the great prophets of whose discourses we have written records. It has been compared with the loftier teaching in Micah 6 6-8, and may belong to the same age, *i.e.*, at earliest that of Manasseh (see, further, MOSES).

5. Second and older Decalogue.

The reasons against a date very much earlier are clinched by the modern discovery that there was another decalogue older in character. True, we cannot say for certain how each particular precept of this older decalogue ran. We do know, however, that reference is made to it by the Yahwist in Ex. 34 28, and further, that the decalogue itself is imbedded in 10-26, and there is, therefore, no doubt about its general character. Wellhausen's reconstruction is as follows:[2]—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 34

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.
4. Every firstling is mine.
5. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks.
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.
8. The fat of my feast shall not be left over till the morning.[3]
9. The best of the firstfruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Yahwè thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.[4]

The Yahwistic legend which encloses this decalogue is simpler and more natural, for here it is Moses, not

1 Geffken (*Eintheilung des Dekalogs*, 1838) found it to occur first in Syncellus (*circa* 790 A.D.) and Cedrenus (1130); but Nestle has shown that it is to be met with in the Codex Vaticanus and the Ambrosianus. See Nestle, *Exp. Times*, 8 426 *f.* (July '97), and cp Redpath, 'Codex Zittaviensis,' *Exp. Times*, 8 383 (May '97).

2 *CH* 331 *f.*; cp Stade, *GVI* 1 510; Staerk, *Deuteronomium*, 30 *f.*

3 According to the more original text in Ex. 23 18.

4 The number ten is gained by omitting the command of the seventh-day rest (which is out of place in the cycle of annual 'feasts') and the command that all males should appear before Yahwè thrice in the year (which is merely a recapitulation of the three preceding laws).

Yahwè, who hews the tables and writes the words. The decalogue represents that ritual of outward worship which was essential to the early stages of national religion, but was subordinated to ethical monotheism by Amos and his successors. Yet even this decalogue must be put long after the time of Moses. The feasts mentioned imply an agricultural life, and must have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement.

6. Literature. See Oehler *Old Testament Theology*, 1 267 *ff.* (§§ 85, 86); and, for the late; criticism, Kuenen, Hex. 244; Smend, *ATRel.* 273 *f.*, 278 *f.*; Rothstein, *Das Bundesbuch*, ('88); Budde in *ZAW* ('91), pp. 99 *f.*, 220 *f.*; Bantsch, *Das Bundesbuch* ('92); Meissner, *Der Dekalog* ('93); Montefiore, 3QR 3 286 *ff.*; Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 1 136 *ff.* Robertson Smith (*EB*(9) art. 'Decalogue') in 1876 held that the decalogue, as a system of 'ten words, was as old as Moses, though the original fourth commandment must have had a much simpler form. He also rejected the hypothesis of asccond decalogue. How largely he had modified his views in later years on both points may he gathered from *OTJC*(2) 334 *ff.* See also EXODUS, ii. § 4. W. E. A.

DECAPOLIS (ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙϹ [Ti. WH]) is the name given in the gospels (Mt. 4 25 Mk. 5 20) to a territory in

1. Greek cities and confederations. Bashan & Gilead covered, or affected, by the power of a league of ten or more Greek cities (called in Mk. 7 31 τὰ ὅρια Δεκαπόλεως, by Pliny *HN* v. 15, *Decapolitana regio*). Josephus calls the league itself both Δεκάπολις (*BJ* iii. 97) and αἱ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις (*Vita*, 65 74). Other early instances of the name are Ptolemy v. 1522, and CZG, no. 450, of the time of Hadrian. Eusebius describes the Decapolis of the Gospels as a region (see below, § 2).

The first Greek cities in Syria were founded by the veterans of Alexander, and from his time their numbers were rapidly increased by the immigration of Greeks under the patronage of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. On the west the Greeks settled in ultimately Hellenised Phcenician and Philistine towns; but beyond Jordan many of their settlements were upon fresh sites. Among the oldest were Pella, Dion: Philadelphia (on the site of Rabbath-Ammon), Gadara, and Abila—all strong fortresses by 218 B.C. (Polyb. 5 71; 16 39; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3; Stark, *Gaza*, 381). Bosra had become largely Greek in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 5 24 *ff.*). Gerasa and Hippus are not mentioned till the first century B.C. (Jos. Ant. xiii. 15 3 4; *BJ* i. 48).

As the Hellenic world came under Roman sway, various confederacies of Greek cities were formed, both for purposes of trade, like the Hanseatic League, and for defence against alien races (Mommsen, *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.*, Eng. ed. 1 264 *f.*). Such confederation was nowhere more necessary than in Syria, where, after the success of the Maccabees, and especially under the Jewish king Alexander Jannzeus (104-78 B.C.), the Greek cities must needs have combined against the common danger of overthrow and absorption by their Semitic neighbours. Such combinations, however, if they were formed, proved a failure till the Roman legions led by Pompey reached Syria in 65. Then the Greek cities took a new lease of life. Several called themselves after Pompey, and several dated their eras from the year of his Syrian campaign, 64-63 B.C. Among these were Gadara, Hippos, Pella, Dion, Abila, Kanata, Kanatha, and Philadelphia. Pompey gave them, or after this time they gradually received, municipal freedom, the rights of coinage, asylum, property in the surrounding districts, and association with one another. They were, however, put under the Roman Province of Syria (*Ant.* xiv. 4 4 *BJ* i. 7 7), and taxed for imperial purposes; their coins bore 'the image of Cæsar'; and they were liable to military service (*BJ* ii. 18 19). Some of them, certainly with the reservation of their rights, were afterwards transferred from the Governor of Syria to the direct authority of Herod.

From Pompey's time to Hadrian's (106 A.D.), Rome's grasp of Eastern Palestine was neither constant nor effective. It was during this time, and in this region of unsettlement, that the League of the Decapolis arose. The precise year we are unable to fix; it may not have been till after Herod's death in 4 B.C., but probably was soon after Pompey's campaign.

2. The Decapolitan league. At first, as the name implies, the League comprised ten cities. Only one lay W. of Jordan—Scythopolis, the ancient Bethshean. Commanding the approach to the others, by Esdraelon, from the Greek cities of the coast and the Levant, Scythopolis remained the capital of the league. All the other nine lay either upon the three great roads which, crossing Jordan, traversed E. Palestine, or on the trunk road which these ultimately joined: Pella, Gadara, and Hippos on the E. edge of the Jordan valley, and the Lake of Galilee; Dion, Gerasa (modern Jerash), and Philadelphia on or near the S. road; Raphana, somewhere near the central road; Kanatha (now Kanawiit, see KENATH), where the central road joins the great trunk road from N. to S. at the foot of the Jebel Ḥaurān; and Damascus, at the junction of this road with the northernmost of the three roads. All the sites are certain except those of Raphana and of Dion. These form the earliest list that we have—Pliny's in *HN* 5 16[18]. Other cities were added. Ptolemy gives eighteen, omitting Raphana, and adding other nine, mostly towards Damascus,—Abila, on a branch of the Yarmūk 12 m. E. of Gadara; Kanata, either the modern Kerak or el-Kuneiyeh in en-Nukra; Kapitolias, probably the modern Beit er-Rās, near Irbid; and some of the Semitic towns incorporated in the extension of the Empire in 106, such as Edrei and Bosra. Each of these cities held sway over the territory in its neighbourhood. Round Hippos was Hippene (*BJ* iii. 31); round Gadara the country of the Gadarenes (Mk. 5 1 according to one reading), which, if we can judge from the trireme on some Gadarene coins, extended to the Lake of Galilee. In the fourth century Jerome calls all Gilead the 'region of Gerasa.' These suburban properties or spheres of influence must have touched one another, and the remains of the long aqueduct from the centre of Ḥaurān by Edrei to Gadara is one proof of how far they extended. The 'Decapolitan region' (coasts of Decapolis) was, therefore, a wide and solid, if loosely defined, territory lying on the E. of the Lake of Galilee and stretching across a large part of Gilead. Eusebius (OS) defines the Decapolis of the Gospels as lying in Perzea round Hippos, Pella, and Gadara. Pliny, however, describes it as interpenetrated by the Jewish Tetrarchies (*HN* 5 16); and in particular the territories of Herod Antipas in Galilee and Perzea were probably so joined across Jordan as to cut off, from the E. Decapolis, the suburban territory of Scythopolis.

Within this region of Decapolis Hellenism was predominant in the time of the ministry of Jesus, and thence

3. Civilization. it flowed out upon Galilee. This is proved by a trace or two in the Gospels themselves (*e.g.*, the presence of a large herd of swine in Gadara), by the ample ruins, still extant, of Greek architecture (the most glorious period of which, however, was not till the time of the Antonines), and especially by the constant communication between the Decapolis and the Mediterranean ports and Greece, and by the flourishing state of Greek literature in the Ten Cities. The Decapolis had, in each city, temples to purely Hellenic deities, theatres, amphitheatres, and various athletic institutions. Yearly were the παγκράτια celebrated—games in which every form of physical strength was exhibited. There was a vigorous municipal life of democratic constitution. Gadara was the birthplace or home of Philodēmus the Epicurean (a contemporary of Cicero), Mĕleāger the epigrammatist, Mĕnippus the satirist, Theodōrus the rhetorician (the tutor of Tiberius), and others. The Greek writers of Damascus are still better known. Gerăsa had a school famous for its teachers. Besides, the League, being largely a commercial union, pushed the Greek methods of trade across W. Palestine; the result is seen in the

many commercial and travellers' terms and names for objects of trade and human consumption which, in the centuries immediately before and after Christ, passed from Greek info Hebrew, See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Literature. Besides the ancient authorities already cited, see Epiphanius, *Heres.* 297; *De Mens. et Pond.* 15; Stephanus Byzant. *De Urbibus* (Basil., 1568, ed. Dindorf, Leps., 1825) especially the art. Γερασα; Reland, *Palæstina* 198, 203, 506; E. de Saulcy *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1874; Schür. *Hist.* 394 *ff.*; GASm. *HG* chap.28; and various works of travel in E. Palestine. G. A. S.

DECK (קֶרֶשׁ), Ezek.276 RV^mg.; EV BENCHES. See SHIP.

DEDAN (דְּדָן, oftenest ΔΑΙΔΑΝ [BℵADEQ]), a son of RAAMAH (see GEOGRAPHY, § 23), son of CUSH, Gen. 10 7 (P), or of Jokshan, son of Keturah, Gen.253 (J), 1 Ch. 132.

δαδαν [ADEQL], Se. [ℵL], δαιδαμ [BDQ], δαρδαν [L 1 Ch. 1 32], δαιδα. [D], δαν [Γ], και δαν [Qa], μαδιαμ [E], ιουδαδαν [B].

As the name of a people it also occurs in Is. 21 13 ('caravans of DEDANITES' [so RV; AV DEDANIM], in connection with the 'land of Tema'; δαιδαν [BKAQ], but in Aq. and Sym. δωδανιμ; and in Theod. and Orig. δαιδ. [Q^mg.]), Jer. 25 23 (with Tema and Buz), 49 8 (where it is thought of as adjoining Edom), Ezek.2513 (where 𝔊^BAQ reads διωκόμενοι; cp 𝔊^BAFL for ורדו in Lev. 26 17; Pesh. ܕܘܕ), Ezek. 27 20 (with Arabia, Kedar, Sheba, and Raamah, as trading with Tyre), 3813 (with Sheba), but not 2715 (see RODANIM). These passages (to which add Gen. 25 3 1 Ch. 132) all point to Arabia, but some to the southern, some to the northern region. ددن occurs in Min. and Sab. inscriptions (see especially Glaser, *Skizze* 2 397). Probably Dedan was a tribe with permanent seats in S. or central Arabia (Glaser, *l.c.*, locates N. of Medina) and trading settlements in the NW. F. B.

DEDICATE, DEDICATION. For קִדֵּשׁ, *ḳiddēš* (lit. 'to separate,' more usually rendered 'to consecrate,' 'hallow,' or 'sanctify') see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 *f.* For חרם, *ḥāram*, see BAN.

חָנַךְ, *ḥānak*, ΕΓΚΑΙΝΙΖΕΙΝ, meansprop. 'to initiate'; see CATECHISE, and cp BDB, *s.v.* Various dedication ceremonials are described, mostly in late documents.

There is the dedication of the temple in 1 K. 81-63 (see *v.* 63: ἐνεκαίνισεν) ‖ 2 Ch. 52-75 (75: ἐνεκαίνισεν), a 'dedication' of the altar being separately referred to in 2 Ch. 79 (ἐνκαινισμόν); that of the altar of the tabernacle is described in Nu. 7 10 *ff.* (P2 ἐγκαινισμόν); that of the walls of Jerusalem as rebuilt by Nehemiah in Neh. 12 27 *ff.* (ἐν ἐγκαινίοις τείχους). No special rite is prescribed for the dedication of a new house referred to in Dt. 20 5 (ἐνεκαίνισεν).—On the dedication of temple and altar in the Maccabean period, see the following article.—The dedication or ratification of a covenant with blood, and the dedication or inauguration of a new and vital way of access to God are alluded to in Heb. 9 18 (see COVENANT) and Heh. 10 20.

DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE. On the 15th of Chislev of the year 145 of the Seleucid era (= Dec. 168 B.C.), during the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, a pagan altar was set up on the altar of burnt offering at Jerusalem, and on the 25th of the same month sacrifice was for the first time offered upon it (1 Macc. 1 41-64 2 Macc. 6 1-11; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 54). Three years afterwards (165 B.c.), Judas the Maccabee had recovered Jerusalem and the temple. The temple was then cleansed, the altar of burnt offering displaced by one entirely new, new sacred vessels made, and the temple reconsecrated with great festivities. These lasted for eight days, beginning on 25th Chislev 148 of the Seleucid era (Dec. 165 B.c.),—that is, on the very day on which, three years before, the altar had been desecrated (1 Macc. 4 36-39).

In commemoration of these events, the feast of the dedication (חֲנֻכָּה [Megilla, iii. 4 6; Bikkurim, 1 6; Rosh hashana, 1 3, etc.]; 7b ἐγκαίνια, Jn. 10 22; αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, 1 Macc. 459; καθαρισμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ 2 Macc. 1 18), lasting eight days from the 25th of Chislev, was celebrated 'with mirth and joy' (μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς) annually. According to 2 Macc. 106 it was observed after the manner of the feast of Tabernacles, and in another passage it is even called the feast of tabernacles of the month Chislev (ἡμέραι τῆς σκηνοπηγίας τοῦ χασελευ, 2 Macc. 1 9). The special and distinguishing peculiarity in its celebration was the illumination of synagogues and houses.

At the door of each house one light, at least—in the case of those who could afford the expense, as many lights as there were persons in the house—had to be displayed; on the second day the number of lights must be doubled, on the third trebled, and *so* on. Jewish tradition explains the eight-days' duration of the feast, and the custom of displaying lights, by the assertion that Judas found only one small cruse of consecrated oil, but that it lasted for eight days instead of only for one.

The probability is that the illumination, like the duration and other features of the feast, was taken over from the feast of tabernacles andreferred to the relighting of the golden candlestick (1 Macc. 450). See CANDLESTICK.

No mention of this custom of illumination is made in the hooks of Maccabees or by Josephos; the description of the feast by Josephus as 'the feast of lights' (φῶτα), however, doubtless has reference to them (*Ant.* xii. 7 7), and his explanation of the name as coming from the unexpectedness of the restoration of religious freedom to the nation (ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδος οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν [*sc.* τῆς θρησκείας]) also may be safely taken as having the same reference. In both of the letters prefixed to 2 Macc. the observance of this feast is urgently pressed on the Jews in Egypt (2 Macc. 1 9 18 2 16); it is natural to presume that when, in the second of these (on the text of which see Ball in *Var. Apocrypha*), the story of Nehemiah's miraculous discovery of the sacred fire is referred to, the writer saw a parallel to it in the relighting of the altar-tire by Judas, and desired to associate the commemoration of both events with one feast. From the time of year and the employment of lights and green branches in the celebration, Wellhausen (*IJG* 210 [3rd ed. 2561) conjectures that the feast originally had reterence to the winter solstice, and only afterwards came to he associated with the events recorded in Maccabees.

The proper psalm for the Feast of the Dedication is Ps. 30; hence its inscription, שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת, ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου, 'Dedication-song of the house (temple).'

See the commentaries on 1 Macc. 459 and Jn. 1022; also A. G. Wahner, *de* חנוכה *sive festo Encaeniorum judaico, origine nativitatis Christi*, 1715; Oehler, in *PRE*(2) 4 543 *f.* [3rd ed. 7 15]; Che. *OPs.* 17 *f.*, 32 *f.*, 247; Nowack, *HA* ('94) 2 200 *f.*; Schürer, *GJV* 1 162 n., with its references to literature on the post-talmudic feasts. Cp also articles by Krauss and Levi in *REJ* 31 24-43, 204-219, 220-231 ('94). I. B.

DEEP, THE (תְּהוֹם, *tᵉhōm*; always without art. except in Is. 6313 Ps. 1069; Ass. *tiâmtu*, *tâmtu*, *tâmdu*, 'the sea'; ἄβυσσος, in Job 38 30 corruptly ἀσεβοῦς [gen.]; in Prov. 827 ἐπ' ἀνέμων [?]; Prov. 8 28 τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν. Ecclus. 4323 רַבָּה [ἄβυσσον; in *b* Heb. gives בתהום, 𝔊 αὐτὴν; but the clause is corrupt]).

Originally *tᵉhōm* was feminine; note the phrase תְּהוֹם רַבָּה, Gen. 7 11; Is. 51 10 Am. 74 Ps. 367 and the plur. ending *ōth*. See also Gen. 49 25 (γῆς ἐχούσης πάντα) Dt. 3313 Ezek. 31415. But, at first apparently with the plur. form, the original view came to he disregarded, and *tᵉhōm* treated as a synonym of יָם (plur.; Ex. 15 5 [πόντος] 8 [κύμα] Ps. 7717 107 26. Sing.; Ezek. 314 Jn. 2 6 Hab. 3 10 Ps. 428 [not 1046, but cp Bä.], Job 28 14. On Dt. 8 7 see Kön. *Syn.* 467).

See ABYSS, DRAGON, end.

DEER, FALLOW (יַחְמוּר), Dt. 14 5 1 K. 4 23 [5 13] AV; see ROE, 4.

DEFILE, DEFILEMENT (טָמֵא), Lev. 18 24 *f.* See COMMON, and cp CLEAN, § 14.

DEGREE occurs in a passage of some interest with reference to early church offices. What is the 'good degree' (AV) or rather, 'good standing' (RV) which is assured to those who have 'served well as deacons'? βαθμὸς καλὸς is the phrase. According to Hort (*Chr. Eccl.* 202) it means the vantage-ground of influence and moral authority won by the excellent discharge of diaconal duties. Theodoret, de Wette, etc., however, find a reference to a divine reward at the great judgment; whilst Jerome and other Fathers, Baur, Holtzmann, and von Soden think it is promotion to the episcopate that is intended. Observe that the qualities required of an ἐπίσκοπος in *vv.* 2-7 are analogous to those required of a deacon.

On 'songs of degrees' (a purely conventional rendering) see PSALMS; on the 'degrees' of 2 K. 209 (=Is. 388), see DIAL.

DEHAVITES, RV Dehaites (דֶּהָוֵא, Kt., but דֶּהָיֵא, Kr.; ΔΑΥΑΙΟΙ [A], -ΛΙΟΙ [L], but A omits 'Elamites'), generally regarded as one of the peoples represented in Samaria among the colonists of ASNAPPER (Ezra 4 9). They stand apparently between the Susanchites (Susianians) and the Elamites. No plausible identification has yet been offered (see Schr. *KAT*(2) 376, 616).

The reason is plain, as soon as it is mentioned. If we point, with **G.** Hoffmann (*ZA* 2 54), דִּהוּא, and take this with the following word עֵלְמָיֵא, we shall get the phrase 'that is, Elamites' (𝔊B already has οἵ εἰσιν ἠλαμαῖοι): which is an explanatory gloss on the preceding word 'Susanchites. So Marti, ***Gram. der bib. Aram. Spr.*** 40*.

DEKAR (דֶּקֶר), 1 K. 4 9 AV; RV BEN-DEICER, AVmg. BEN-DEKAR (*q.v.*).

DELAIAH (דְּלָיָהוּ, דְּלָיָה, perhaps 'God hath drawn out,' § 30; ΔΑΛΑΙΑ [ℵA], -ΑC [BQL], some compare ΔΕΛΑΙΑCΤΑΡΤΟC in Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 18, which is more correctly given by Niese as ΛΕΑCΤΑΡΤΟC).

1. Son of Shemaiah, a prince of Jehoiakim's court; Jer. 36 (𝔊 43) 12, δαλιας [ℵ], -λεας [A]); 25 (-λαιαα [ℵc.c mg. sup.], γοδολιας [BA ?]).
2. Head of one of the priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24 18 (δαλαια [L], αδαλλαι *v.* 77 [B]).
3. (AV DALAIAH), a descendant of Zerubhahel (-λααια [B], -λεα [L]), 1 Ch. 3 24.
4. The B'ne Delaiah were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; Ezra 2 60 (λαχεα [B], δαλαια [L]) = Neh. 7 62 (-λεα [B]) = DALAN, 1 Esd. 5 37 (ασαν [B], *Gahav* [A]).
5. Father of Shemaiah (*-hsa* [B], -λλαιας [L]), Neh. 6 10.

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, 'delicate?' § 67; ΔΑΛ[Ε]ΙΔΑ [BAL]; ܕܠܝܠܐ, *DALILAH*), Judg. 16 4-20. Whether the name has, like SAMSON [*q.v.*], any mythological connection we cannot at present say. Delilah dwelt in the vale of SOREK (*q.v.*), and we may presume that the tradition regarded her as a Philistine. Her temporary relation to the Philistine princes hardly warrants us in calling her a 'political agent' (Smith's *DB*(2) *s.v.*). See SAMSON.

DELIVERER, THE (Ο ΡΥΟΜΕΝΟC [Ti. WH]) Rom. 11 26 || Is. 59 20 (גּוֹאֵל); see GOEL.

DELUGE. Postponing the various interesting questions, as well of comparative folk-lore (§§ 18-20) as of biblical theology (§§ 10 *ff.* 17), which are connected with the title of this article, let us confine ourselves at present to the *relation* ***between the*** *Hebrew Flood-story and that of Babylonia.* Of all the parallel traditions of a deluge the Babylonian is undeniably the most important, because the points of contact between it and the Hebrew story are so striking that the view of the dependence of one of the two on the other is directly suggested even to the most cautious of students. The account in the Berossian excerpts will be referred to below (see § 16); but we may state here that the genuine Babylonian character of the Berossian story has, since 1872, been raised above all doubt by George Smiths discovery, in the remains of the libraryof Ašur-bāni-pal, of a copy of a very ancient cuneiform Deluge-story derived, it would seem, from the city of Šurippak in Babylonia, and by a more recent discovery by Scheil (see § 6).

1. Babylonian Flood-story.

2. Epic of Gilgameš.

The former story fills the first four columns of the eleventh tablet of the epic of Gilgameš,[1] a cycle of legends to which, in studying the early narratives of Genesis, we have so frequently to refer (see, *e.g.*, CAINITES, § 6).

A paraphrase of its contents is all that we can give here: translations of recent date and critical in character will be found in *KAT*(2) 55 *ff.* (by Paul Haupt); Jensen's *Kosm.* 367 *ff.*; **A.** Jeremias's *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 32 *ff.*; Muss-Arnolt's essay in *Bibl.* World, 3 109 *ff.* ('94); and Gunkel's *Schöpf.* 423 *ff.* (by H. Zimmern).[1] The gods, more especially Bel, wroth at the sins of men, determine to bring upon them a judgment consisting in a great all-destroying flood. One of the gods, however, namely Ea, selects a favoured man, named Pār(?)-napišti,[2] of the city of Šurippak, for deliverance. This is the Xisuthrus of Bērōssus, and be it observed that the name Xisuthrus is found, in all probability, by transposing the two component parts of Atra-ḫasīs—*i.e.*, 'the very wise,' or, still better perhaps (so Haupt), 'the very pious'—one designation of the hero of the cuneiform account. Pār(?)-napišti is in a dream acquainted by Ea with the purpose of the gods, and commanded to build a ship (*elippu*, cp Arain. אִלְפָּא), the form of which is prescribed, as a means of saving his life, and to take with him into it 'seeds of life of all kinds' (*l.* 25). Accordingly, the ship is built; its dimensions[3] are given with great precision by the poet, who mentions that it was coated within and without with bitumen (*kupru*), and that cells were made in it. Into this vessel Pār(?)-napišti brings gold and silver and 'seeds of life of all kinds,' besides his family and servants, beasts of the field, and wild beasts of the field (*ll.* 84 *f.*). Shortly before the Flood, the beginning of which is made known to him by a special sign, Pār(?)-napišti himself enters the ship and bars the door, while his steersman, named Puzur-Bēl, takes over the direction of the vessel (*l.* 94). Upon this the deluge begins: it is thought of as an unloosing of all the elemental powers, torrents of rain, storm and tempest; together with thick darkness. The waters rise higher and higher, till the whole land becomes a sea; all men and animals, except those in the ship, perish. Six days and nights the flood rages; on the seventh day a calm sets in. Then Pār(?)-napišti opens the air-hole (*l.* 136; *nappašu=nanpašu*, cp נפש), and sees the widespread ruin. At the same time land emerges, and the ship grounds on the mountain of Nisir (*l.* 141).[4] After seven days more Pār(?)-napišti sends out successively a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The dove and the swallow, finding no place of rest, return to the ship; but the raven is seen no more. Upon this Pār(?)-napišti clears the ship and offers a sacrifice on the summit of the mountain. 'The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour. The gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer' (*ll.* 160-162). As for Bel, however, he is at first displeased at the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti and his household; but on the representations of Ea,[5] who points out the rashness of his act in causing a universal deluge, and recommends the sending of wild animals, famine, and pestilence, as a more fitting mode of punishing human sins, Bel becomes reconciled to the escape of Pār(?)-napišti, and even gives him and his wife a share of the divine nature, and causes them to dwell 'afar off, at the mouth of the rivers' [6] (*ll.* 199-205).

Before attempting to explain this Deluge-story, and comparing it with the corresponding Hebrew account, we must consider the position which it occupies in Babylonian literature. It stands at present, as we have seen, in close connection with other traditional stories, and particularly with the cycle of Gilgameš-legends. The hero, Gilgameš, who, after his various adventures, is visited with a sore disease, sets out on the way to his

1 [The exploits of this hero are celebrated in the twelve chants or lays of the epic. The text of the Deluge-story was published in 4 R (1st ed. 50 *f.*, 2nd ed. 43 *f.*) and most recently by Haupt, *Das Bab. Nimrodepos*, 95-150 ('91)].

1 The references here given to lines of the Deluge-story accord with Zimmern's numeration.

2 [Cp § 15 *d.* The reading of the first part of the name is uncertain; Pār-napišti ('sprout, or offspring, of life'), Sit-napišti ('the escaped one'), Šamaš-napišti ('sun of life'), Ūm-napišti ('day of life'), and Nūḫ-napišti (see NOAH) have found their respective supporters.]

3 [See Haupt, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* 9 419 *ff.*]

4 On the land and mountains of Niṣir, cp *Annals of Ašur-nāṣir-pal*, 2 33-39 (*RP*(2) 2 150 *f.*). They were situated between the Tigris and the Lower Zab, between 3[illegible]° and 36° N. lat. (Del. *Par.* [illegible])

5 [J[illegible] traces of a [illegible] between the [illegible] of Bēl and that of Ea.]

6 [See below § 15 (end), [illegible] for a legendary [illegible] § 14

ancestor Pār(?)-napišti, whose dwelling is remote from that of all other men, beyond the river of death (cp CAINITES, § 6, ENOCH, § 2). From this fortunate possessor of eternal life, GilgameS hopes to learn how to obtain, not only the cure of his disease, hut also the same supreme felicity. Pār(?)-napišti answers by a detailed description of the Deluge, in which he was himself so prominent a figure, and at the end of which he was admitted to the life of the gods. Obviously, the present connection of the Deluge-story with the Gilgameš-tradition is secondary in character, and it becomes all the more reasonable to maintain that the Hebrew Deluge-story too has only an artificial connection with the framework in which it now stands. Noah may originally have had no more connection with Nimrod than Pār(?)-napišti with Gilgameš (see NIMROD, NOAH).

The secondary character of the present connection of the Babylonian Deluge-story being granted, can we venture to indicate a more original connection? According to Bērōssus,[1] Xisuthrus (the hero of the Deluge) was the last of the ten primitive Babylonian kings, whose immensely long lives so forcibly remind us of those ascribed to the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis, and, as has been repeatedly pointed out,[2] are closely related to the theory of an artificially-calculated cosmic year. The Berossian cosmic year had the enormous duration of 518,400 ordinary years, and each of its twelve months consisted of 12 sari—*i.e.*, (12 x 3600), 43,200 ordinary years. According to this system, ten cosmic months are equivalent to 432,000 years, and this is exactly the number of the years assigned by Bērōssus to the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 4, end). The theory of the Babylonians appears to have been that these ten primitive kings reigned during the first ten cosmic months of the great cosmic year (each king for a cosmic month), and that the Deluge fell at the end of the tenth month. Now, the eleventh month was for the Babylonians (who began the year with the vernal equinox) the time from the middle of January to the middle of February—in other words, the middle of the rainy or winter season.

3. Hint from Bērōssus.

It is also to the winter season that the position of the Deluge-narrative in the Gilgameš-epic points—more particularly to the eleventh month Šebāṭ (Jan.-Feb.). For, as Sir Henry Rawlinson saw, the twelve tablets of the adventures of Gilgameš stand in relation to the passage of the sun-god through the twelve months of the year, and the principal event on every tablet has its analogue in the corresponding one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which, as is now certainly known, had their origin in Babylonia. Now, it is the eleventh tablet that contains the Deluge-story, and the eleventh zodiacal sign is Aquarius. The conclusion is obvious. Lastly, it is also probable that the Assyrian name of the eleventh month, Šabāṭu (probably 'destruction'), and its ideographic designation as '(month of the) curse of rain,' both have reference to the Deluge. Clearly the connection of the Deluge-story with the story of the ten primitive kings is much more close and original than its present connection with the Gilgameš-legends. The fixing of the great catastrophe in the eleventh month is a fact of importance with reference to the question, which will shortly (§ 8) claim to be answered : Has the Deluge-story a historical kernel, or is it simply and entirely a nature-myth?

4. Confirmed by epic.

The elaborate account in the Gilgameš-epic is not the only cuneiform record of the Babylonian Deluge-story. Peiser has published (*ZA* 4 369 *f.* ['89]) a mythological text, with a map, giving a primitive picture of Babylonia at the time of the Deluge under Pār(?)-napišti. The text is very fragmentary; but as far as it can, with the help of the map, be understood, this is the notion of the Flood which it suggests.—The Persian Gulf was conceived of as encompassing Babylonia, and round about this ocean lay seven islands. The mountain of the Deluge was due north of Babylon, but still within the tract enclosed by the ocean. It is noteworthy that the time of the Deluge is apparently designated in this text—'the year of the great serpent.'

5. 3rd Bab. document (Peiser).

[1] For the Berossian story, see below, § 16.
[2] See especially Marcus v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs und Babels* ('57), 237 *ff.*

[Further, among the tablets in the Constantinople museum Scheil has recently discovered a mutilated fragment of a new Deluge-story, containing part of columns 1 *f.* 7 *f.* In the twelfth line occurs the word *ḫibiš* ('effaced'), which, according to Scheil, suggests that our tablet is but a copy of a much older original which had been injured. The date of the tablet itself, however, is sufficiently ancient : 'month of Šebāṭ, day 28, the year in which Ammi-zaduga built the fortress of Ammi-zaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates'—not much later than 2140 B.C. By whom the story is told, is not evident. The complaints of mankind are spoken of first : the god Rammān appears to be angry with them. Thereupon a god pronounces sentence upon mankind; reference is made to a destroying rain-storm. In the seventh column the god Ea speaks. He expostulates with the other god for wishing to destroy men. Some men at least, Ea will save; 'let them come into [the vessel . . .], . . the oar (?) . . . let him come . . . let him bring . . . let him . . . .' That the great Deluge is referred to is now clear: the occurrence of the word *abūbu* must dispel all doubt. In the eighth column only two lines are complete; but these contain a reference to Atra-basis (Xisuthrus), who is introduced speaking 'to his lord'—Le., to the god who has proved himself a friend to the human race. The name of the scribe suggests to Scheil that this version of the Deluge-story is that which was current in the city of Sippar[1] (see § 16).]

6. Scheil's fragment.

We have also a list of royal names which bears the inscription, 'These are the postdiluvian kings of Babylon,' thus implicitly confirming the Berossian distinction between kings before and kings after the Deluge (cp *COT* 161). The word here used for Deluge is *abūbu* (cp below, § 13), which elsewhere is of frequent occurrence,[2] the Deluge being referred to as an event of hoary antiquity—*e.g.*, when it is said of old inscriptions that they go back to the time before the Deluge (*abūbu*). See TEL-ABIB.

7. Other references.

We have now to take up the question, What was probably the true origin of this Babylonian Deluge-story, looking at it by itself, without comparing the Hebrew records? The first thing that strikes us is the harmony between the narrative and the local conditions of Babylonia, which justifies us in regarding that country as the native place of the story. It is more difficult to determine whether any real historical event lies at the foundation of the narrative, or whether we have to do with a mere myth. In itself it would, of course, not be inconceivable that in days of yore an unusually extensive flood from the Persian Gulf, combined with continuous rain, hurst upon the Babylonian lowlands, and destroyed countless human lives; that a dim tradition of this event was preserved; and that the Babylonian Deluge-story was a last deposit produced by this genuine occurrence. Judging, however, from what is known of the growth of myths and legends, especially among the Babylonians,

8. Origin of Deluge-story.

[1] The reason is that one element in the name of the scribe is Aya (Aa). Now it was chiefly at Sippar that the goddess Aya was honoured in conjunction with Šamaš (the sun-god): her name was borne by the inhabitants.' Scheil, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes. Tirage à part du Recueil de travaux,' etc., vol. xx. ('97).
[2] [*Abūbu*, 'Storm,' is also used as a title for the god Marduk's weapon in the Creation-story, Tab. iv. 49, and King Ḫammu-rābi calls himself *abūb tuḳumatim*, 'tempest of battles,' *KB* 3a 115.]

we think that this is far from probable. The entire character of the narrative, and the connection with other myths indicated above, are much more favourable to the view that we have to do, not with a legend based upon facts, but with a myth which has assumed the form of a history (cp below, col. 1063, note 3). The colouring may have been partly supplied by the cyclones which, in an alluvial country like Babylonia, frequently make their appearance from the sea; but the origin of this myth will have to be sought in quite another direction. We noticed above that the great catastrophe is placed by the Babylonians in the middle of the winter season, in the eleventh month[1] (Šebāṭ = Jan.-Feb.), which was regarded as specially the time of storms, and had for its patron the rain-god and storm-god Rammān. To the present writer it seems most probable that the Deluge-story was originally a nature-myth, representing the phenomena of winter, which in Babylonia especially is a time of rain. The hero rescued in the ship must originally have been the sun-god.[2] Thus, the Deluge and the deliverance of Pār(?)-napišti are ultimately but a variant to the Babylonian Creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 *f.*). Now we can understand the very peculiar designation of the Deluge-period mentioned already. The 'great serpent' is no other than the personified ocean, which on the old Babylonian map (see above, § 5) encircles Babylonia, just as 'leviathan the wreathed serpent' (Is. 27 1) is the world-encircling ocean personified as a serpent:[3] it is the same monster that is a central figure in the Creation-story.

9. Of Hebrew story.

The question as to the relation of the Babylonian to the Hebrew Deluge-story can now be satisfactorily answered. If, as we believe, the former had its origin in Babylonia, and is fundamentally a myth of winter and the sun-god, the Hebrew story must have been borrowed from the Babylonian. In this case, Dillmann's theory of a common Semitic tradition, which developed among the Hebrews in one way, and among the Babylonians in another, is once more put out of court (see CREATION, § 4). H. Z.

10. P dependent on J_2.

The Israelitish story of the submergence of the earth (*i.e.*, of the part known to the narrators) by a Deluge is found in the Book of Genesis (6 5-9 19) in two forms, belonging respectively to J_2 and to P, which have been welded together (see GENESIS, § 8). There are also allusions to the story (all late) in Ezek. 14 14 20 Is. 54 9 Ps. 29 10 Is. 24 5 18 Job 22 15 *f.* (?). It remains to be seen, however, whether the two forms of the tradition in Genesis are really independent; it may be that, as in the case of the Creation-story (see CREATION, § 12), P has only given a somewhat different setting to data which he has derived from J_2. It is no objection to this view that P's account is longer and in some respects less fragmentary than that of J_2. The editor (or editors) naturally preferred the former, because P's work was systematically adopted as the framework of the combined historical narrative. The three principal points in which P is fuller than J_2 are (1) the announcement of the coming deluge to Noah, and the command to build an ark (or chest), the measurements of which are prescribed; (2) the notice of the place where the ark grounded; and (3) the appointment of the rainbow as the sign of the covenant between God and man. On all these points, we may safely presume, information was given in the original J_2. To suppose that the latter began with the words, 'And Yahwè said to Noah, Go thou with all thy house into the ark,' would be absurd, and Budde seems to be right in supposing that the measurements of the ark in Gen. 7 15 come from J_2, who on his side may have derived them from some form of the Babylonian myth (cp GOPHER-WOOD). Budde has also made it probable that J_2 gave a statement as to the resting-place of the ark, which he placed among the mountains E. of Ur-Kasdim. P knew that there were higher mountains than these in the N., and transferred the locality to ARARAT (*q.v.*, § 3); though it is probable that he had the support of the later Babylonian tradition (cp Bērōssus).

11. Rainbow episode.

Nor need we doubt that the episode of the rainbow also was told by J_2, to whose delicate imagination it would be in a high degree congenial. It is true, there is nothing like it in the Deluge-story given in the Gilgameš-epic; but we do not know all the variants of the Babylonian myth. Most probably, however, J_2 may claim the honour of having invented this exquisite sign of the covenant. The covenant is distinctly Israelitish, and the sign should be Israelitish too. A probable point of contact for the rainbow episode is suggested by these words of the Babylonia poet (*ll.* 92-102, Jensen): 'A dark cloud came up from the foundation of heaven; Rammān (the storm-god) thundered therein. . . . The noise of Rammān penetrated to heaven; it turned all brightness into obscurity.' The flashes of lightning are the storm-god's arrows (Ps. 76 3 [4] 78 48 Hab. 3 11), and when the storm ceases, the god lays aside his bow (this is said, *e.g.*, of the god Indra, after his battle with the demons). If the Hebrew story in its original form referred to the thundering of Yahwè, we can well believe that when J_2 appended the account of the covenant he said to himself that the bow which Yahwè had laid aside could be no other than the rainbow. There is, at any rate, no exact mythic parallel elsewhere to the use made of the rainbow in Gen. 9 12-17.

12. P's deviations.

There are also other points of difference between J_2 and P. (*a*) The latter is without the vivid details of the sending out of the birds (Gen. 8 6-12, J.); such a prosaic writer would probably think these superfluous. (*b*) A more important point is P's non-recognition of the distinction between clean and unclean animals (Gen. 7 2 8 J_2), and his not mentioning the sacrifice which, according to J_2 (Gen. 8 20), Noah offered after leaving the ark. The cause of these deviations of P is obvious. His historical theory of the origin of the cultus imposed on him the necessity of harmonising the tradition with it.

(*c*) Not less remarkable is the difference between J_2 and P as to the duration of the Deluge. According to J_2, seven days elapsed after the command to Noah to enter the ark; then the rain-storm[1] came, and it lasted forty days and forty nights; then in three times seven days the waters disappeared. The computation of P gives more occasion to debate.

It is stated in MT (7 11) that the deluge began on the seventeenth of the second month, and that on the twenty-seventh of the second month in the following year the earth was dry (8 14). If this is correct, the flood lasted 1 year 11 days; *i.e.*, if the lunar year forms the basis of the computation, 354+11 days which make a solar year. This looks very much like an editorial correction; the flood really lasted a lunar year. 𝔊, however, reads in 7 11 'twenty-seventh' (𝔊ADEL) instead of 'seventeenth.' In this case the solar year would be meant, and the duration of the deluge (365 days) would be the same as that of the life of Enoch (365 years). We also learn that 'the waters prevailed on the earth 150 days' (7 24 cp 8 3). This ought to be equal to

[1] The fragments of Bērōssus mention Daisius (May-June) as the month of the Deluge. This notice is suspicious on several grounds. The writer who excerpted Bērōssus probably identified the eighth Babylonian month Araḫ-samna = Marḫešwān (= Oct.-Nov.) with the eighth Syro-Macedonian month Daisius. The biblical recension also makes the Deluge begin in Marḫešwān. On this view, both Bērōssus and the OT placed the beginning of the Deluge early in the winter, instead of in the middle of that season—an easily intelligible variant.

[2] [The same view is given in Che.'s art. 'Deluge,' *EB*(9). See below.]

[3] Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 46. See BEHEMOTH and LEVIATHAN, § 3 (*f.*), SERPENT, § 3 (*f.*).

[1] Cp Ps. 29 10. P (7 11) ascribes the deluge partly to rain, partly to the breaking up of the 'fountains of the great deep' (*i.e.*, of the waters under the earth, cp Gen. 49 25). This approaches more nearly to the Babylonian account, which speaks of the sea as being driven on the land by a hurricane. Possibly J_2, in its original form, made some reference to the sea or to the subterranean waters.

[2] On P's year cp also YEAR.

five months (7 11 84). **But** 150 days are more than five lunar months., it is clear that solar months must be meant (see, however, Di. ***Gen.*** 129*f.*, and his dissertation on the Calendar, *Monatsber.* ***der Berl. Akad.***, 1881, pp. 930 *f.* ; Bacon, 'Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P,' *Hebraica*, 8 ('92) 79-88 ; Nowack, ***HA*** **2** 220).

We are thus enabled to some extent to reconstruct the Deluge-story of J_2. No doubt some archaic incidents have been lost, but P has preserved three of the most important details which were found in the earlier narrative, though he has moved the Mountain of the Ark northwards. He has also retained מַבּוּל (*κατακλυσμός*), J_2's term for the Deluge :[1] outside of J_2 and P in the Deluge-story, the term occurs only in Ps. 29 10 (post-exilic), and in Geu. 6 17 7 6 an editor has glossed it by the word מַיִם 'waters' ; also תֵּבָה, 'chest'[2] (*κιβωτός*, Vg. *arca*), used elsewhere only of Moses' ark of Nile-reeds (Ex. 2 3 5, *θ*[*ε*]*ιβις* [BAF] *θηβη* [L]), and we may presume that the words גֹּפֶר (see GOPHER-WOOD) and כֹּפֶר[3] 'bitumen,' both occurring in 6 14 and nowhere else, were retained from the lost narrative of J_2.

13. J_2's narrative.

But what of J_1? Did his narrative of the origin of man contain any Deluge-story? No—at any rate, if the theory ably propounded by Budde be accepted. J_1's narrative contained Gen. 2 4*b*-3 4 1 2*a* 16*b*-24 6 1 *f.* 4 9 20-27 (but on *v.* **27** see JAPHETH) **11** 1-8 : it included no Deluge-story. In this record Noah appears as the first agriculturist, and the inventor of wine. A corruption of the text, and perhaps editorial convenience, led to his identification with the hero of the Deluge, who (it is held) had originally the name of Enoch, but had now to take that of Noah in exchange (see NOAH). We need not, however, suppose that the Deluge-myth was unknown to the Israelites before J_2 wrote. It is in reality a pendant to the Creation-story : we should naturally have expected both stories to reach the Israelites at the same time. We have, indeed, no direct evidence of this ; but the expression הַמַּבּוּל has a very archaic appearance. At one time מבּוּל must have had a meaning in Hebrew, and that time must have been long anterior to J_2. But the Deluge-myth, like the companion-story which underlies Gen. 1, did not, it seems, take a firm hold on the Israelitish people : when J_2, or (more probably) the earlier writer from whom he draws, shaped his story, the Deluge-myth had passed out of mind, and needed to be revived by the help of some one acquainted with cuneiform documents (cp CREATION, § 11 *f.*). *(a)* Of the earliest Israelitish Deluge-myth and of its Canaanitish original we know nothing. (6) Lucian (160 A.D.), laughing in his sleeve, gives the Syrian Flood-story of his day ;[4] but it has been partly Hellenised, and probably Judaised (a 'great box or chest,' *λάρναξ*, is spoken of), and we can lay no stress upon it. Its origin was no doubt Babylonian. 'Most people,' says Lucian, 'relate that the founder of the temple (of Hierapolis) was Deucalion-Sisythes.' *(c)* The Phœnician version of the myth, if there ever was one, has perished.[5] *(d)* The Arabs, like the Egyptians,[1] certainly never had any, though the legendary el-Ḫidr (see col. **1064**, n. 1); who in the Alexander-legend conducts the hero to the waters of life, and in the Koran, according to the commentators *Sur.* 18 59), is found by Moses 'at the confluence **of** two seas (rivers?),' may be a reflection of Pār-napišti, or rather Ḫasīs-atra (from a shortened form of which el-Ḫidr may be derived).

14. J_1 had no Deluge-story.

15. Other Semitic Del.-stories lost.

Outside of Babylonia, therefore, the only extant Semitic tradition is that of J_2 and P. This is obviously based on the Babylonian myth, for the substitution of a 'chest' for a 'ship' is due either to reflection or to a confusion between two Babylonian words, and in any case not to independent tradition. J_2's account is the typical one ; P s statements as to the length of Enoch's life and the duration of the Deluge seem to rest on Jewish Aggada.

The typical Babylonian myth is that in the GilgameS-epic (see above), which appears to be the local tradition of the city of Šurippak (see Frd. Del. *Par.* **224;** Jensen, *Kosmol.* **387);** but the variant discovered by Peiser[2] (§ 5), and the much fuller one transmitted by Bērōssus,[3] also are valuable. The Babylonian king, Xisuthrus, is the hero of the Berossian Deluge-story ; in this way Bērōssus disguised the name of Atra-ḫasīs, transposing the two parts of the name or title.[4] Xisuthrus, he says, was accompanied on board the ship (*σκάφος*, *πλοῖον*, *ναῦς*) by wife, children, friends, and steersman, and took with him quadrupeds and birds. He was ordered to turn the course of his vessel 'towards the gods.' How long the flood lasted we are not told. When it went down, he sent out birds three' times ; the third time the birds did not return. Then he discovered that the ship had grounded 'on a certain mountain.' With wife, daughter, and steersman, he disembarked, erected an altar, sacrificed, and then passed out of sight with his companions. Those who remained heard a voice which announced that Xisuthrus had been taken to be with the gods as a reward for his piety ; also that the land in which they were was Armenia (cp Gen. 8 4 P). They were, further, commanded to dig up the sacred books which Xisuthrus, before embarking, had buried at Sispara to transmit them to mankind. This form of the story was, therefore, the local tradition of the ancient city of Sippar, on the left bank of the Euphrates (the *Abu Ḥabba* of to-day). We may plausibly assume that the fragment discovered by Scheil (see § 6) also belonged to the story current at Sippar. Here, however, we find, only Atra-ḫasīs as the name of the hero of the Deluge. This name, however, is perhaps to be regarded rather as a title than as a personal name.

16. Berossian variant.

The epic narrative fills np the lacuna in the Berossian story. It presupposes a division of the period of the Deluge into an (at present) uncertain number of weeks. The same predilection for the number seven is visible in J_2's account (see Gen. 7 2 4 8 [6] 10 12). Similarly the epic agrees more definitely than Bērōssus with J_2 in its notice respecting the birds. Seven days after the calming of the waters, Pār-napišti sends out first a dove, then a swallow, then a raven. J_2 less naturally puts the raven before the dove : probably he did not draw directly from a Babylonian source (see above, § 11, end; § 14, end). The other details of the Deluge have been simplified by J_2 (or his prede-

17. The Epic, J_2, and Gen. 5 23.

1 מבּוּל, 'destruction' : hence 'deluge' from Bab.-ass. *nabālu*, 'to destroy' ; cp נפילים, נפלים, **a** softened form of נבלים, Gen. 6 4 **Nu.** 13 33. The word was chosen probably as a synonym for Bab.-ass. *abūbu* (deluge), on account of the assonance, when the Bab. Deluge-myth first became naturalised in Canaan. On the etym. cp Frd. Del. *Par.* 156 ; Haupt, in *KAT*(2) 66; Cheyne, *Psalms*(1), 380, *Hebraica*, 3 175 ; Jensen, *Exp.* ***Times***, 9 ('98) 284 (derives from בּוּל, 'to rain' (against which see Del. *Genesis* ['87] 172, and cp König, *Lehrgb.* **2** 153). On the form of the Syriac loan-word *māmūl*, cp König, 1495. Such a notable mythological word **as** *abūbu* **was** certain to be naturalised in Canaan in some form (cp **BELIAL).**

2 תֵּבָה may be of Egyptian, but can scarcely be of Bah. origin, as Jensen (*ZA* **4** 273 *f.*) represents. The word *ṭebitim* in the phrase *inn elippi ṭebitim* is most naturally connected with √טבע.

3 Cp *kupri* in the parallel passage in the Gilgameš-epic.

4 ***De Dea Syra***, chap. 12 *f.* ; cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 3 6.

5 Gruppe's opposite view (*ZATW* 9 135 *ff.* ['89]) is unsatisfactory.

1 There is no Egyptian Flood-myth. It is hardly allowable to quote the myth of the Destruction of Man (see Maspero, ***Dawn of Civ.*** 164-168) as a 'dry deluge-myth,' for the story has a ritual purpose.

2 Cp Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 36 *f.*

3 See Müller, ***Fragm.*** *Histor. Græc.* **2** 501 (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, 1 19 *f.*), and cp **Eus.** ***Præp. Ev.*** 9 12 (Abydenus) where the hero's name is Sisithrus. Lucian (see above, § 15 *(A)*) had heard the name Sisythes.

4 Probably, according to Haupt, the adverbial accusative *atra* was affixed in the later period of the language (***Proc. of Amer. Or. Soc.***, March 1894).

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cessor). The rather grotesque polytheistic setting has disappeared : P, who retained the plural form ('Let us make man') in Gen. 126, found nothing corresponding to this in the old Deluge-story. In Gen. 821 ('And Yahwè smelled the sweet savour') we find a reminiscence of the mythic description in the epic (see above, § 2); but the most startling part of the description has vanished. The cause assigned to the Deluge is nobler in J_2 (P) than in the epic. In the latter (*ll.* 168-175) **Ea** reproaches Bēl with having punished the innocent with the guilty : the offence consisted, it appears, in the neglect of the accustomed sacrifices to the gods.[1] In J_2 (P), on the other hand, no special stress is laid on sacrifices, and no limitation is made to the sweeping declaration that 'the earth is filled with violence' (Gen. 613), whilst the injunction laid upon the survivors after the Deluge is not that they should be 'reverent' in a ritual sense, but that they should not deface the image of God by shedding man's blood (Gen. 96). The close of the epic narrative, however, redeems the character of the poet, and irresistibly suggests the theory, supported elsewhere, that 'Noah' should rather be 'Enoch.' It was for the children of the Hebrew Xisuthrus to re-found a human race of finer quality than that which had perished. Xisuthrus himself was too great and good a man to encounter once more the ordinary trials of humanity. Atra-ḫasīs was transported to the earthly Paradise, 'afar off at the mouth of the rivers[2] (the Euphrates and the Tigris).' The Hebrew Xisuthrus, like his model in the Berossian account, 'was not (=disappeared), for God had taken him' (Gen. 524).

Both Bērōssus and the priestly writer represent a period later than Ašur-bāni-pal's epic. The earthly Paradise was no doubt the original home of the translated Xisuthrus, though we cannot suppose that it was always placed 'at the mouth of the rivers' : mythic geography is notoriously fluctuating. The earliest location of Paradise was on the slopes of the mysterious mythic mountain which reached upward to the sky (cp CHERUB, i. § 7). When the ides of an earthly Paradise had worn out, men thought of Xisuthrus as in heaven, and this is really more in accord with the earliest form of the myth. For, though the theory offered above by Zimmern (§ 8) probably does embody the interpretation of the most cultured Babylonian priests, we can hardly regard it as a complete explanation. It is more like the afterthought of a semi-philosophic age than like the spontaneous imagination of primitive men. There would be more plausibility in the notion that some definite historical catastrophe lies at the root of the story, if we could only believe. that tradition could preserve so remote an occurrence. The truth is that a definite occurrence does lie at the root of the story : only, it **is** an imaginary, not a historical occurrence.

18. Primitive ether-myth.

The Deluge-myth in Babylonia and elsewhere seems to have grown out of an archaic ether-myth, akin to that prevalent in Egypt. Originally the sun was imagined as a man voyaging on a boat in the heavenly ocean. When this story had been told and retold a long time, rationalism suggested that the sea was not in heaven but on earth, and observation of the damage wrought in winter by incessant rains and the inundations of great rivers suggested the introduction of corresponding details into the new earthly Deluge-myth. This theory is supported by the Polynesian Deluge-myths collected by Gerland,[3] the origin of which is still plainly visible. In these, the sun and the moon were imagined sometimes as peaks emerging out of a flood, sometimes as canoes, sometimes as a man and his wife ; the stars, sometimes as ships, sometimes as human beings—the children of the sun and moon ; the clouds too were described as ships—the 'ships of Tangaloa' (the heaven- and air-god). The flood itself was called sometimes 'flood of the moon' (*so* at Hawaii), sometimes 'flood of day's eye,'—*i.e.*, the sun (*so* at Tahiti). This accounts for the strongly mythological characters of Pār-napišti in Babylonia and of Maui in New Zealand, who are, in fact, solar personages. Enoch too must be classed in this category ; his perfect righteousness and superhuman wisdom[1] now first become intelligible. Moreover, we now comprehend how the goddess Sabitu (the guardian of the entrance to the sea) can say to GilgameS (himself a solar personage) 'Šamaš the mighty (*i.e.*, the sun-god) crossed the sea; besides (?) Šamaš, who can cross it?'[2] For, though the 'sea' **in** the epic is no doubt the earth-circling ocean, it was hardly this in the myth from which the words were taken.

19. Its transformation.

The transference of the Deluge from heaven to earth had two effects, First, it produced a virtual duplication of the Creation-myth.[3] This points the way to a probable explanation of the appearance of the raven, the swallow, and the dove in the Babylonian account, and of the dove and the raven in the Hebrew account. An authentic and striking Polynesian parallel to the description in Gen. 12 ('. . . brooding over the face of the waters') has been given already (see CREATION, § 10). N. American tribes, too, frequently conncct the emergence of the earth from the primordial ocean with the descent of a raven, and their flood-myths, according to Brinton, connect the rebuilding of the earth with the agency of birds.[4] In the Algonkin account, however, the musk-rat succeeds, when the raven fails, in finding a portion of the submerged earth.[5] In the primitive Babylonian myths of Creation and Deluge a bird (whether raven or dove), or birds, probably had a share in the process of creation and re-creation.

The second effect of the transference spoken of was a new speculative theory. It occurred to the early men that the idea of a second construction of the world lightened the problem of the origin of things. How the primeval world arose might be difficult to explain satisfactorily : various mythic stories were current ; but it was not so hard to conceive of a world once destroyed being reconstructed. Thus, in course of time, systematisers devised schemes bearing some resemblance to the cycles of the Stoics. It seemed to them as if the Creator were constantly being baffled in his experiments by physical or moral perversity in the materials. Thus the priests of the Aztecs spoke of four antecedent ages, separated by universal cataclysms, the present being the fifth and last,[6] and a similar belief, in rudimentary forms,

1 Throughout the epic-story the sacrificial interest is prominent. Bērōssus, too, relates that a voice from heaven bade the friends whom Xisuthrus left behind be reverent towards the gods (θεοσεβεῖς)—*i.e.*, punctual in sacrifices.

2 Probably an island in the Persian Gulf is meant (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 213).

3 Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie* ***der Naturvölker***, 6 296-373. See also Schirren, *Wanderungen der Neuseeländer* ('56), p. 193.

1 Enoch, like Pār-napišti, might be called *Atra-ḫasīs*, 'the very wise. Omniscience is an attribute of the sun-god. The same title appears to be given to the young eagle in the myth of Etana (see ETHAN)—a supernatural bird (*Beitr. zur. Ass.* 2 444). Notice, too, that the old eagle in the Etana-myth and Pār-napišti are both mentioned in connection with magical plants. The legendary el-Ḥiḍr of the Moslems, whom Guyard and Lenormant (*Les origines*, 2 12 *f.*) identify with Ḥasīs-atra, was also the wisest of beings. Cp above, § 15. On this interesting parallel, cp Lidzbarski, *ZA* 7 104 *ff.*, 8 263 *ff.*, and Dyroff, *ZA* 7 310 *ff.* ; also Clermont Ganneau, *Rev. Archéol.* 32 388 *ff.* See also ELIJAH, § 5.

2 See Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 584; Jeremias, *Izd.-Nimrod*, 31. Sabītu, it has been remarked, has some slight affinity to Circe.

3 Was the Akitu-festival at Babylon a commemoration of the Deluge? It is referred to in the epic narrative, 2 71. From an inscription of Nebuchadrezzar we learn that it was 'in Zakmuk' (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 85). Now Zakmuk, the New Year's festival, commemorated Creation. See col. 941, n. 1.

4 Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 204; cp Macdonell, *JRAS*, 1895, p. 189.

5 Brinton (*op. cit.* 209 *ff.*) gives the 'authentic form' on the authority of Father Le Jeune (1634). It appears that the Algonkins supposed all mankind to have perished in the Deluge. This is against deriving this Deluge-myth from a previous ether-myth. The Algonkin view, however. is not largely represented.

6 Réville, *Religions of Mexico and Peru*, 114.

is still prevalent throughout the American-Indian tribes. The Zoroastrians believed in six ages of the world, with a final catastrophe issuing in a renovation. The six ages are of late origin (see CREATION, § 9); but the renovation, as Darmesteter admits, goes back to the Achæmenian period. Not without stimulus from Zoroastrianism, the Jews in later times advanced to the same belief.[1] They were assured that the present world would be destroyed and that a new heaven and earth would take its place (Is. 24 18-20, 51 6[2] 65 17 66 22 Mt. 19 28 2 Pet. 3 12 *f.* Enoch 45 4 *f.* Apoc. Bar. 32 6); in harmony with Gen. 9 15 fire was to be the destroying agency (2 Pet. *l.c.*). These beliefs were naturally fostered by the moral idealism of the best men, as we see, not only from the biblical writings (*e.g.*, Gen. 6 5 11 2 Pet. 2 5 κόσμος ἀσεβῶν, 3 7), and from the Babylonian story, but also from an American (Quiche) story, which says, 'They did not think or speak of the Creator who had created them, and who had caused their birth.'[3] The intense moral fervour of the ancient Zoroastrian hope of world-renovation is well known (see PERSIA).

20. Other Deluge-myths. If it were possible to believe in a primitive tradition respecting early human history, and to accept all mythic narratives as independent traditions, we should have a weary waste of Deluge-stories still to plod through. There are, however, only three more such accounts which have any special interest from our present point of view. (*a*) The Indian Deluge-story is the first.[4] This can hardly be a genuine Aryan myth, for there is no clear reference to it in the Rig Veda.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*, where it first occurs, was written (Weber) not long before the Christian era. Another version, in which the lacunæ of the earlier one are filled up, is given in the *Mahâbhârata*; but this poem, though it existed in part before the Christian era, did not assume its present form till long afterwards. A third version, still more decidedly Indian in character, but with some suspicious resemblances to the Semitic accounts, is given in the *Bhâgavata Purâna*; but the earliest possible date of this work is the twelfth century A.D., which deprives its account of the deluge of all claim to originality.

The principal characteristic of the older Flood-story is the part assigned to the fish which warns Manu of the Deluge, and ultimately saves him by drawing his ship to a northern mountain. This is surely out of character with Aryan mythology. The horned fish, in which Brahma appears, reminds us strongly of the Babylonian fish-god Ea. It was Ea who gave notice of the coming Deluge to Pār-napišti. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 101), Jensen (*Kosmol.* 497) and Oldenberg (*Rel. des Veda*, 276) consider the Babylonian origin of the Indian Flood-story to be certain; but on the other hand cp Usener, *Untersuch.* 3 240-244.

(*b*) The second account is a Zoroastrian myth in the Avesta (*Vendidad*, 2 46 *ff.*). In its present form (even after the prosaic additions have been removed; see Geldner, in Usener, 3 209 *ff.*) it seems to have been influenced by the Hebrew Deluge-story.

The Var, a square enclosure constructed by Yima (= Yama, the Vedic god of the dead), had a door and perhaps a window,[5] like Noah's Ark, and it was designed to preserve men, women, and animals. Apart from this, it reminds us of the biblical Eden, and the calamity which was to be averted was, not a flood, but a terrible winter's frost, connected, however, with the end of the world.[6] The myth seems to be a recast of elements from more than one source.

(*c*) The third is a Phrygian myth. Possibly there was a primitive native Deluge-story; but, if so, it was vitalised from a Jewish source, some time during the third or the second century, B.C., when (as Ramsay has pointed out) many thousands of Jews from Babylonia were settled as colonists in the cities which the Seleucid kings had built. This was the period of the intermingling of religions, when Judaism too made conquests, especially in Asia Minor. Even those who were not otherwise Judaized were influenced by Jewish legends (cp SODOM AND GOMORRAH). Important cities exhibited on their coins biblical symbols, and harmonised their old traditions with biblical narratives.[1]

Thus Apamea (formerly Kelainai) adopted the Noah-legend; Iconium that of Enoch, whose name was connected with the Phrygian name of Ναννακος or Αννακος. This king (for such tradition made him) was said to have lived more than 300 years, to have announced the coming Deluge, and to have prayed for his people. The mountain hard by Apamea was said to be that on which Noah's ark grounded; the city therefore assumed the title κιβωτός (Ark).

The references already given are almost sufficient (they may be supplemented from Dillmann's *Genesis*);

21. Appendix on Lenormant. but at least a brief mention is due to Lenormant's study in *Les origines de l'histoire*, 1 382 *ff.* The conclusion arrived at is that of Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, that the Deluge is no 'myth,' but a historical fact. Lenormant, at any rate, holds that the three great civilised races of the ancient world preserved a dim recollection of it. This implies a self-propagating power in tradition which the researches of experts in popular traditions do not justify. Lenormant died, a martyr of patriotism, in 1884. Would he have changed his mind had he lived? At any rate, he would have respected the honesty of those who regard the Deluge-story as a precious record of the myth-forming imagination which has been made subservient to a high moral idealism. See ADAM AND EVE.

Lastly, the writer would call attention to Jastrow's two articles on Scheil's Deluge-story (§ 6) in the *New York Independent*, 10th and 17th Feb.

22. And on Jastrow's theory. 1898 (cp his *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 502 506). It is here maintained that a local tradition of a rain-storm which submerged a single city has been combined in the Gilgameš-epic with a myth of the destruction of mankind based upon the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates. Pir-napišti or Pār-napišti (as Haupt in *KAT*(3) and Jastrow prefer to read the name) is the hero of the local tradition, while Ḫasis-adra (= צַדִּיק תָּמִים, Gen. 6 9, according to Jastrow) is the hero of the larger nature-myth. The present writer admits that the version in the epic is of composite origin, and that the names Pir-napišti and Ḫasis-adra may perhaps come from different sources; but he holds that all the Babylonian deluge-stories, whether simple or composite, have a mythic basis. Moreover, he does not recognise that the simplicity of the oldest Hebrew version of the Deluge-story heightens the probability that the Hebrews carried that story with them when they left their Euphratean settlements. The account given above of the origin and development of the Hebrew story has surely not lost any of its probability in consequence of Scheil's discovery.

[See, in addition to works already cited, Noldeke, 'Der Mythus von der Sündfluth,' *Im neuen Reich* ['72], pp. 247-259; R. Andree, *Die Flutsagen; ethnographisch betrachtet* ('91); H. Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuchungen*, pt. 3 ('99), especially § 7, 'Ergebnisse'; M. Jastrow, 'Adraḫasis and Parnapištum,' *ZA* 1899, pp. 288-301. On the chief questions arising out of the Babylonian Deluge-story, cp Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* ('98), pp. 493-508, which, as also Usener's work, appeared after this article had been written.]

H. Z. §§ 1-5, 7-9; T. K. C. §§ 6, 10-22.

DELUS, RV DELOS (ΔΗΛΟϹ [AKV], *Delus*), the

[1] Che. *OPs.* 404 *ff.*

[2] Is. 51 16 is a late mosaic of phrases, and irrelevant (see Du. *ad loc.*).

[3] Brinton, *op. cit.* 207 *f.* This is of course a later addition, as in one of the forms of the Tahitian myth (Waitz-Gerland, 6 271).

[4] See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 1 196-201; Burnouf, *Bhagâvata Purâna*, 2 191; Weber *Indische Studien*, 1 161-232.

[5] The Zend word rendered 'window,' however, is said to be as obscure as the Hebrew (צֹהַר, Gen. 6 16; see LATTICE).

[6] Cp. Kohnt, *JQR*, 1890, pp. 225-227.

[1] See Babelon, 'La Trad. phryg. du Deluge,' *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* ('91), pp. 174 *ff.*; Usener, *op. cit.*, 48-50; and, on Apamea-Kelainai, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, chaps. 11, 12.

smallest of the Cyclades, regarded by the ancients as the centre of the group—a confusion of the geographical and religious points of view (cp Str. 485). Delos was both a shrine and a commercial centre, and 'her whole destiny is explained by her religious traditions and her geographical situation.' Though nominally free, the island was really subject to the dominant power for the time being in the Aegean. It was a free port as early as 168 B.C., and attracted a great part of the Rhodian trade (Polyb. 317). After 146 B.C. it entered upon the heritage of Corinth (Str. 486). The acquisition of the province of Asia by the Romans in 133 B.C. added greatly to the wealth and importance of Delos. Now began the most brilliant epoch of its history: the inscriptions show that its commercial relations were with the Levant, chiefly Syria and Egypt. So Pausanias calls the island *τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον* (viii. 332). For long it was the chief emporium of merchandise from the E. to the W., so that the fine bronze or copper wares of Greece were called indifferently Corinthian, or Delian, from the place of export (Pl. *HN* xxxiv. 29; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 283). The island became especially a great slave mart, where the Asiatic slave dealers disposed of their human cargoes to Italian speculators; as many as ten thousand were landed and sold in a day (Str. 668). Naturally such a spot attracted large numbers of Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 108; Philo, *Leg. ad Gai. 36*; cp 1 Macc. 15 23). According to a Greek inscription, a company of Tyrian merchants was settled there as early as the second century B.C. (CZG 2271). At the altar of Delos Antiochus Epiphanes set up statues (Polyb. 26 1), and an inscription to Herod Antipas has been discovered in the island (cp Schür. *GVI* 1 358). In 88 B.C. 20,000 men, mostly Italians, were massacred in the island by Archelaos, admiral of the Pontic fleet of Mithridates, a blow from which it partially recovered, only to be finally ruined about twenty years later by the systematic and wholesale destruction wrought by the pirate Athenodorus. The resurrection of the island was rendered impossible by the rapid growth of Puteoli and the revival of Corinth (for its decay, cp Paus. viii. 33 2 ix. 346).

See the articles by M. Homolle in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, especially *Les Romains à Delos*, *op. cit.* 875 *f.* A good account in Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, ET, 128 *f.* W. J. W.

DEMAS (ΔΗΜΑϹ [Ti. WH]) is enumerated by the apostle Paul as among his 'fellow-workers' at the time of his (first) Roman captivity (Philem. 24; see also Col. 414). In 2 Tim. 4 10 he is thus alluded to: 'Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonica.' Nothing is known of him beyond what may be inferred or conjectured from these allusions.

He is enumerated in the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed., 2 121) and is stated to have become a priest of idols in Thessalonica. Along with Hermogenes, he figures prominently in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as a hypocritical companion of the former, and to Hermogenes and Demas is assigned the particular heresy about the resurrection which in 2 Tim. 2 17 is attributed to Hymenæus and Philetus.

DEMETRIUS (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟϹ [ANV]—*i.e.*, of, or belonging to, Demeter, a proper name of very common occurrence among the Greeks).

1. Demetrius I., surnamed Soter,[1] king of Syria, son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, was sent in his early youth to Rome as a hostage, the throne meanwhile being occupied by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2). After some time he effected his escape to Tripolis (chiefly through the aid of the historian Polybius), and thence proceeded to Antioch where he proclaimed himself king, securing his position by putting to death his cousin Antiochns Eupator (ANTIOCHUS, 3), and LYSIAS (1 Macc. 7; 162 B.C.). He lost no time in pleasing the Hellenizing party by sending Bacchides to instal Alcimus as high-

[1] He received this honorary designation on account of his delivering the Babylonians from the satrap Heraclides.

priest (see BACCHIDES, ALCIMUS). The disturbances caused by the latter need not here be described; the Syrian general NICANOR [*q.v.*] was defeated at Capharsalama (7 26 *ff.*), and at Adasa (7 39 8). A warning was sent from Rome to Demetrius not to interfere with the Jews; but it was too late. Less than two months after the fall of Nicanor a fresh invasion under Bacchicles took place; the Judæan power was seriously crippled (chap. 9, 160 B.C.; see further BACCHIDES). Seven years later Demetrius, disputing the sovereignty with Alexander Balas, endeavoured, though in vain, to secure the support of the Maccabean party (chap. 10), and after some hostilities died fighting his rival[1] (*vv.* 49 *f.*; 150 B.C.). See MACCABEES, § 5.

2. Demetrius II., Nicātor, son of the above, who had been living in exile in Crete, came over to Cilicia to avenge his father's ill success in 147 B.C., and secured a powerful follower in the person of APOLLONIUS (*q.v.*, 2). An engagement took place at Ashdod, and Apollonius was decisively beaten (1 Macc. 10 67 *ff.*). Shortly afterwards, however, his hands were unexpectedly strengthened by the secession of Ptolemy VI. Philomētor (see PTOLEMY, 1), who transferred to him his daughter Cleopatra, the wife of Alexander Balas (see ALEXANDER, 2). Alexander was put to flight and Demetrius became king in 145 B.C. (11 19). A treaty by which Jonathan obtained favourable concessions was concluded (MACCABEES, § 5), and Demetrius, believing his position secure, took the unwise step of discharging his regular troops, who at once went over to Tryphon, the guardian of the young son of Alexander Balas (11 38 *ff.*; see TRYPHON). Profiting by the approach of a disturbance, Jonathan obtained fresh concessions from Demetrius on the understanding that Tryphon's rebellion in Antioch should be put down. This was successfully accomplished; but when Jonathan saw that Demetrius showed no signs of carrying out his promises he was easily persuaded to transfer his allegiance to Tryphon. Demetrius' princes entered Judæa and after a temporary success were routed in the neighbourhood of Hazor (11 63 8). Another invasion was meditated in B.C. 144, but was successfully warded off by Jonathan's skilful generalship (12 24 *ff.*). The scene suddenly changed when Tryphon usurped the throne of Syria, and endeavoured, with some success, to reduce Judaea. Jonathan was dead and Simon busied himself in strengthening the defences. An embassy was sent to Demetrius II., who, to obtain Simon's support, readily granted all the Jewish demands including even a complete immunity from taxation[2] (13 31 *ff.*). Trusting Simon to continue the struggle against Tryphon, Demetrius marched to Persia, partly for conquest, partly to acquire auxiliaries; but he was captured by Mithridates I. (see PERSIA) and imprisoned, his place in Syria being taken by his younger brother Antiochus Sidētes (1 Macc. 14 1 *ff.*; see ANTIOCHUS, 5). From non-biblical sources we know that, at the expiration of ten years, he resumed the throne (128 B.C.), quarrelled with Ptolemy Physkon and his *protégé* Alexander Zabinas, and was finally conquered at Damascus, after fleeing from which place he was murdered at Tyre in 125 B.C. (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 3).

3. A silversmith of Ephesus, who was the chief instigator of the tumult in the interests of his craft which brought Paul's mission in that city to a close (Acts 19 24 *ff.*). See DIANA, § 2, EPHESUS. The conjecture that he figures again in 3 Jn. 12 as a convert to Christianity, precarious at best, becomes singularly so when the commonness of the name is considered.

4. A Christian mentioned with commendation in 3 Jn. (*v.* 12). That he was the hearer of the epistle is sometimes inferred; hut

[1] If we follow RV (after AN, etc.) and read 'the army of Alexander fled,' it would seem that *v.* 49 and *v.* 50 must belong to two different accounts. See more fully Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2 4 and cp *Cambr. Bible.* ad loc.

[2] This independence gained by the Jews was marked by the introduction of a new era; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 1.

the inference has no more stringency than that mentioned in no. 3. S. A. C.

DEMONS. Demons are a survival from an earlier faith; continued belief in them is due to the conservative instincts of the ordinary religious mind, and is thus particularly characteristic of the popular religion. For this reason references to demons scarcely occur in the earlier OT literature, which is so largely prophetic. Such references increase in frequency, however, in the later Jewish writings, and are numerous in NT; this is due partly to the foreign influences (Babylonian, Persian, and Greek) under which the Jews came in exilic and post-exilic times, and partly to the fact that the earlier beliefs, after being transformed, lent themselves as explanations of some of the religious problems that were arising.

1. General survey.

For the Gk. (Hellenistic) term *δαιμόνιον* or *δαίμων* (see below, § 6), whence the English term 'demon' is derived, Hebrew possesses no clear equivalent. *Δαιμόνιον* occurs in the LXX only in Dt. 32 17 Ps. 90 6 95 5 106 37 Is. 13 21 34 14 65 3 11 [BA] and in Tobit; yet it represents no fewer than five Hebrew words, viz., *'ĕlīl*, *gad*, *śā'īr*, *ṣiyyi*, and *šēd* (Dt. 32 17 Ps. 106 37, cp 91 6, where 𝔊 reads וְשֵׁד for יָשׁוּד). Of these the first is a general term for false gods; details as to the second and the third will be found in the articles FORTUNE and SATYR, and as to the fourth in WILD BEASTS; only the last is translated 'demon' in RV.

2. Terms in OT.

Similar objects of popular superstition are LILITH, AZAZEL, ASMODEUS (in Tobit), and probably the 'horse-leech' of Prov. 30 15 (see HORSE-LEECH). For details of these also reference must be made to the separate articles. Closely connected with the present subject is the practice of consulting the dead,[1] to which we have reference in the earliest narrative literature (1 S. 28). See DIVINATION, § 4.

Jewish demonology, then, is the result of the survival of primitive Hebrew (Semitic) beliefs, which, having been neither suppressed by, nor wholly assimilated to, the prophetic religion, were quickened by contact with Babylonia, Persia, and Greece (cp 𝔊's use of *δαιμόνιον*, as above, § 2). The chief primitive survivals in the Jewish belief are the quasi-divine character of these beings as shown by the sacrifices offered to them (Dt. 32 17, cp Bar. 4 7 1 Cor. 10 20 Ps. 106 37 Lev. 17 7; cp further, in 𝔊, Is. 65 3 11, and the sacrifice to AZAZEL [*q.v.*] described in Lev. 16), their undefined yet local character shown by their association with waste places (Is. 13 21 34 14, cp Rev. 18 2 Bar. 4 35, and [Vg.] Tob. 8 3), and their connection with animals, indicated by their sharing the waste places with wild beasts (foregoing references, and Mk. 1 13), and the meaning of such a term as *śĕ'īrīm* (hairy ones, goats); on the similar character of the Arabian *jinn*, see Robertson Smith's *Rel. Sem.*(2) 120 *ff.*

3. Primitive survivals.

The term that is most generic in character is certainly *šēdīm*. Unfortunately the etymology of the word is doubtful, for the view that it signifies 'lord' (Mühlau and Volck's *Gesenius*) cannot be said to be well supported. The cognate word in Assyrian (*šidu*) denotes the gods or genii who, in the form of huge winged bulls, guard the entrances of the temples (*COT* 140). In both passages (exilic or post-exilic) where *šēdīm* occurs in OT it is used quite generally of illegitimate objects of worship (Dt. 32 17 Ps. 106 37), and in the Pesh. *šīdā* is the equivalent of *δαιμόνιον*. In the later Jewish writings the *šēdīm* are frequently referred to as noxious spirits (*see* Buxtorf *Lex., s.v.*); this they have not definitely become in the OT (on the *šēdīm* see further Dr. and Di. on Dt. 32 17; Ki., Now. on Hos. 12 12 (read לשׁרים for שׁורים); Che. *Psalms*, 258; *OPs.* 334; G. Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phönikische Inschriften*, 55, n. 1). See SHADDAI, § 2, and cp SIDDIM, VALE OF.

4. Šēdīm.

When angels came to be differentiated as helpful and harmful, and, later, as good and bad (see ANGELS, § 5), the harmful or bad angels closely resembled demons; the difference between the two became, in consequence, less and less. Speculations on the difference may be found in Enoch; the same uncertainty prevails in Mohammedan theology, where, *e.g.*, it is disputed whether Iblis was an angel or a demon. *G.* B. *G.*

5. Demons and angels.

The classical inferiority of *δαίμων* (and *δαιμόνιον*) to *θεός* finds its lowest depth in the Old and the New Testaments, most plainly so in the New.

Even as early as Homer the general equivalence of the two words (*Od.* 21 195 201) was varied by the frequent distinction between **Beds** as the *personality* (*deus*), and *δαίμων* as the more abstract, less nameable *influence* (*numen*), and by the sense of *luck-lessness* in the adjective *δαιμόνιος* (*Od.* 18 406), as well as by such epithets for *δαίμων* as *κακός* and *στυγερός*. In post-Homeric Greek the inferiority grew in distinctness and degree, and gathered round itself more and more a sense of evil; and, while *δαίμων* (*dæmon*) never altogether ceased in profane Greek to be a *vox media*, the tendency to degradation overwhelmingly prevailed. Thus the word that stood to Hesiod (*Opp.* 121) for the benignant souls of heroes of the golden age, served Plato (*Lys.* 223) for an evil apparition, and the tragedians (Æsch. *Ag.* 569, Soph. *O T* 1194) and the Attic orators (*Lys.* 278) for gloomy genii of misfortune, often attached to families or to individuals; and finally Plutarch (probably under the influence of Eastern and Alexandrian dualism) included in its category the *δαίμονες φαῦλοι*, to whom he attributed all that was barbarous and cruel (*De defectu orac.* 14).

6. NT usage.

The sense of *evil spirit* for *δαιμόνιον* is in the NT quite unmistakable.

Δαίμων does not occur in the LXX, except once in ℵ, and, according to the best authorities, appears hut twice in the NT, viz. in Mt. and Mk.'s accounts of the Gerasene demoniac (Mt. 8 31 Mk. 5 12; not in Ti. WH in the second passage). Perhaps *δαιμόνιον*—neut. of adj. *δαιμόνιος* (cp *τὸ θεῖον*)—supplanted *δαίμων* as representing even more fitly the abstract and unnameable. Cp *δαιμόνια καινά*, Plat. *Apol.* 26 B and *ξένα δαιμόνια*, Acts 17 18.

The word *δαιμόνιον* (used in the NT about sixty times), best reproduced as 'daemon,' is almost entirely confined to genii in the worst form, evil spirits possessing human beings, though it is used occasionally of evil spirits in general (Ja. 2 19), and once (as above, Acts 17 18) of heathen gods of an inferior order, as well as three times in one passage (1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*) of evil spirits working in the background of idolatry. (See *The Thinker*, May 1895.[1])

The identity of *dæmon* and *evil spirit* is obvious from such passages as Lk. 8 2 and 1 Tim. 4 1, and from the comparison of such passages as Mk. 1 26 and Lk. 4 35, Mk. 3 30 and Jn. 10 20, Rev. 16 13 and 14.

The accounts of evil spirits as *possessing* are confined to the Synoptists and Acts, though the idea crops up also in Jn., only however in 7 20 8 48 *f.* 52, and 10 20 *f.* (*δαιμονίζομαι* and *ἔχειν δαιμόνιον*, said of Jesus himself), and never as actually posited by the writer.

The period immediately embracing the Christian era saw a vast development of the idea of daemons or genii, which may be traced to the survival of early animistic conceptions in a higher stage of culture (see Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, chap. 14 *f.*). For our present purpose it is most important to refer to the Persian, the Hellenistic-Jewish, and the Talmudic beliefs. We shall, however, here limit ourselves to the second of these classes of evidence, which appeals most to ordinary educated readers (see also below, § 11, and cp PERSIA).

7. Contemporary belief.

On the philosophic basis of the Platonic *Ideai* or *Forms*, and the Stoic *Logoi* or *Reasons*, combined with the Hebrew conception of angels, Philo had bridged over his dualistic gulf between God and the world, with intermediate beings, some 'blessed' and others 'profane'; the incorporeal souls being pure

1 [In the age of the Gospels and of Josephus the spirits of the (wicked) dead were certainly described as *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια* = *šēdīm*. While the worship of dead ancestors was at its height, however, the wicked dead were disregarded, and the spirits of the good were honoured as *elōhīm* (1 S. 28 13; cp. Is. 19 3 @). It is best therefore to treat necromancy separately; see DIVINATION, § 4.]

1 An article by the present writer on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek Gods.'

and hovering in the air, which was full of them, some of them, however, descending into bodies and so becoming impure. These 'souls' are identified by him with the 'angels' of Moses and the 'daemons' of 'other philosophers' (*de Conf.* Ling. **35**; *de Gigant.* **2-4**). A kindred belief in daemons as good and evil *media* of divine action pervaded the cosmology of the Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists towards the close of the first century A.D. (Hatch, *Hibb. Lect.* 216 *ff.*; Zeller, *Die Phil. der Griech.* iii. 1(4) 291); and Epictetus, about the same date, held that 'all things were full of gods and dæmons' (*Zeller*, iii. 1(3) 745). Josephus also (seeking, like Philo, to conciliate Jewish and heathen views) testifies to the prevalence of a similar belief among his countrymen, but in his description makes the dæmons exclusively πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα[1] (*Ant.* viii. 2 5; *BJ* vii. 6 3). On the Talmudic evidence for the contemporary Jewish acceptance (doubtless developed under Parsee influence) of a countless number of spirits, good and bad, and legions of dæmons lying in wait for men, see Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, Ap. xiii., and cp Weber, *Altsyn. Theol.* 242 *ff.*

The number, prominence, and activity, therefore, of evil spirits in the NT is in general harmony with the views of the times.

Germinal ideas of possession are to be found even in Homer (*Od.* 5 396, where a δαίμων στυγερός causes a wasting sickness).

8. Possession. The verb δαιμονᾶν represents insanity in Æschylus (*Choeph.* 566), Euripides (*Phœn.* 888), Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 1054) and Plutarch (*Vit. Marcell.* 20); whilst Herodotus (4 79), Euripides (*Bacch.* 298 *ff.*), and other writers attribute to divine possession the frenzy of the Bacchantes and Corybantes. To a sense of the same mysterious power may be traced Herodotus's name ἱρὴ νοῦσος for epilepsy (Hippocrates, 400 B.C., attriboted the disease to natural causes), and the phrase of the Greek physician Aretæus (1st century, A.D.), δαίμονος εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴσοδος. That the nations with whom the Jews in later times were brought into contact held similar views in systematised forms has often been shown (see below, § 11), and we cannot doubt that, though not originating in any one of these forms, the popular belief of the Jews was largely influenced by the beliefs of their neighbours. That belief, as reflected in the NT, regards the daemons (which are spirits entirely evil) as a definite class of beings, injuriously affecting, mostly internally and by possession, the human, and (in the case of the Gerasene swine) the animal personality, the subjects being usually described as δαιμονιζόμενοι, 'daemonised' (all the Gospels, though only once each in Lk. and Jn.)—the less classical form of δαιμονώμενοι, and the equivalent of Josephus's οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανόμενοι, by which phrase is justified the rendering 'possessed.' The *moral* connexion of daemons in the NT is subordinate. Without doubt they are regarded as diametrically (though by no means with dualistic equality) opposed to the work of Christ, and their subjugation is looked upon (especially by Lk.) as his primary healing function and as the sign above all others that the kingdom of God had come (Lk. 13 32 11 20). Their moral and spiritual influence is recognised in Jesus' parable of the unclean spirit (Mt. 12 43 Lk. 11 24); in what Paul says of the 'table of daemons' (1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*); in the 'doctrines of daemons' of 1 Tim. 4 1, and in Rev. 9 20, where the worshipping of daemons (cp Dt. 32 17 𝔊) is another expression for idolatry. This moral and spiritual evil in the daemonic world is also certainly kept in view whenever the NT writers speak of the opposition of God and the devil (Ja. 4 7); of the subjugation thenceforth by Christ of the kingdom of evil (Lk. 10 18 *f.* 1 Jn. 3 8 Rom. 16 20); and of the final destruction (Mk. 1 24 Mt. 8 29) of the devil and his angels in the lake of fire (Rev. 20 10), after a period of relative independence which finds its counterpart in the moral and spiritual freedom of man.

The effects of dæmonic possession which are constantly prominent in the Synoptists, however, appearing occasionally in Jn. and in Acts (8 7 16 16 19 16),

9. Common effects. are physical and psychical, and must be distinguished from Satanic influence such as that upon David in 1 Ch. 21 1, or upon Judas in Jn. 13 2 27. It is not a mere influence: it is a besetting internal malady. This form of possession, which presupposes a large development of the belief in daemons, is distinctive of late Jewish times, as we see not only from the Gospels, but also from the references of Josephus (especially *Ant.* viii. 2 5), and from the quasi-professional status of Jewish[1] (as previously of Egyptian and Persian) exorcists (Acts 19 13 [περιερχομένων] Mk. 9 38 Mt. 12 27; Justin, *Apol.* 26 *Trypho*, 311; Pliny, *HN* 30 2), as well as from the many methods of expulsion recorded in the Talmudic writings (Edersheim, *Life of Jesus*, *Ap.* xvi.; cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2 5 *BJ* vii. 6 3; Solomon's ring and the root *baaras*).[2]

One point to be carefully noted is that, whilst at times disease is attributed to daemons, possession is not a comprehensive word for disease in general. The practice of the Synoptists in this respect is not quite uniform.

They all, in their *summary* records of healings, agree in distinguishing the dæmonised from the sick (Mt. 10 8 Mk. 1 32 Lk. 6 17 *f.*), while Mt. (4 24) expressly distinguishes them also from the lunatic (σεληνιαζόμενοι). They all likewise, in the mention of *individual* cases, agree in speaking of maladies without making any reference to possession (Mt. 9 27-31 Lk. 17 11-19 Mk. 7 32-37). Out of twelve individual cases which Mk. records, eight are so presented; and, in the six of these recorded by Mt. and Lk., as well as in cases peculiar to them, reference to possession is also absent. Mk., in the four remaining cases, confines possession to psychical maladies, such as insanity and epilepsy; Mt. and Lk. add cases in which possession takes the form of purely *bodily* disease—dumbness, Lk. 11 14 Mt. 9 32 *f.*; dumbness and blindness, Mt. 12 22; curvature of the spine, Lk. 13 10-17. The comparison of these agreements and differences suggests that the tendency to account for purely bodily disease by possession was a tendency, not of Mt. and Lk. themselves, hut of a source or sources used by them but unknown to Mk. (see Schür. *JPT*, vol. xviii., 1892).

The drift of the evidence seems to carry us to the conclusion that the idea of possession was associated, in the main, with psychical disease (cp also Mk. 5 15 Lk. 7 33 Jn. 7 20), and this is confirmed by the hints thrown out here and there that this affliction was of all afflictions the direst and most impracticable. The peculiar emphasis laid by Jesus upon the power given to the missionary disciples to expel demons (Mt. 10 1 and parallels); the special exultation of the Seventy upon their return, 'Even the daemons are subject unto us' (Lk. 10 17); the intense amazement at the ease with which Jesus cast out the spirits (*e.g.*, Lk. 4 36), dispensing with the more elaborate incantations and manipulations of the professional exorcist;[3] the helplessness of will in the possessed; their identification of themselves with the dæmon, their aversion to deliverance (Lk. 9 39), and the wrench with which the deliverance was sometimes effected (Mk 1 24); the fact that Jesus never in these cases called for faith, but seems to have felt that only some external force, acting in spite of the subjects of the disease, could free them from it; all these considerations point to psychical, nervous disorder, which could, of course, manifest itself in various forms.

There is no sign on the part of Jesus any more than on the part of the evangelists, of mere accommodation to the current belief.

10. Attitude of Jesus. It is true that 'Satan' is used metaphorically in the rebuke of Peter (Mt. 16 23) and that 'unclean spirit' (πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον) is figurative in Mt. 12 43. Accommodation is just admissible in the

1 [On this second theory relative to the demons, viz., that they are the spirits of the (wicked) dead see Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 191 *f.*, where, on the ground of their residence in the tombs and of the passage from Josephus referred to above it is maintained that the two demoniacs in Mt. 8 28 were (though themselves) possessed by spirits of the dead.]

1 Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte*, viii., last part, 107.

2 The plant which gave rise to the fable of Baaras was probably a strange-looking crucifer described by Tristram, *Land of Moab*, who found it near Callirrhoe.

3 In one instance, that of the Gerasene demoniac, Jesus appears to have found it advisable to follow the precedent of Jewish exorcists (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2 5) and give the demoniac a visible proof of his deliverance though in a way not suggested by them. It may be observed, in passing, that the word *exorcism* is never applied to Jesus' method of expulsion, though the Jews in Acts 19 13 are called *exorcists.*

commission to the disciples (Mt. 10 8), in Jesus' exultation at their success (Lk. 10 17 *f.*), and his reproof of their failure (Mt. 17 20); or the phraseology may possibly have been coloured by the belief of the writers (as also in Mk. 1 34, where the knowledge of the daemons is described as superhuman). Acceptance of the current belief is clearly at the basis of Jesus' argument with the Pharisees in Lk. 11 16 *ff.*, however, and this is quoted by Keim as irrefragable evidence. On the other hand, the indefinite multiplication of spirits, and the grotesque functions ascribed to them in contemporary and later Jewish literature, and the wholesale belief in possession in the second century A.D., find no favour with Jesus or his biographers or in NT literature generally. While the existence of Satan's ministers is recognised, the tendency is rather to concentrate the influences for evil in Satan himself. Finally, that Jesus believed in the power of others besides himself and his disciples to expel demons in some sense, at any rate, seems clear in the presence of such passages as Mt. 12 27 Lk. 11 19, where he attributes the power to the disciples of the Pharisees; he recognises also the fact that similar success was attained by some who used his name without actually following him (Mk. 9 38), or without being more than professed disciples (Mt. 7 22). J. M.

11. Other nations. The chief foreign influence on Jewish demonology was no doubt Babylonian. It was, partly direct, partly indirect. For though Iranian superstition had an internal principle of development, it was early fertilised from Babylonia. For instance, the seven devas or arch-demons of Zoroastrianism are a reflection of the seven evil or destructive spirits who play such a part in Babylonian mythology (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634, 776), and who in a famous incantation are called 'the Seven' (see Zimmern's translation of the text. *Vater, Sohn u. Fürsprecher*, 7 *f.* ['96]), and the supposed capacity of the formula of the Ahuna-vairya to drive away the devas is but a sublimated form of the Babylonian belief in the recitation of the hymns to the gods. Hence, even when a Jewish belief, such as the grouping of seven demons, characteristic of Jewish popular superstition (Mt. 12 45 Lk. 11 26 Mk. 16 9 Lk. 8 2), appears to be shaped by Persian influences (for names of demons of Persian origin besides ASMODEUS [*q.v.*] see Hamburger, *RE* ii. 1 281), it is very possible that Babylonia gave the first impulse to Persia. The doctrine of 'disease-possession' among the Jews may very well have been taught in pre-exilic times;[1] but it is probable that it was when the Jews were conscious of the displeasure of their God, and when they became more and more exposed to foreign influences, that this doctrine attained its full dimensions, as we see it in the NT. It is not so much from Persia as from Egypt and Babylon that the stimulus for its development was derived. The Egyptian view described in Orig. c. *Cels.* 8 58 (Schurer), that the human body was divided into thirty-six members, and that with each of these was connected a separate demon, by rebuking whom a member could be cured of disease, is but a more specialised form of the doctrine of the ***Book of the Dead.***[2] The doctrine of disease among the ancient Babylonians was that the swarming demons could enter a man's body and cause sickness. On a fragment of a tablet Budge has found six evil spirits mentioned by name. The first attacked the head; the second, the lips; the third, the forehead; the fourth, the breast; the fifth, the viscera; the sixth, the hand.[3] It was the duty of the exorcist to expel these demons by incantations, and the Zoroastrians believed that Zarathustra, by reciting the formula called the Ahuna-vairya, 'caused all the devas to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about the earth in human shape.'[1] The Zoroastrian religion, therefore, gave its adherents some rest from this baleful belief. Fidelity to its law could avert the danger which arose from the existence of the devas created by Angra-mainyu. That was also a part of the mission of the Law as consolidated by Ezra, and above all of a greater than either Moses or Ezra. The 'authority and power' with which Jesus Christ 'commanded the unclean spirits' (Lk. 4 36) astonished his contemporaries, and contrasts even with the comparative facility ascribed to Zarathustra. It is hardly necessary to add that similar phenomena to those described in the Gospels are still to be met with, not only in savage districts, but also in countries of an ancient civilisation such as India and China.

On this subject see J. L. Nevins, ***Demon Possession and allied Themes; being an inductive Study of Phenomena of our own Times*** (Chicago, New York, and Toronto, 1895). Of Babylonian demonology we still lack an adequate presentation. Among the older books Lenormant's *La magie chez les Chaldéens* (1st ed., 1874) bears most directly on the subject. For evidence of the long-continued influence of Babylonian on Jewish superstition, see Stiibe, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte* ('95). On Zoroastrian beliefs, see the translation of the Zendavesta in ***SBB.*** The reduction of the heathen gods to mere δαιμόνια, which we find accomplished in the later biblical writings, finds its parallel in the conversion of the 'bright' beings of the old Aryan mythology into the evil demons of the Persian (see PERSIA); see further the articles 'Geister' 'Magie,' 'Zauberei,' 'Aberglaube' in Hamburger's ***RE***, also F. C. Conybeare 'The Demonology of the NT' in *JQR*, 1894-1897; W. R. Newdold, 'Demon Possession and Allied Themes,' ***New World***, Sept. 1897, pp. 499 *ff.*

G. B. G. §§ 1-5; J. M. §§ 6-10; T. K. C. § 11.

DEMOPHON (ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ [AV]), one of the commandants (*στρατηγοί*) of a district in Palestine in the time of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 12 2).

DEPOSIT. The OT law of deposit is laid down in E (Ex. 22 7-13 [6-12]; cp the paraphrase in Jos. ***Ant.*** iv. 8 38).

With the exception of ***v.*** 9 [8] the law is clear. Two kinds of deposit are specified: (*a*) money (כֶּסֶף), or goods (מְלֶאכֶת כֵּלִים), (*b*) ass, ***ox***, sheep, or any beast. (*b*) To take the second group of cases first: if the deposit be stolen the depositary must make restitution (12 [11]). Should it be torn by wild beasts the production of a piece is sufficient witness, and a man cannot be called upon to make good that which was torn (13 [12], cp CATTLE, § 9). Where culpability cannot be made out the depositary swears that he is innocent and the depositor is bound to accept his word (10 *f.* [9 *f.*]). (*a*) In cases of the first description, should the deposit be stolen, the thief, if found, must restore twofold 7 [6], cp *v.* 4 [3]); if the culprit be not found the depositary must come before the Elōhim and swear that he has not put his hand to his neighbour's property (8 [7]). The result must have been as above in ***vv.*** ***11 f.*** that the depositor was bound to accept his word. Verse 9 [8] alone remains and is not easily reconciled with the foregoing; it may be a later law added to cover general cases (both *a* and *b*) involving alleged gross carelessness, false accusations, and libel.[2]

The later law of Lev. 6 2-7 [5 21-26] applies the **law** of the 'guilt offering' to sin and trespass in '**a** matter of deposit' (so RV; פִּקָּדוֹן; *παραθήκη, depositum*). The only case here contemplated, however, is that in which voluntary confession is made, the penitent depositary is to make restitution in full, add the fifth part more thereto, and offer **a** ram to Yahwè. Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 17.

The use of the words παραθήκη, παρατιθέναι, παρακαταθήκη, and παρακατατιθέναι in 𝔊 (Lev. 6 2 4 Tob. 10 13 [12] ['I commit my daughter unto thee in special trust'] 2 Macc. **3** 10 15 9 25 Jer. **40** 7 41 10) sufficiently explains the expressions in 1 Tim. 6 20 2 Tim. 1 12 14 (RVmg. 'deposit' in all three cases). At Jerusalem (as at Rome, Olympia, Delphi, and elsewhere) a large amount of

[1] [The sacrifices to the *śe'īrīm* [2 K. 23 8, as emended by ***G.*** Hoffmann, *ZATW* 2 175 ('82); Lev. 17 7] may have been in part designed to avert diseases (cp the Arabian belief in *jinn* described by We. *Ar. Heid.* 138, 2nd ed. 154; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 120). Cp also the rite of AZAZEL.]

[2] For the ancient Egyptian belief, cp Maspero, ***Dawn of Civ.*** **214.**

[3] *TSBA* 6 422 ['78]; cp Maspero, Dawn *of Civ.* 683, 780.

[1] Yasna 9 15, in Mills' translation (*Zendav.* 3 235).

[2] האלהים in ***vv.*** 8 9 [7 8], as in Ex. **21** 6 1 S. 2 25, means the divinity as represented by the priestly exponents of the law at the sanctuary.

wealth ('which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices,' but was in fact private property) was consigned to the safe custody of the temple *(see* the story of Heliodorus in 2 Macc. 3, where in *v.* 15 express reference is made to the 'law concerning deposits'). See EARNEST, PLEDGE. Cp DIANA, § 3

DEPUTY. 1. סָגָן, *sāgān*, Ass. *šaknu*,[1] lit. 'one appointed,', 'set over' (𝔊BNAQL ηγεμων, etc.), the official title *(a)* of a certain officer of high grade under the Babylonian empire (Jer. 51 23 28 57 Ezek. 23 6 12 23; see also Is. 41 25†; AV usually 'ruler' or [Dan. 3 2 etc. סִגְנִין, סִגְנַיָּא] 'governor,' RV or RVmg. 'deputy'; 𝔊87 ὑπάτους), frequently mentioned in conjunction with 'governors' (*paḥōth*). (6) Of certain administrative officers in Judæa in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 9 2 Neh. 2 16 4 14 19 [8 13], 5 7 17 7 5 12 40 13 11); mentioned sometimes in conjunction with 'princes' (*śārīm*). See GOVERNMENT, § 26.

2. פֶּחָה, *peḥāh* (Esth. 8 9 9 3 AV). *See* GOVERNOR, 1.

3. נִצָּב, *niṣṣāb*, 1 K. 22 47 [48] [16 28*e* 𝔊BL] (εστηλωμενος [A] νασ[ε]ιβ [BL]). See EDOM, § 7.

4. ἀνθύπατος, Acts 13 7 etc. RV PROCONSUL [*q.v.*]. Cp CYPRUS, § 4.

DERBE (ΔΕΡΒΗ [Ti. WH; Str.], ΔΕΡΒΑΙ [Hier. *Synec.* 675]). Paul visited Derbe at least twice (Acts 14 20 16 1), and probahly once again, in his third journey (Acts 18 23 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order'). From the fact that the name does not occnr in the list of places in which he had suffered persecution (2 Tim. 3 11), it may perhaps be inferred that the work of evangelisntion encountered no obstacle there. That success attended the apostles at Derbe we learn from Acts 14 21. Gaius, one of Paul's companions from Corinth to Asia, was a native of the town (Acts 20 4).

1. Site. From Steph. Byz. we learn that the town was called also Δέλβεια, 'which in the Lycaonian tongue signifies a juniper-bush.' The site was approximately discorered by Sterrett, who put it between Bossola and Zosta (or Losta), villages two miles apart (*Wolfe Exped.* 23). Ramsay, however, says that the ruins at Bossola are merely those of a Seljuk khan, whilst those at Zosta have all been transported thither from some other site. The great site of the district is the mound of Gudelissin in the plain about 3 m. NW. of Zosta, and 45 m. S. of Konia, (Iconium) at the foot of the Masallah Dagh. The mound is of the class called by Strabo (537) 'mounds of Semiramis,' which are largely artificial, and of Oriental origin. It contains numerous traces of Roman occupation. The earliest city of Derbe must be sought in the mountains to the south.

This situation agrees with the notices in Strabo. After describing the ten Strategiai of Cappadocia, he adds that in the first century B.C. there was an eleventh Strategia, consisting of part of Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia (535, ἡ περὶ Καστάβαλά τε καὶ Κύβιστρα μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ λῃστοῦ Δέρβης). He refers to the same district (537) as the additional (ἐπίκτητος) Strategia. Derbe is further described as lying on the frontier of Isauria (Str. 569, τῆς δ' Ἰσαυρικῆς ἔστιν ἐν πλευραῖς ἡ Δέρβη); the words which immediately follow (μάλιστα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπιπεφυκὸς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τυραννεῖον) refer to the fact that it was also on the frontier of the eleventh Strategia, an external addition to Cappadocia as above described. It is clear that Strabo's eleventh Strategia is identical with Ptolemy's 'Strategia Antiochiane, in which he enumerates Derbe (Ptol. 5 6).

2. History. Derbe was the stronghold of the brigand chief Antipater (Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* 13 73; Str. 535, 569, ὁ Δερβήτης). When, however, King Amyntas slew Antipater, he added the town to his own Lycaonian and Galatian dominions (29-27 B.C.).

On the death of Amyntas himself in 25 B.C. the larger part of his kingdom was made by the Romans into the province Galatia; hut apparently Derbe, along with Cilicia Tracheia (*i.e.*, the eleventh Strategia), was given to Archelaos, king of Cappadocia *(circa* 20 B.C.). When Archelaos died in 17 A.D. the Cappadocian part of his kingdom was taken over by the Romans; but the Lycaonian part was left to his son Archelaos II., who was still reigning in 36 A.D. (cp Tac. *Ann.* 2 42 6 41). Two years later the region described by Strabo as the eleventh Strategia, and by Ptolemy as the Strategia Antiochiane, was assigned by Caligula to Antiochus IV. and Iotape Philadelphos. Soon afterwards Antiochus lost favour, and was deprived of his kingdom. In 41 A.D. Claudius restored the territory to Antiochus and Iotape, who ruled until 72 A.D. It appears, however, that on this restoration the Lycaonian section of the realm of Antiochus was detached and permanently assigned to Galatia. Derbe therefore became part of that province. The transference was due to the importance of the town as a frontier post in the SE. of the Roman province. Claudius remodelled its constitution and honoured the place with the title Claudio-Derhe (see Rams. *Hist. Geog. of AM*, 336, 371 *f.*, and *Church in Rom. Emp.* 54).

Thus we can understand how at the time of Paul's visit (46 or 48 A.D.) Derbe could be correctly described as a city of Lycaonia (Acts 14 6), for so it was from the point of view of geography or ethnography. Politically, however, Derbe belonged to the province of Galatia, and it is argued by Ramsay that in the language of polite address its inhabitants must have been ἄνδρες Γαλάται (Gal. 3 1). not Λυκάονες, which latter term signified the population of the non-Roman part of Lycaonia (see, however, GALATIA). W. J. W.

DESERT. The English word 'desert' ordinarily means a sterile sandy plain without vegetation and water

1. General meaning. —a 'sea of sand,' such as, *e.g.*, parts of the Sahara. This is not the meaning of the Hebrew words. No desert of this kind was known to Israel either before or after the occupation of Canaan. The districts to which the term 'desert' is applied in EV are, at the present day. frequently covered with vegetation, and were probably even more prosperous in the past (see more fully the articles on the place-names enumerated in § 3). 'Wilderness,' by which the Hebrew terms are sometimes translated, is a somewhat better rendering; but it is not always adequate. It will be convenient here to record the Hebrew words, and to indicate other terms of analogous meaning.

(1) חָרְבָּה, *ḥorbāh* (from חרב 'to lay waste,' ἔρημος; also ἐρημία, Ezek. 35 4, ἐρήμωσις, Jer. 7 34 [BAQ] 22 5; οἰκόπεδον Ps. 102 6 [7],

2. Hebrew terms. 'desert,' RV 'waste places'; *so* EV 'waste,' Lev. 26 31 Is. 61 4; or 'desolation,' Jer. 44 2; cp Ezek. 38 12 AV only), used of cities and regions formerly inhabited but now lying waste or in ruins from war or neglect; cp Jer. 44 2, 'the cities are a desolation and no man dwelleth therein'; hence in threats (*e.g.*, Lev. *l.c.*), or in promises (with בָּנָה, קוֹמֵם)—once with reference to the wilderness of wanderings (Is. 48 21).

(2) יְשִׁימוֹן, *yešīmōn* (√ישם, 'be desolate'; for cognates see below, 7), [γῆ] ἄνυδρος, used of a district riverless and uninhabited (Is. 43 19, EV 'desert,' ‖ מִדְבָּר), of the wilderness of wanderings (Dt. 32 10, EV 'wilderness'; Ps. 78 40, EV 'desert,' ‖ מִדְבָּר); otherwise, a geographical designation; cp § 3, 2, 3, and see BETH-JESHIMOTH, JESHIMON.

(3) מִדְבָּר, *midbār* (ἔρημος, etc.; once [Is. 41 19] ἄνυδρος γῆ; AV 'desert,' RV 'wilderness'. but in Gen. 14 6, etc., EV 'wilderness'; once, Ps. 75 6 [7], Ed 'south' [RVmg. 'wilderness of the mountains'[1]]). The idea of 'desert' is totally foreign to this word (on its derivation see CATTLE, § 5). *Midbār* is a district possessing pastures (Joel 2 22, Ps. 65 12 [13]) and cities (Is. 42 11), but occupied by nomads, not by settled tillers of the soil (cp esp. Nu. 14 33). It is commonly employed to denote the wilderness of wanderings, which itself is a mountainous region, not without pasture grounds, and so devoid of sand that the one tract which forms an exception has the characteristic name *Debbet er-Ramleh*, 'plain of sand'; see below, § 3, 1.

(4) עֲרָבָה, *'ărābāh* (ἄραβα [ἡ πρὸς δυσμαῖς, Josh. 11 16, etc.]), in poetical literature often occurs in parallelism with *midbār* (Is. 35 1 [ἔρημος] 40 3 41 19, EV 'desert'). In Jer. 50 12 it approximates more closely to the modern idea of 'desert' (cp Is. 35 1 Jer. 51 43; ‖ צִיָּה); but in historical writings (early and late) it is a geographical term (see § 3, *n*, below).

(5) צִיָּה, *ṣiyyāh* ('dry land' [so Ps. 63 1 (2), EV], Job 30 3, AV RVmg. 'wilderness,' RV 'dry ground': cp צָיוֹן, 'dry place,' Is. 25 5 32 2), used of the wilderness of wanderings, Ps. 78 17 (AV 'wilderness,' RV 'desert,' RVmg. 'dry land'). For צִיִּים, dwellers of the 'desert' (Is. 13 21 34 14, EV; also 23 13, AV; referring to wild beasts) or 'wilderness' (Ps. 72 9 74 14, EV; referring to human beings), see CAT, WILD BEASTS.

[1] Whence Gr. ζωγάνης (Ges. *Lex.*(13)). On its relation to סֹכֵן see TREASURER, 2.

[1] The passage is obscure (see Ba., Del.), and, according to Che., deeply corrupt.

A still more forcible term is—

(6) תֹּהוּ, *tōhū* (Ps. 107 40 Job 12 24; EV 'wilderness'), used of the wilderness of wandering, Dt. 32 10 (with יְלֵל יְשִׁמֹן, 'howling waste'). The word (cp *et-Tīh*) suggests the idea of wasteness and confusion (Jer. 4 23 Job 26 7 Is. 24 10; cp Ecclus. 41 10 [Heb.]), such as existed before the creation (Gen. 1 2, see CREATION, § 7). For the sake of completeness mention may be made also of :—

(7) שַׁמָּה, *šammāh* (Is. 5 9 Jer. 42 18), שְׁמָמָה (Is. 17 6 11), [illegible] (Ezek. 35 7), all of which involve the idea of a devastation, not a natural state (√שמם; cp no. 2).

(8) שָׁרָב, *šārāb*, Is. 35 7 (ἡ ἄνυδρος), RV 'glowing sand,' RVmg. MIRAGE (*q.v.*). AV 'parched ground' is preferable; cp Aram. *šerab*, 'to be burnt or dried up,' and see Che. *Intr. Is.* 269. The NT terms to be mentioned are :—

(9) ἐρημία (*e.g.*, Heb. 11 38, EV 'desert,' Mt. 15 33, 'wilderness,' RV 'desert place') and ἔρημος (*e.g.*, Mt. 14 13, EV 'desert').

The chief districts and regions to which the above terms are applied may be here enumerated.

3. Geographical applications.

1. The most prominent is that which was the scene of the wanderings of Israel. It is commonly called *ham-midbār* (Dt. 1 1, etc.); but other geographical terms (Shur, Sinai, etc.; see GEOGRAPHY, § 7) are added to indicate more particularly the region intended. On the character of this tract, which stretches from the S. border of Palestine to Elath and forms the W. boundary of Edom, see SINAI. The only part which can fairly be described as a desert is the bare and parched district of et-Tih, and it is here that D and (more elaborately) P place the forty years' wanderings (see WANDERINGS, §§ 10 *f.* 16), and with this agrees the circumstance that it is only in the later writings that the horror and lonesomeness of the 'wilderness' is referred to (*e.g.*, Dt. 8 5).

2. The great crack or depression which includes the Jordan valley, and extends N. to Antioch and S. to the gulf of *'Aḳabah*, is the second great 'desert.' To the N. lay the midbar *Riblah* (Ezek. 6 14), midbar *Damascus* (1 K. 19 5); cp perhaps the ἐρημία of Mt. 15 33. The well-known geographical term *'Arābāh* (see above, § 2, 4) is confined chiefly to the lower half (cp midbar *Moab*, Dt. 2 8 Nu. 21 11; midbar *Kedemoth*, Dt. 2 26; *midbar Bezer*, Dt. 4 43), see ARABAH.[1] To the NE. of the Dead Sea is applied also the term 'Jĕshīmōn' (see JESHIMON). Allusions to the Arābah on the W. side of the Jordan are found in 2 S. 15 23 28 17 16, and in it we should perhaps include the *midbar Beth-Aven* (Josh. 18 12), *midbar Gibeon* (2 S. 2 24; but see GIBEON), *midbar Jericho* (Jos. 16 1), and the references in Judg. 20 42 *ff.* 1 S. 13 18. Here, too, was probably the ἔρημος of the narrative of the Temptation (Mt. 4 1). See further DEAD SEA, § 2.

3. The third tract is the *midbar Judah* (Josh. 15 61, Judg. 1 16), the E. part of which, along the Dead Sea, is called Jĕshīmōn (1 S. 23 19 24 26 13); special limitations are the *midbar Maon* ('in the Arābah' 1 S. 23 24 *f.*), *midbar Ziph* (*ib.* 23 14), and *midbar En-gedi* (1 S. 24 2 [1]). To the N. it approached the Arābah. Here are found the *midbar Tekoa* (2 Ch. 20 20; cp *midbar Jeruel*, *ib.* 16), and probably the *midbar* of 1 K. 2 34 (Bethlehem? cp 2 S. 2 32, and see ATROTH-BETH-JOAB). To the S. lay Tamar '*in the midbar*' (1 K. 9 18, בארץ is a gloss), probably forming part of the great *midbar* in no. 1 above. On the 'desert' (ἔρημος) of Acts 8 26, see GAZA. *See*, further, DEAD SEA, JUDAH, PALESTINE, § 11.

4. For the desert-like tracts to the E. of Jordan (stretching to the Euphrates, 1 Ch. 5 9) see BASHAN, PALESTINE, § 12.

S. A. C.

DESIRE (אֲבִיּוֹנָה), Eccl. 12 5 AV, RVmg.; RV CAPER-BERRY (*q.v.*).

DESSAÜ, RV LESSAU (Δεσσαου [V vid.], λεσσαου [A]), a village (in Judaea) where NICANOR (*q.v.*) appears to have fought with Judas (2 Macc. 14 16). Possibly ADASA is meant (Ew. *Hist.* 4 321); but the Greek text is here not free from corruption.

[1] On Am. 6 14 see ARABAH, BROOK OF.

DESTINY (מְנִי), Is. 65 11 RV. See FORTUNE AND DESTINY.

DESTROYER, THE (הַמַּשְׁחִית, Ex. 12 23, τον ολεθρευοντα, cp Heb. 11 28; ο ολοθρευων, Wisd. 18 25; ο ολοθρευτης, 1 Cor. 10 10).

In his account of the last plague, J implies that the death of the first-born was the work of the Destroyer. In the light of 2 S. 24 16, where the angel of Yahwè is described as 'the angel that destroyed the people' (המשחית בעם), and of 2 K. 19 35 = Is. 37 36, where the destruction of the Assyrian army is attributed to the 'angel of Yahwè,' we should be ready to infer that the 'Destroyer' of the firstborn is not a being distinct from Yahwè, but rather 'the angel of Yahwè' himself; *i.e.*, the term denotes a self-manifestation of Yahwè in destructive activity (cp THEOPHANY, § 4). This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the narrative speaks of 'The Destroyer' or Yahwè (*v.* 29) indifferently, just as other narratives use the terms 'angel of Yahwè' and 'Yahwè' interchangeably. Cp also Ex. 12 27 (Rd). The 'destroyer' is clearly identified with Yahwè by the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who attributes the death of the firstborn to the word of God (Wisd. 18 14-16). The meaning attributed to the term by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews (11 28) is less clear.

The death of the Israelites in the plague recorded in Nu. 16 41-50 [17 6-15] is attributed directly to God. In Wisd. 18 25 it is said that these people perished by the 'Destroyer'; but here, again, the Destroyer seems to be identified by the writer with God (cp Grimm on the passage, *vv.* 20-25); and the same identification is possibly intended by Paul (1 Cor. 10 10). On the other hand, in 4 Macc. 7 11 the executor of death appears as a distinct angel; and generally[1] in later Jewish literature the angel of death (מלאכא דמותא) has a well-marked and distinct individuality (cp Weber, *Altsyn. Theol.*[(2)] 247 *ff.*) and is identified with Satan or the Devil (cp in NT Heb. 2 14 *f.* 1 Pet. 5 8). All this is quite foreign to the belief underlying Ex. 12 23.

It is quite in accordance with the general character of the Priestly Code, which avoids reference to angels or to the theophanic 'angel of Yahwè' (cp ANGEL, § 6), that משחית, which is used in the personal sense of 'destroyer' by J (Ex. 12 23), is used as an abstract term—destruction—by P (12 13 [RVmg. 'a destroyer']; cp Ezek. 5 16 21 36 [31] 25 15). A plurality of beings who accomplish the death of men is referred to in Job 33 22 by the term ממיתים ('slayers'), which is rendered in RV 'destroyers.' According to some commentators, such angelic ministers of death form the unnamed subject of the plural verb in Lk. 12 20.

G. B. G.

DESTRUCTION (αβαδδων), Rev. 9 11; RV ABADDON (*q.v.*).

DESTRUCTION, CITY OF (עִיר הַהֶרֶס), Is. 19 18; see HERES, CITY OF.

DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF (הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית; του ορους του μοσοαθ [B], τ. ο. τ. μοσοθ [Avid.], τ. ο. αμεσσωθ [L], 2 K. 23 13, RVmg.), a name so read by the later Jews on account of the idolatrous 'high places' spoken of. Tradition identified the mountain with the Mount of Olives (so Tg., followed by AVmg.), and the name has been supposed to have a double meaning—'mount of oil' (cp Aram. מְשַׁח) and 'mount of destruction' (so Rashi, Buxtorf). A much better explanation can be given.

Hoffmann (*ZATW* 2 175) and Perles (*Analekten*, 31) prefer to read הַר־הַמִּשְׁחָה, 'mount of oil,' with some MSS; משחית will then be a deliberate alteration of the text. Considering, however, that we have no evidence for a Heb. word משחה 'oil,' it is

[1] In Targ. Jon. to Hab. 8 5, however, where מלאך מותא is parallel to מימריה (*i.e.*, מימרא דיי) the distinction is not so manifest

better to suppose that the 'mount which is on the east of, Jerusalem' (1 K. 11 7) was anciently called, not only 'the ascent of the olives' (2 S. 15 30), and in a late prophecy 'the mount of olives' (Zech. 14 4), hut הַר־הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים ('mount of those who worship'), of which הַר־הַמַּשְׁחִית would be a purely accidental corruption. Cp 2 S. 15 32, 'And when David had come to the summit, where men are wont to worship the deity' (אשר ישתחוה שם לאלהים), which comes near proving that this view is correct. Observe, too, that the Mt. of Olives appears to be once referred to as the 'hill of God' (Is. 10 32 emended text). See NOB.

Brocardus (1283 A.D.) gives the name *Mons Offensionis* (cp Vg.) to the most southern eminence of the Mt. of Olives, because Solomon set up there the image of Moloch; on the northern summit, afterwards called *Mons Scandali*, he placed the idol of Chemosh. Quaresmius, however (*circa* 1630 A.D.), calls the southern ridge *Mons Offensionis et Scandali*. Gratz, after a full discussion, pronounces in favour of the northern summit, *i.e.*, the 'Viri Galilæi' (*MGWJ*, '73, p. 97 *ff.*); so also Stanley (*SP* 188, n. 2). No doubt this view is correct; Solomon would certainly prefer an eminence already consecrated by tradition.

The phrase 'mount of destruction' is found also in Jer. 51 25 as a symbolic term for Babylon (EV 'destroying mountain').

T. K. C.

DEUEL (דְּעוּאֵל), Nu. 1 14; see REUEL (3).

DEUTERONOMY. The name comes ultimately from the Greek translation of Dt. 17 18, in which the words מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת, 'the duplicate (*i.e.*, a copy) of this law,' are rendered τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο.[1] As a title of the book, Δευτερονόμιον (without the article) occurs first in Philo.[2] Philo takes the word to mean 'second or supplementary legislation,' and more than once cites the book as Ἐπινομίς.[3] Others, with Theodoret, explain the name, 'repetition, recapitulation of the law.' Criticism has shown that Deuteronomy is neither a supplement to the legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, nor a *résumé* of it; but to modern critics also it is the Second Legislation, an expansion and revision of older collections of laws such as are preserved in Ex. 21-23 34.

1. Name and contents.

Deuteronomy contains the last injunctions and admonitions of Moses, delivered to Israel in the land of Moab, as they were about to cross the Jordan to the conquest of Canaan; and, with the exception of chaps. 27 31 34, and a few verses elsewhere, is all in the form of address. It is not, however, one continuous discourse, but consists of at least three distinct speeches (1-4 40, 5-26, 28, 29 *f.*), together with two poems recited by Moses in the hearing of the people (32 *f.*). The narrative chapters record doings and sayings of Moses in the last days of his life, and are more or less closely connected with the speeches. Besides this unity of situation and subject there is a certain unity of texture; the sources from which the other books of the Hexateuch are chiefly compiled (JE, P) are in Deuteronomy recognisable only in the narrative chapters, and in a few scattered fragments in the speeches; a strong and distinctive individuality of thought, diction, and style pervades the entire book

It was observed by more than one of the fathers that Deuteronomy is the book the finding of which in the temple gave the impulse to the reform of the eighteenth year of Josiah (622-621 B.C.).[5] In conformity with the prescriptions of the newly discovered book, the king not only extirpated the various foreign religions which had been introduced in ancient or recent times, together with the rites and symbols of a heathenish worship of Yahwè, but also destroyed the high places of Yahwè, desecrating every altar in the land except that in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 22 *f.*). In Deuteronomy, and there alone, all the laws thus enforced are found; the inference is inevitable that Deuteronomy furnished the reformers with their new model. This is confirmed by the references to the book found in the temple as 'the law-book' (2 K. 22 8 11; cp 23 24 *f.*) and 'the covenant book' (23 2 *f.* 21).

2. Book found in Temple.[4]

The former of these names is found in the Pentateuch only in the secondary parts of Dt. (28 61 29 20 30 10 31 24 26), and, like the phrase 'this law' (48 27 38 29 29), signifies Dt. or the deuteronomic legislation exclusively; 'covenant book' is an appropriate designation for a book in which the covenant, of Yahwè with Israel (see COVENANT, § 6) is an often recurring theme (5 2 *f.* 17 2 29 1 4 13 23 29 9 12 14 21 25, etc.).[1]

That the book read by Shaphan before Josiah was Deuteronomy has been inferred also from the king's consternation (2 K. 22 11 *ff.*), which seems to show that the law was accompanied by such denunciations of the consequences of disobedience as are found especially in Dt. 28.

The opinion, once very generally entertained, that the book found by Hilkiah was the whole Pentateuch, is no longer tenable. In addition to arguments of more or less weight drawn from the narrative in Kings,—that the whole Pentateuch would hardly be described as a law-book; that a book as long as the Pentateuch could not be read through twice in a single day (2 K. 22 8 10); that, with the entire legislation before him, the king would not have based his reforms on deuteronomic laws exclusively,—recent investigation has proved that the priestly legislation in the Pentateuch was not united with Deuteronomy till long after the time of Josiah.[2] Modern critics are, therefore, almost unanimous in the opinion that the law-book, the discovery and the introduction of which are related in 2 K. 22 *f.* (see next §), is to be sought in Deuteronomy; and they are very generally agreed, further, that the book was written either in the earlier years of Josiah, or at least under one of his next predecessors, Manasseh or Hezekiah (see § 16).

The soundness of these conclusions has recently been impugned by several French and German scholars (Seinecke, Havet, d'Eichthal, Vernes, Horst),[3] on the ground, partly of sweeping doubts concerning the trustworthiness of 2 K. 22 *f.*, partly of peculiar theories of the composition of Dt. These theories cannot be discussed here; but the great importance of 2 K. 22 *f.*, in the modern construction of the history of Hebrew literature and religion, makes it necessary to examine briefly the historical character of those chapters. It is generally agreed that the account of Josiah's reforms as it lies before us, is the work of an author of the deuteronomic school, who wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem. If this author had drawn solely upon oral tradition, he might well have derived his information from eye-witnesses of the events of 621; but it seems to be demonstrable that in 22 3-23 24 he made use of an older written source, a contemporary account of Josiah's reign, which was probably included in the pre-exilic history of the kings. This narrative was wrought over and enlarged by the exilic writer; in particular, the original response of Huldah, which was not confirmed by the event, was superseded, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., by a wholly different one, in which the judgment is represented as inevitable (22 15-20; cp 23 26 *f.*); 23 15-20, also, is generally recognised as a legendary addition; but, notwithstanding these changes, the outlines of the original account can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence, and it appears to be in all respects deserving of credence.[4] See KINGS.

3. Account in 2 K. 22 *f.*

The historical evidence proves only that the law-book which was put into force by Josiah contained certain deuteronomic laws concerning religion, not that it comprised the whole of the present Book of Deuteronomy. A superficial examination of the book shows that the latter cannot have been the case.

4. Josiah's Dt. = chaps. 5-26 28

Chaps. 31-34 are composite. Besides the *two* poems, 32 1-43 and 33, they contain the links which connect not only Dt.

[1] Cp also Josh. 8 32.

[2] *Leg. Alleg.* 3, § 61; *Quod Deus immut.* § 10. See Ryle *Philo and Holy Scripture*, xxiii *f.* The corresponding Hebrew title, ספר משנה תורה, is found occasionally in the Talmud and Midrash as well as in the Massora.

[3] *Quis rerum div. heres*, § 33. See Ryle, as above.

[4] Cp HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE, ISRAEL, § 37 *f.*

[5] Athanas., Chrysost., Jerome.

[1] Ex. 21-23, often called by modern scholars 'The Covenant Book' (see 24 7), cannot be meant; for, so far from putting the high places under the ban, these laws assume the existence and legitimacy of many local sanctuaries (see 21 6 23 14 *ff.*; cp 20 24).

[2] See CANON, § 23 *f.*, and the articles on the several books of the Pentateuch; also HEXATEUCH, LAW LITERATURE.

[3] For the titles, see below, § 33 (2).

[4] See St. *GVI* 1 649 *ff.*; Kue. *Ond.*(2) 1 417 *f.*, cp 407.

but also the narratives of JE and P in Nu. with Josh. Chap. 27, also in narrative form, may, both on external and on internal grounds, with equal confidence he set aside.[1] What remains (1-26 *28-30)* is all in the form of address; but even this is not a unit, as is shown by the fresh superscriptions in 5 1 12 1 29 2, and the formal closes in 26 16-19 and 29 1 [28 69] ; in particular, 1 1-4 and 4 44-49 are completely parallel introductions, which strictly exclude each other. Chaps. **5-26** contain no allusion to a former discourse such as 1-4 40 ; nor do the latter chapters form a natural introduction to 5-26 or **12-26.** Chaps. 1-4 are distinguished also by slight but not insignificant, peculiarities of style, and more decisive differences of historical representation. The short prophetic discourse, 29 *f.*, hears all the marks of a later addition to the hook ; 29 1 [28 69] is a formal subscription ; the following chapters have their own brief superscription ; the tone of 29 *f.* is noticeably different from that of the exhortations and warnings in the body of the hook.

Most recent critics conclude that the original Deuteronomy contained only the one long speech of Moses, 5-26 28, to which 445-49 is the introduction and 291 [28 69] the conclusion.

Others, urging that the book put into the hands of Josiah is uniformly described as a law-book, infer that

5. Not simply chaps. 12-26. it is to be sought in Dt. 12-26 alone ; 5-11, as well as 1-4, is an introduction subsequently prefixed to the original Deuteronomy by another hand. This conclusion is confirmed by the way in which the author of 5-11 dilates on the motives for keeping the laws, as though the laws themselves were already known to his readers.[2]

Against this view, which would limit the primitive Dt. to 12-26. it is argued that the law-book itself presupposes some such introduction as is found in 5-11.

In 12-26 there is nothing to show when or by whom the law was promulgated ; 5 1 supplies precisely the information which 12 1 presumes ; 5 2-22 recites the covenant at Horeb, with the Decalogue, its fundamental law ; 5 23 *ff.* explains the relation of the laws now about to he delivered to that former law and covenant. To this answers **29 1** [28 69], which is the subscription, not to 28 alone, but to the whole law-hook : 'These are the words of the covenant which Yahwè commanded Moses to make with the Israelites in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them at Horeb.

The situation supposed in 12-26 is throughout the same as that described in 5-11. The language and style of the two portions present just that degree of resemblance and of difference which, remembering the difference of subject matter, we should expect to find in the writing of one author ; nothing indicates diversity of origin.[3]

In regard to chap. 28 also, critics are divided. Wellhausen finds in 28 58 61—where, as in 30 10, the law is already a book—evidence that 28, as well as 29 *f.*, is secondary ; these three chapters formed the conclusion of an enlarged edition of the law-book, to which 5-11 was the introduction.[4] On independent grounds, however, 28 47-68 is to be recognised as a later addition to the chapter, and with these verses the only reason for connecting 28 with the two following chapters disappears. Not only are they separated by 29 1 *f.* [28 69 and 29 1], but also the whole attitude and outlook of 29 *f.* are different from those of 28 1-46. On the other hand, it would be natural for the author of 12-26 to conclude his book by urging as strongly as he could the motives to obedience, and solemnly warning his readers of the consequences of disobedience. Similar exhortations and warnings are found at the end of the so-called Covenant Book (Ex. 23 20 *ff.*), and at the end of the Law of Holiness (Lev. 26), the latter passage being strikingly parallel to Dt. 28; and such a peroration was the more appropriate in Dt., because its laws are all in the form of address. The profound impression made upon the king by the reading of the book is most naturally explained if it expressly and emphatically denounced the wrath of God against the nation which had so long ignored his law.

The Deuteronomy of 621 B.C. has not come into our

1 See below, § 21.
2 See Wellh. *CH* 191-195 ; Valeton, *Stud.* 6 157 *ff.* ; St. *GVI* 1 61 *f.*
3 See Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 5-11 ; Di. *Comm.* 263 *f.* ; **Dr.** *Dt.* 65 *ff.*
4 *CH* 192 195. Chaps. 1-4 and 27 were the introduction and conclusion, respectively, of another edition.

hands unchanged. Not only have the exhortations and

6. Later pieces in chaps. 12-26. warnings been amplified and heightened, but also, in all probability, many additions have been made to the laws. At the very beginning of the code in 12, and in connection with the most distinctive of the Deuteronomic ordinances—the restriction of sacrifice to Jerusalem—there are unmistakable doublets ; cp 12 5-7 with 11 *f.*, and especially 15-19 with 20-28. In the following chapters a good many laws are suspected, because of their contents, or the unsuitable place in which they stand.

Thus, the detailed prescriptions of 14 3-20 are foreign to the usual manner of Dt. (cp 24 8 *f.*), and appear to be closely related to Lev. 11 ; the law of the kingdom, 17 14-20, represents the law as written (thus anticipating 31 9 26), is in conflict with the legitimate prerogatives of the monarch, and is clearly dependent on 1 S. 8 4 *ff.* 10 25 ; the rules for the conduct of war in 20 are not reconcilable with the necessities of national defence, and can hardly have been dreamed of before the 'exile.' To others, however, the utopian character of these laws seems not a sufficient reason for excluding them from the primitive Deuteronomy.[1]

While many of the instances alleged by critics are in themselves susceptible of a different explanation, there seems to be sufficient evidence that the Deuteronomic code received many additions before the book reached its present form. Certain supplementary provisions may have been introduced soon after the law was subjected to the test of practice ; others in the Exile ; while still others probably date from the period of the restoration ; cp HIST. LIT. § 6 *f.*

In 5-11 also, it is evident that the original contents

7. In chaps. 5-11 28. of the chapters have been amplified, and their order and connection disturbed by later hands.

The story of the sin at Horeh in 9 *f.* is a long and confused digression. Chap. 7 16 25 *f.* repeats 1-5 ; 1-5 is separated from 12-15 by 6-11, which has no obvious appositeness in this place; 17-24 intrudes in the same way between 16 and 25 *f.* Similar phenomena may he observed in the following chapters.[3] Nor has **28** come down to **us** unaltered. Verses 45 *f.* plainly mark what was, at one stage of its history, the end of the chapter of comminations. The two pieces which follow, 47-57 and 58-68, are shown by internal evidence to he additions, presupposing the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the miserable remnant of the people, the consequence of neglecting 'the words of this law, which are written in this book' (58 ; cp also 61). Verses 36 *f.* also, which threaten the deportation of the king and people in phrases derived from Jeremiah (with 35, which repeats 27), are probably glosses.[3]

In the Hebrew legislation three strata are to be recognised : the collections of laws incorporated in JE

8. D's laws : relation to P and JE. (Ex. 21-23, often called the Book of the Covenant ; Ex. **34)** ; the Law of Holiness, contained (in a priestly recension) in Lev. 17-26 and cognate passages (H); and the rest of the laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, predominantly liturgical, ceremonial, and sacerdotal, which, though not all of the same age or origin, may here be treated as forming a single body of priestly law (P). The result of modern criticism has been to establish more and more conclusively that P, as a whole, is later than Deuteronomy.[4] On the other hand, it is

1 For a list of passages in 12-26 which have been challenged by critics, see Holz. *Einl.* 263 *ff.* ; cp also Horst, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 27 135 *ff.* ['93]. Analyses of the legislation have recently been attempted by Staerk, *Das Deut.*, 1894, and Stenernagel, *Die Entsteh. d. deut. Gesetzes*, 1896. For a sketch of these theories see Addis, *Documents of the* **Hexateuch,** 2 15-19 ['98]. The substantial unity of the laws is maintained by Kue. *Hex.* § 14, nn. 1-7. Against Horst, see especially Piepenbring, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 29 136 *ff.* ['94].
2 Valeton *(Stud.* 6 157-174) and Horst *(Rw. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 16 39 *ff.* 18 320 *ff.*, cp 27 174) have gone farthest in the attempt to eliminate the secondary elements in 5-11. See Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 6 ; Piepenbring, *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 29 165 *ff.* A formal analysis has recently been attempted by Staerk (see the last note). and Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deut.*, 1894.
3 For attempts to restore the primitive brief form of the blessings and curses, see Valeton, *Stud.* 7 44 *f.* (cp Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 21 [2]) ; Horst, *Rw. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 18 327 *ff.*, cp 16 59 *ff.* ; Staerk, 71 *f.* ; Steuernagel, *Rahmen*, 40-44. See also Steinthal, *Zeit. f. Völkerpsych.* 11 14 *f.* The substantial unity of the chapter is maintained by Kue. and Dr.
4 Cp. HEXATEUCH. It is not hereby denied that many of the institutions and customs embodied **in P** are of great

agreed by all that the little collections of laws 'in JE are older than Deuteronomy. The most convincing proof of this is given, of course, by the Deuteronomic laws restricting the worship of Yahwb to the one temple at Jerusalem. It may confidently be inferred also from the prominence given throughout Deuterohomy to motives of humanity, and the way in which old religious customs, like the triennial tithe, are transformed into sacred charities, as well as from the constant appeal to the memory of Gods goodness as a motive for goodness to fellow-men. Where the provisions of Deuteronomy differ from those of the Book of the Covenant, they sometimes appear to be adapted to a more advanced stage of society; as when the old agricultural fallow-year is replaced by an experiment in the septennial remission of debts. The many laws dealing with contracts of one kind or another also are to be noted.

9. To Ex. 21-23.

Most recent critics are of the opinion, further, that the author of the Deuteronomic law-book was not only acquainted with Ex. 21-23, but also made this code the basis of his own work ; Deuteronomy, it is said, is a revised and enlarged Covenant Book, adapted to some extent to new conditions, but with only one change of far-reaching effect, the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem. It may he questioned, however, whether the evidence mill sustain so strong a statement of the dependence of Deuteronomy on the Book of the Covenant.

Verbally identical clauses are very few, and in some instances at least, have probably arisen from subsequent conformation: There is no trace of the influence of the Covenant Book either in the general arrangement of Dt. 12-26 or in the sequence of particular laws. To fully one half of the Covenant Book (after the subtraction of the religious precepts), viz., the title Assaults and Injuries, Ex. 21 18-22 17, there is no parallel in Dt. ; while the subject of Authorities in Dt. 16 18-18 has no counterpart in Ex. 21-23; of thirty-five laws in Dt. 21 10-25 16 only seven have parallels in the older code. Finally, in the corresponding laws[1] the coincidences are hardly more frequent or more nearly exact than we should expect in two collections originating at no great distance in place or time, and based upon the same religious customs and consuetudinary law ; the evidence of literary dependence is much less abundant and convincing than it must be if Dt. were merely a revised and enlarged Book of the Covenant.[2]

10. To H.

Certain laws in Deuteronomy have parallels also in H ; but, whilst the provisions of these laws are often closely similar, the formulation and phraseology are throughout entirely different.[3] In some points H seems to be a stage beyond Dt. ; but the differences are not of a kind to imply a considerable interval of time so much as a diversity of dominant interest, such as distinguishes Ezekiel from Jeremiah.

Dt. 14 3-21, compared with Lev. 11, has been thought to prove that Dt. is dependent upon H ; but the truth seems rather to he that both are based on a common original a piece of priestly Torah, which each reproduces and modifies'in its own way.[4]

11. D's history and JE's.

References to the history of Israel are much fewer in Dt. 12-26 than in 1-3 4 ; they are of a more incidental and allusive character, and the author exercises some freedom in the use of his material ; but, as far as they can be certainly traced, they appear to be all derived from JE, or from the cycle of tradition represented by that work. That the author did not have before him JE united with P is proved by his reference to the fate of Dathan and Abiram (11 6); if he had read Nu. 16 in its present form, in which the story of Datlian and Abiram (JE) is almost inextricably entangled with that of Korah (P), he could hardly have failed to name the latter, who is the central figure of the composite narrative (cp Nu. 26 9 *f.* 27 3 Jude 11, and see KORAH and DATHAN AND ABIRAM). But even if he had possessed P separately, it would be almost inexplicable that lie so uniformly follows the representation of JE where it differs from P or conflicts with it. The instances which have been adduced to prove that he was acquainted with P are too few and uncertain to sustain the conclusion ; moreover, they are all found in the long digression, 9 9-10 11, which probably was no part of the primitive Deuteronomy.[1]

12. Date : not pre-monarchic.

The traditional opinion among Jews and Christians, that Deuteronomv was written bv Moses shortlv before his death, though resting on the testimony of the book itself (31 9 *ff.* 24 *ff.*), is contradicted bv both the internal and the external evidence ; the contents of the book and the entire religions history of Israel prove that Deuteronomy is the product of a much later time. The legislation of JE (in the main, doubtless, merely the booking of an ancient consuetudinary law) is without exception the law of a settled people, engaged in husbandry. Deuteronomy reflects a still more advanced stage of culture, and must be ascribed to a time when Israel had long been established in Palestine. The fundamental law for the Hebrew monarchy, Dt. 17 14-20, presumes not only the existence of the kingdom, but also considerable experience of its evils. Solomon appears to have sat for the portrait of the king as he ought not to be.[2] In the prohibition of the multiplication of horses and treasure we may recognise the influence of the prophets, to whom the political and military ambition of the kings seemed apostasy (see, *e.g.*, Is. 2 7). The constitution of the high court in Jerusalem (Dt. 17 8-13, cp 19 17) is thought to he modelled after the tribunal which Jehoshaphat (middle of 9th century B.C.) established (2 Ch. 19 8-11).[3]

13. Idea of one sanctuary.

More convincing than the arguments derived from these special laws are the ruling ideas and motives of the whole book. The thing upon which Deuteronomy insists with urgent and unwearied iteration is that Yahwè shall be worshipped only at one place, which he himself will choose, where alone sacrifices may be offered and the annual festivals celebrated. Although no place is named, there can be no doubt, as there was none in the minds of Josiah and his counsellors, that Jerusalem is meant.

Jerusalem was not one of the ancient holy places of Israel. It owed its religious importance to the fact that in it was the royal temple of the Judæan kings; but this was far from putting it upon an equality with the venerable sanctuaries of Bethel and Shechem, Gilgal and Beersheba. The actual pre-eminence of Jerusalem, without which the attempt to assert for it an exclusive sanctity is inconceivable, was the result of the historical events of the eighth century.

The fall of the kingdom of Israel (721 B.C.) left Judah the only 'people of YahwB.' The holy places of Israel were profaned by the conquerors—proof that Yahwè repudiated the worship offered to him there, as the prophets had declared. A quarter of a century later Sennacherib invaded Judah, ravaged the land, destroyed its cities, and carried off their inhabitants ; the capital itself was at the last extremity (see HEZEKIAH, 1 ; ISRAEL, § 33 *f.*). The deliverance of the city from this peril seemed to be a direct interposition of Yahwb, and Jerusalem and its temple must have gained greatly in prestige through this token of Gods signal favour.

This of itself, however, would not give rise to the idea that Yahwè was to be worshipped in Jerusalem alone. The genesis of this idea must be sought in the monotheism of the prophets. At a time when monotheism had not yet become conscious of its own universalism, men could hardly fail to reason that if there was but one true God, he was to be worshipped in but one place. And that place, in the light of history and prophecy, could only be Jerusalem. The way in which Dt. attempts to carry

antiquity ; nor that in particular instances they may be more primitive than the corresponding titles of Dt. ; nor that some of them may have attained a comparatively fixed form, oral or written, before the 'exile.'

[1] They may be conveniently compared in the synoptical table in Dr. ***Deut.*** p. iv *ff.*, or in Staerk, ***Deut.*** 48 *ff.*, where they are printed side by side.

[2] See also Steuernagel, *Entstehung*, 87 *ff.*

[3] Dr. ***Deut.*** p. iv *ff.* ; Baentsch, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 76 *ff.* 103. See also LEVITICUS.

[4] Kue. *Hex.* § 14, n. 5 ; Paton, *JBL* 14 48 *ff.* ['95].

[1] See Dt. 10 3 6 22 ; and, on these passages, Kne. *Th.T.* 9 533 *f.* ['75] ; Dr. ***Deut.*** p. xvi. On 9 9-10 11 cp also below, § 18 (small type).

[2] Cp Dt. 17 16 *f.* with 1 K. 4 26 10 26 28 *f.* 11 1-8 9 28 10 14 *ff.*

[3] A critical examination of the history of the reign of Jehoshaphat in 2 Ch. 17 *ff.* does not, however, inspire ns with much confidence in the account of his judicial reforms.

out this principle, by simply transferring to Jerusalem the cultus of the local sanctuaries with their priesthoods, was only practicable within narrow territorial limits, such as those of the kingdom of Judah in the seventh century.

We have the explicit testimony of the Books of Kings that there was no attempt to suppress the old local sanctuaries in Judah until the reign of Hezekiah; the most godly kings left the high-places unmolested (1 K. 15 14 22 43 2 K. 12 4 14 3 15 4 35). The deuteronomist author of Kings, to whom the temple in Jerusalem was, from the moment when Yahwè took up his abode in it (1 K. 8 10 *f.*), the only legitimate place of sacrifice, condemns this remissness as a great sin; but there is no evidence that the religious leaders of Israel down to the end of the eighth century *so* regarded it. Elijah is in despair over the sacrilege which threw down the altars of Yahwè; when he goes to meet God face to face, it is not to Jerusalem, but to Horeb, the old holy monntain in the distant S., that he turns his steps. Amos and Hosea inveigh against the worship at the holy places of the Northern Kingdom because it is morally corrupt and religiously false, not because its seats are illegitimate; nor is their repudiation of the worship on the high-places more unqualified than Isaiah's rejection of the cultus in Jerusalem (Is. 1 10 *ff.*). The older law-books, far from forbidding sacrifice at altars other than that in Jerusalem, formally sanction the erection of such altars, and promise that at every recognised place of worship Yahwè will visit his worshippers and bless them (Ex. 20 24).

According to 2 K. 18 4 22 21 3, Hezekiah removed the high-places, demolished the standing stones, hewed down the sacred posts.[1] The false tenses prove, however, that 18 4 has been interpolated by a very late hand; the original text said only that Hezekiah removed the bronze serpent which was worshipped in the temple (see NEHUSHTAN); nor can much greater reliance be put upon the reference in the speech of the Rabshakeh (18 22). It may well be that Hezekiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib, took vigorous measures to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah thundered in both his earlier and his later prophecies (2 8 18 20 30 22 31 7), perhaps including the sacred trees and other survivals of rude natural religion (Is. 1 29).[2] In any case, the reaction of the following reign swept away all traces of his work. Cp HEZEKIAH, 1; ISAIAH, i., § 15.

Another very distinct indication of the age in which Dt. was written is found in the foreign religions which it combats.

14. Foreign cults, etc.

The worship of 'the whole host of heaven' (Dt. 17 3 cp 4 19), an Assyrian cult frequently condemned by the prophets of the seventh century (Jer. 8 2 19 13 32 29 Zeph. 1 5),[3] but not mentioned by any earlier writer, was probably introduced by Manasseh, during whose reign Assyrian influence was at its height in Judah. The sacrifice of children, 'sending them through the fire' to the King-God (Dt. 18 10 12 31), also belongs to the seventh century (see MOLECH); neither Isaiah nor any of the other prophets of the eighth century alludes to these rites.

A relatively late date has been inferred also from the laws against the erection of steles and sacred poles (*maṣṣēbōth* and *ăshērīm*) by thealtars of Yahwè (Dt. 16 21 *f.*).

The older laws only enjoin the destruction of the Canaanite holy-places with all their appurtenances (Ex. 34 13 23 24; cp Dt. 12 3). The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea and Isaiah, assail the idols of Yahwè, but not the more primitive standing stones and posts; the polemic against the latter begins with Jeremiah.

The age of Dt. may be determined also by its relation to other works of known date. From the time of

15. D and other writers.

Jeremiah, the influence of Dt. is unmistakably to be recognised in the whole prophetic and historical literature, whilst we look in vain for any trace of this influence in the prophets of the eighth century; neither the impressive ideas nor the haunting phrases of Dt. have left their mark there.[1] The inference that Dt. was unknown to the religious leaders of Israel before the seventh century is hardly to be avoided.

On the other hand, in all its ruling ideas, Dt. is dependent upon the prophecy of the eighth century. We have already seen that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib prepared the way for the belief that the temple on Mt. Zion was the only sanctuary at which Yahwè should be worshipped, and that the monotheism of the prophets was the theological basis of the same belief. The lofty theism of Dt., which exalts Yahwè, not only in might and majesty, but also in righteousness, goodness, and truth—the moral transformation of the old conception of 'holiness' (see CLEAN, § 1)—is of the same origin, whilst the central idea of the book, that the essence and end of true religion is the mutual love of God and his people, is derived from Hosea. In general, the theology of Dt. is an advance upon that of the prophets of the eighth century, whose teaching it fuses and assimilates, and approximates to that of Jeremiah and Isaiah 40-55.

To the same result we are led by the literary character of Dt. Its style is more copious and flowing than that of earlier writers; but it lacks their terse vigour, and is not free from the faults of looseness, prolixity, and repetition, into which a facile pen so easily glides. In these respects it exhibits the tendencies which mark the literature of the seventh century and the Exile. The diction, also, is distinctly that of the same period, closely resembling that of Jeremiah.[2]

Evidence of every kind thus concurs to prove that the primitive Dt. was a product of the seventh century.

16. Result as to date of D.

The fact that it combats foreign cults which were introduced by Manasseh militates against the opinion entertained by some scholars, that it had its origin in the last years of Hezekiah, perhaps in connection with the reforms of that king. A hypothesis which commends itself to many critics is that Dt. was composed in the reign of Manassch as a protest against the evils of the time and as a programme of reform. Its authors died without being able to accomplish their object, and the book was lost, until, many years after, it was accidentally discovered in the temple by Hilkiah. To others it seems more probable that Dt. was written under Josiah, shortly before it was brought to light, by men who thought the time ripe for an attempt to introduce the reforms by which alone, they believed, Judah could be saved, and had intelligently planned the way in which this should be effected.[3]

Everything points to Jerusalem as the place where Dt. was written: a work whose aim was to exalt the

17. Place.

temple to the position of the sole sanctuary of Yahwè can hardly have originated anywhere else. The Torah of the priests is thronghont so intimately united with the religious teachings of the prophets that we are constrained to believe that both priests and prophets were associated in its production, or at least that its priestly authors were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the prophets. Who these authors were cannot be more definitely determined.[4]

That the authors of the primitive Dt. freely used older collections of laws has been generally recognised.

17a. Sources of D.

Beside Ex. 21-23 (on which see above, § 9), remains of another collection are found in Dt. 22-25. Staerk and Steuernagel have recently undertaken to show by minute

[1] Cp the much more extended account of these reforms in 2 Ch. 29-31.

[2] If it were established that Hezekiah put down the high-places, it would not follow that Dt. is older than Hezekiah; the more probable hypothesis, in view of all the testimony of the prophets and the historical books, would he that the Deuteronomic law was in the line of the measures adopted by the king.

[3] Cp also the worship of the Queen of Heaven, Jer. 7 18 44 17. See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

[1] This is equally true of the older historians; but their works have been preserved only in deuteronomistic recensions.

[2] On the diction of Dt., see the commentaries of Kn. and Di.; Kleinert, *Deut.* 214 *ff.*; Kue. *Hex.* § 7, n. 4; Holz. *Einl.* 282 *ff.*; Dr. *Dt.* p. lxxviii *ff.* On the style, Di. 611; Holz. 295 *ff.*; Dr. p. lxxxvi *ff.*

[3] So De Wette, Reuss, Graf, Kue., We. St., Che., andothers.

[4] The suggestion that Jeremiah was the author of Dt. (von Bohlen, Colenso) is for various reasons untenable.

analysis that both the hortatory and the legislative parts of Dt. are in a stricter sense composite.

According to Steuernagel, the hook discovered in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Dt. 5 26 28) was the work of a redactor, who combined with considerable skill—but mechanically, and without substantial additions—two older works of like character, each consisting of a hortatory introduction and a body of laws. One of them (Sg.) is marked by the direct address to Israel in the second person singular; the other (Pl.) uses the plural. The older of these works (Sg.) is assigned to the early years of Manasseh's reign (shortly after 700 B.C.), the other (Pl.) was composed about 670. The union of the two by the redactor (Dr) falls in the middle of the century, twenty-five years or more before the discovery of the book in the temple. Both Sg. and Pl. made use of older collections of laws and these sources can still in part be recognised. One of the chief sources of Sg. (the 'Grundsammlung') was put out in support of Hezekiah's reforms, probably not long after 722 B.C.

18. Additions: chaps. 1-3 related to E.

Chaps. 1-3, in the form of an address of Moses to Israel, contain a review of the principal events of the migration, from the departure of the Israelites from Horeb to the moment at which he is speaking to them.[1] This retrospect throughout follows the history of JE, from which its material is drawn and many phrases and whole clauses are borrowed.[2] Upon closer examination it appears that the chief source of the chapters is E, which the author had before him separately; whether he made use of J is doubtful; of dependence on P there is no trace.

The retrospect begins abruptly with the command to remove from Horeb (1 6-8), and it has been conjectured that 9 9-10 11 (or at least 9 25-10 11), which recites the transgression at Horeb, and brings the narrative to the precise point where it is taken up in 1, once stood before 17. More probably, however, 9 9-10 11 is not a misplaced fragment of the retrospect, but the product of successive editorial amplifications.[3] The review ends as abruptly as it begins; the words, 'And we abode in the valley in front of Beth-peor' (3 29), must originally have been followed by an account of the sin at Baal-peor (Nu. 25 1-5; cp Dt. 4 3 *f.*).

The chapters (1-3) are not by the author of 5-26. The resemblance in language and style is unquestionably very close, though there are some noticeable differences; but the diversity of historical representation is decisive; cp 2 29 with 23 3-6 7 *f.*, 1 35 *ff.* 2 14-16 with 11 2 *ff.* 5 2 *f.* The opinion of some critics, that 1-4 was prefixed to the primitive Dt. to connect it with the history in Ex. and Nu., is improbable; for such a purpose a recapitulation of the history was more than superfluous. Others, with better reason, suppose that the historical *résumé* was intended as the introduction to a separate edition of Dt. The way in which it begins and ends (see above, small type) suggests that it was not composed for the purpose, but was extracted and adapted by the editor from some older source. Conclusive marks of the age of the chapters, further than their dependence upon E and the general affinity to the deuteronomistic school, are hardly to be discovered.

19. Chap. 4 1-40 exilic.

Chap. 4 1-40 has generally been taken with 1-3, as a hortatory close to the historical introduction. There is, however, neither a formal nor a material connection between them.

The historical allusions in the exhortation are to events related, not in 1-3, but in 5 *ff.*; 4 10 *f.* 32-35 differ from the retrospect (1 39 *f.* etc.) and agree with 5 2 *f.* 11 2 *ff.* 29 2 *ff.*, in making the speaker's audience witnesses of the scenes at Horeb; the greater part of 4 is only a homiletical enlargement on 5 25 *ff.*

In other points 4 goes beyond 5-11; its monotheism takes a loftier tone, like that of Is. 40-55 (see 4 35 39 15-19). In 4 25-31 deportation and dispersion are inevitable; the prediction that in the far country Israel will return to Yahwè and find forgiveness takes the central place which it has in the exilic prophets.

The language resembles 5-11 more closely than 1-3, but has peculiarities of its own: 4 17 *f.* are full of words and phrases which remind us of Ezekiel, H, and P (cp also 32); 28 seems to be directly dependent upon Jeremiah (16 13; cp 𝔊). Chap. 4 thus appears to be a secondary addition to Dt., composed in the Exile, and closely akin to 29, if not by the same hand."

20. Chap. 4 41-43 44-49.

Chap. 4 41-43, the designation by Moses of three asylum cities east of the Jordan, has no connection either with what precedes or with what follows. In phraseology the verses agree closely with Dt. 19 1 *ff.*, after which they are probably modelled. They may originally have stood after 3 17 or 20, or perhaps after 29.

Chap. 4 44-49, the title and superscription to 5 *ff.*, like the corresponding superscription 1 1-5, appears to be the product of successive additions and redactions by scribes or editors; the oldest form of the title may have been simply, 'This is the law which Moses laid before the Israelites on the other side of Jordan, in the land of Moab' (cp 1 5).

21. Chap. 27 four pieces.

Chap. 27, in narrative form, stands entirely disconnected in the midst of the speeches of Moses, separating 28 from 26. Graf, accordingly, regarded it as an interpolation, introduced when Dt. was united with the older historical book (JE), whilst Wellhausen sees in it the conclusion of a separate edition of the Deuteronomic law-book (1-4 40 12-26 27). The chapter (27) consists of four distinct parts: viz., 1-8 9 *f.* 11-13 14-26. *Vv.* 9 *f.* may, as many critics think, have originally connected 26 with 28. In 1-8, where there is much repetition, 5-7*a* has long been recognised as a fragment of the ancient source to which Ex. 20 24-26 [21-23] belongs. *Vv.* 12 *f.* seem to be the sequel of 11 29 *f.*, the whole being a liturgical embodiment of 11 26-28, and plainly secondary. *Vv.* 14-26 cannot be by the author of 11-13: the things on which Dt. lays the greatest stress are lacking in this decalogue, which is a cento gathered from all strata of the legislation, especially from Lev. 18-20.

22. Chap. 29 *f.*

Chap. 29 *f.* contain a new address of exhortation and warning, introduced, like 5 *ff.*, by the words, 'And Moses convoked all Israel.' The standpoint of the writer is similar to that of 4 1-40, and differs in the same way from that of 5-26 28 1-46; cp in particular 30 1-10 with 4 25-31. The author had before him the deuteronomic law, with its blessings and curses, in a book (29 20 *f.* 27 30 10, cp also 29 9 28 58 61). The diction differs considerably from that of 5-26, and approximates more closely to that of Jeremiah, upon whom the author is evidently dependent. Chaps. 29 *f.* are, therefore, like 4, an exilic addition to Dt. The movement of thought in these chapters is far from being orderly or coherent: 29 16-28 [15-27] does not naturally follow 10-15 [9-14], and the latter verses have no obvious connection with 2-9 [1-8]; 30 1-10 cannot originally have stood between 29 and 30 11-20. The position of these chapters is difficult to explain. Chap. 28 1-46 is the proper conclusion of the long speech of Moses, 5-26; 29 1 [28 69] is a formal subscription, marking the end of the book. The only natural place for fresh admonitions to observe the law would be after the law had been committed to writing (31 9-13; cp 24-27); and it has been conjectured, not without probability, that this was the original position of the parting charge.[2]

23. Chap. 31.

Chap. 31, which takes up the narrative again, is composite, and presents to criticism most difficult problems.

Verses 1-8 are not the sequel of 29 *f.* or of 28; they take up the story at the point which the historical introduction reaches in 3 23 *ff.*; they are deuteronomistic in colour, and Dillmann surmises that once they followed 3 28 immediately. A parallel to 1-8 is found in 14 *f.* 23, in which Yahwè himself gives the charge to Joshua at the sacred tent; these verses are probably derived from E. The intervening verses 16-22 are an introduction to the 'Song of Moses,' 32 1-43, to which 32 44 is the corresponding close. This

[1] Chap. 1 1-5, which now forms the introduction to the speech, is not homogeneous, and glosses have been pointed out in the discourse itself.

[2] See particularly Dr. *Dt.* on these chapters, where the relation is well exhibited.

[3] Cp above, § 11.

[1] On this point see further below, § 23.

[2] See next section (23), on 31 24-29.

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introduction *is* not deuteronomic, as the language proves ; it is equally clear that it is not by the author of 14 *f.* 23. The question of the source of the verses will recur in connection with the age of the poem itself (next §, second par.). *Vv.* 9-13, relating how the law was committed to writing and preserved, form an appropriate conclusion to the account of the giving of the law, and are by many critics connected with 5-26 28. The preservation of the law is the subject of **24-27**, which the repetition and the different motive prove to be by another hand; 28 *f.* seems to he a preparation for the recitation of the 'Song' (30), and is as much out of place after 19-22 as **24-27** after 9-13; the whole passage, 24-29 (30), is, therefore, ascribed to a redactor. Dillmann conjectures that 28 *f.* (in substance) originally constituted the introduction, not to the Song of Moses, but to a speech the close of which is to he found in 32 45-47. This speech, containing the last exhortations and admonitions of Moses, was removed from its place after 31 9-13 to make room for the Song, and is preserved, though worked over and extensively interpolated, in 4 29 *f.* For reasons which have already heen indicated, we should not, however, with Dillmann, attribute this speech to the author of **5-26** 28, hut to **a** later deuteronomistic writer.

24. Song of Moses.

Chap. **32 1-43**; *The Song of Moses.*[1]—The theme of the Ode is the goodness of Yahwè, the sin of Israel in rejecting him, and the ruin which this apostasy entails. The poem contains no definite allusions to historical events by which its age may be exactly determined. The conquest of Canaan evidently lies for the writer in a remote past (7 *ff.*); and he has had ample experience of the propensity of Israel to adopt foreign religions, and of the national calamities in which the prophets saw the judgments of Yahwè upon this defection. The language has been thought to indicate that the author was a native of the North; and many scholars believe that the situation reflected in the poem is that of the kingdom of Israel in the reign of Jehoash (797-783 B.C.) or the early years of Jeroboam II. (782-743), when, after the long and disastrous Syrian wars, Israel was beginning to recover its former power and prosperity.[2] Others, understanding by the 'no people' (לא עם), the 'foolish nation' (גוי נבל 21), the Assyrians, to whom such terms would he applied more naturally than they could he to the Syrians (cp Is. 33 19,[3] 5 26 *ff.*), ascribe the poem to the latter half of the eighth century. The words may, however, with even greater probability, be interpreted of the Babylonians (cp Jer. 5 15 *ff.* 6 22 *f.*, especially Hab. 1 6 *ff.*, Dt. 28 49 *ff.*). In the vocabulary of the Song there are several words which are not found in writers of the eighth century, but are common in the literature of the seventh and sixth; the Aramaisms in word and form which have been looked upon as evidence of Ephraimite origin may eqnally well be marks of a later age. The poem contains many reminiscences of the older prophets, especially of Hosea and Isaiah ; hut in its whole spirit and tone, as well as in particular expressions, it is much more closely akin to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Is. 40-55. It has a strong resemblance, also, to the exilic additions to Dt. (**4** 29 *f.*); its theology is that of these chapters and of Is. 40 *ff.* Its affinities to the Psalms and the products of Jewish Wisdom are to be noted.[4] It is, in fact, a didactic poem, embodying in lofty verse the prophetic interpretation of Israel's history from beginning to end. Kuenen and others ascribe the Song to the end of the seventh century (say 630-600 B.C.); but the considerations last adduced, and others which might he mentioned, point rather to an exilic or post-exilic date.

It has commonly been assumed that the introduction to the Song (**31** 16-22) is pre-deuteronomic (J or E);[5] not so mnch, however, upon internal evidence as in consequence of general theories about the age of the poem and the composition of the last chapters of Dt. It is intrinsically at least equally probable that the introduction is post-deuteronomic ; and this hypothesis is strongly commended by the fact that the Song itself has apparently been put in the place of the last discourse of Moses (29 *f.*), which is itself a product of the 'exile.'

Chap. 32 44 is the closing note to the poem, corresponding to **31 30** at its beginning. Verses **45-47** are the close of the speech, answering to 31 28 *f.*;[1] they contain no allusion to the Song; their literary affinities are to **31** 28 *f.*, not to **31** 16-22 or 32 44. Chap. 32 48-52 belongs to the priestly stratum ; the same command is given somewhat more briefly in Nu. 27 **12-14** (P).

25. Blessing.

Chap. **33** : 'The Blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the Israelites before he died.'[1] Beyond this superscription. no attempt is made to connect the poem with the history of Moses' last days ; from which it may be inferred that it was not introduced by a deuteronomistic editor. The opening verses (1-5), which are very obscure, in part through corruption of the text, describe the coming of Yahwè from Sinai, the giving of the Law, the acquisition of the territory of Jacob (?), and the rise of the kingdom in Israel.[2] Thereupon come, without any transition, Blessings on eleven tribes, following a geographical order from south to north, and differing greatly in length and in character.

26. Its date.

The Blessing of Moses is a composition of the same kind as the so-called Blessing of Jacob (Gen. **49** 1-27), though not a mere imitation of it. The historical situation reflected in the Blessings of the several tribes in Dt. is that of a time considerably later than that in Gen. ; cp particularly Levi (Gen. 49 5-7 Dt. 33 8-11) and Judah (Gen. 49 8-12 Dt. **33**7). On the other hand, the situation is entirely different from that represented in the Song of Moses, Dt. **32**. While in the latter, apostasy has drawn upon Israel the consuming anger of Yahwè, and the very existence of the people is threatened, the Blessing breathes from end to end a national spirit exalted by power and prosperity and unbroken by disaster. The author was a member of one of the northern tribes, or a Levite at one of the northern sanctuaries. The blessing of Joseph (13-17) was written at a time when the kingdom of Israel, in the pride of its power, and perhaps flushed with victory, was thinking of foreign conqiiests (17). Recent critics have generally followed Graf in ascribing the poem to the time of Jeroboain II. (782-743 B.C.), when for a brief space Israel seemed to have regained all its ancient power and glory; 20 is then referred to the recovery of the territories of which Gad had been stripped by the Syrians of Damascus in the disastrous period which preceded.

The prayer in **7**, 'Hear, **O Yahwè**, the voice **of** Judah, and bring him to his people,' has heen understood as the wish of the Ephraimite poet that Judah might be reunited to Israel, and is thought by many to point to **a** time soon after the division of the kingdom, when the desire for the restoration of the national unity was still strong. This obscure verse. however, cannot he allowed to outweigh the clearer testimony of other parts of the chapter. The Blessing of Levi (8-11) describes the privileges and offices of the priesthood, and the fidelity of Levi to its sacred trust. There is nothing to indicate that the author was a priest of the temple in Jerusalem[3]—the priests of other temples also were Levites,—nor any cogent reason for thinking that 9 11 are Jewish interpolations. Verse 1 T, however, is hardly a blessing for the priesthood, and would unquestionably he more appropriate to one of the other tribes ; hut that it was the original sequel of **76**, as has heen conjectured, is not evident.

On the whole. the age of Jeroboam II. seems best to satisfy the implications of the Blessings. Verses 2-5,

[1] On the Song of Moses see Ew. *JBW* 8 **47-65** ['57]; Kamph. *Das Lied Moses*, 1862; Klo. 'Das Lied Mose's u. das Deut.' *St. Kr.* **44 249** *ff.* ['71], **45 230** *ff.* 450 *ff.* ['72]; reprinted in ***Der Peat.*** 223-367 ['93]; St. *ZATW* 5 297-300 ['85]. For the older literature see Di. ***Comm.*** **395;** Reuss, *GAT*, § 226.

[2] ***See*** 2 K. 13 23-25 14 25-27.

[3] This **verse** is, however, probably not from the Assyrian period.

[4] See 1 *f.* 3 *f.* 6 28 *f.*, etc.

[5] Kue. attributes it to Rje.

[1] See above, § 23.

[2] On the Blessing see Hoffm. in Keil and Tzschirner's *Analekten* (1822), iv. 2 1-92 continued in **a** series of Jena Programs, 1823-1843 ; Graf, *Der Segen Mose's*, **1857** · Volck, ***Der Segen Mose's***, **1873** ; **A van** der Flier, *Deut.* 38,' **1895**; Ball, 'The Blessing of Moses,' *PSBA* 18 118-137 ['96]. See also St. *GVI* 1 150 *ff.* The older literature in Di. *Comm.* 416; Reuss, *GAT*, § **216.**

[3] The meaning of these verses is much disputed.

[4] In 12 it is not certain that Jerusalem is meant (cp **Benjamin**, $ *8).*

26-29, have no connection with the Blessings, and it is not improbable that they are fragments of another poem. Whether the Blessing of Moses was contained in J or E is a question which we have no means of answering : neither the short introduction, nor the titles of the several Blessings (which alone can be attributed to an editorial hand), offer anything distinctive ; nor do the reminiscences of the earlier history.

Chap. **34.** The story of the death of Moses is highly composite, elements from JE and P, as well as the hand of more than one editor, being recognisable in it.

Deuteronomy is the prophetic law-book, an attempt to embody the ideal of the prophets in institutions and laws by which the whole religious, social, and civil life of the people should be governed. We recognise this aim in the treatment of the older right and custom of Israel, and more clearly in those provisions which are peculiar to Deuteronomy, above all in the fundamental law, chap. 5 *ff.* It seeks, not to regulate conduct by outward rule, but to form morality from within by the power of a supreme principle.

27. Religious character of Dt.

The dominant idea of Deuteronomy is monotheism. The first sentence of the older Decalogue,[1] repeated in 5 6 *f.*, expresses, indeed, only a relative monotheism ; but the fundamental deuteronomic law, 'Yahwè our God is one Yahwè' (6 4 *f.*), declares, not only that there are not many Yahwès, as there are many Baals, but also that there is no other who shares with him the attributes of supreme godhead which are connoted by his name. He is 'the God of gods and the Lord of lords, the great, mighty, and awful God' (10 17), to whom belong 'the heavens and the heavens of heavens, the earth and all that therein is' (10 14), 'the [only] God in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; there is no other' (4 39, cp 35).[2] The unapproachable majesty of Yahwè (5 1 *ff.* 22 *ff.* 4 9 *ff.*), his constancy to his purpose, and his faithfulness to his word are often recurring themes (7 8-10 12 *ff.* 9 5, etc.). He is a God who requites his enemies to the full (7 10) ; yet a compassionate and forgiving God to those who under his judgments turn to him again (4 29-31, cp 30 1 *ff.*).

28. Monotheism.

Idolatry is strictly forbidden. The images and emblems of the Canaanite gods are to be totally destroyed (12 2 *f.* 7 5 25). The Decalogue prohibits the making of images of Yahwè in the likeness of any object in heaven, or on the earth, or in the sea; and in 4 15 *ff.*, where this prohibition is emphatically repeated, Israel is reminded that at Horeb, when Yahwè spoke to them out of the midst of the fire, they saw no form—a lesson to them not to image him in any form. The more primitive standing stones and sacred poles are included in the prohibition (16 21 *f.* 12 3 *f.*). All kinds of divination, sorcery, and necromancy are condemned as heathenish (18 9-14) ; Yahwè's will and purpose are made known, not by such signs as are interpreted by the mantic art, but by the mouth of his prophet (18 15 *ff.*).

29. Objects of worship.

Yahwè is to be worshipped, not at many sanctuaries, but at one only, in the place which he chooses to fix his name there (12 *pass.*, 14 23 15 20 16 *pass.*, etc.). The unity of the sanctuary is a consequence of the unity of God. The suppression of the high-places, which is so strenuously insisted on in Dt., was primarily dictated, not by practical considerations, but by the instinctive feeling that their existence was incompatible with monotheism : as long as there were many altars there were as many local Yahwès. It is doubtless true that, for the religious consciousness of the great mass of worshippers, the Yahwè of Dan was not just the same as the Yahwè of Bethel or of Beersheba. But the great doctrine of Dt. is, 'Yahwè thy God is *one* Yahwè.' The exclusive principle, 'Thou shalt have no other gods beside me,' is strongly reaffirmed (6 12-15 10 20-22 11 16 *f.* 28, etc.) ; the worship of other gods is punished by death (17 2-7, see also 13), the apostasy of the nation by national ruin (6 14 *f.* 7 4 8 19 *f.* 4 25-28 30 17 *f.*, etc.) ; for Yahwè is a jealous God (6 15 4 24). Not only in Israel, which is Yahwè's people, but also in Canaan, which is his land, there shall be no other god or cult. Every trace of the old religions of Palestine is to be obliterated. The Canaanites themselves must be exterminated, lest, in intercourse with them, Israel be infected with their religion (7 1 *ff.* 16 9 3, cp 12 29 *f.* 20 16 *ff.*).[1] Alliance and intermarriage with the heathen are stringently prohibited (7 3 *f.*, etc.) ; and many special laws are directed against heathen customs and rites : see, *e.g.*, 22 5 23 17 *f.* No less urgent warnings are given against the religions of remoter peoples (13 6 *f.*).

30. Exclusiveness.

The essence of the religions relation between Yahwè and his people is love. He has loved Israel from the beginning (10 15 7 7 *f.* 23 5). and if they keep his commandments he will love and bless them in all the future (7 13. cp 4 37 *f.*). They are the children of Yahwè their God (14 1) ; his discipline and his care are parental (8 5 1 31). All good things are from him; but the signal proofs of his love to Israel are the deliverance from Egypt (*passim*, *e.g.*, 8 14 *ff.*), and the law which he has given them (4 5-8 32 *ff.*). The love of Yahwè to his people demands, as it should inspire, their love : 'Thou shalt love Yahwè thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (6 5) is the first commandment of the law, the first principle of religion (10 12 *f.* 11 1 13 22 13 4 19 9 30 6 16 20). Love to God constrains to do his will; to love God and to keep his commandments are inseparable. His commandments are not remote or incomprehensible : they are in men's hearts and on their lips (30 11-14, cp Jer. 31 31-34) ; nor are they difficult and burdensome (10 12 *f.*, cp Mic. 6 8) : to keep them is for man's own good (6 24 10 13). It is a religion of the heart, not of outward observances or of formal legality. Observances are not rejected; a religion without worship and distinctive ceremonial is not contemplated ; but festivals and sacrifices are only the expression of religious feeling—above all, of loving and joyful gratitude for God's love and goodness.

31. Principle of love.

The relation of Yahwè to Israel is not a natural and indissoluble relation, such as subsists between a tribal god and his people; it is a moral relation, which has its origin in his choice of Israel to be his people. He chose it, not for any good in it (7 7 9 4 *ff.*), but because he loved its forefathers (10 15) ; and love and faithfulness bind him to their descendants (7 8 9 5). The election by which Israel alone of all the nations of the earth is made the people of Yahwè is Israel's glorious distinction ; but it imposes the greatest obligation. Sin, in this light, is more heinous, judgment more necessary and more severe ; but in God's constancy to his purpose and his promise faith finds the assurance that the severest judgment will not be utter destruction.

32. Moral basis.

The bond between Yahwè and Israel is the covenant which he made with them at Horeb (5 2 *ff.*) and renewed on the plains of Moab (29 1 [28 69]). The deuteronomic law sets forth the obligations imposed by Yahwè and accepted by Israel (17 2) ; strict observance of the law is the condition of the fulfilment of the promises of Yahwè, the obligations which he voluntarily took upon himself in the pact (7 9-13 11 22 *ff.*, etc.).

Israel is to be a holy people (7 6 14 2 21 26 19)—that is, one set apart to Yahwè in all its life. The stringency of the laws which are to preserve the purity of the

[1] On the various forms of this code see DECALOGUE.

[2] *See* also 3 24 4 7 *f.* 32 *ff.* It has been observed above that the theology of 4 1-40 approximates more nearly to that of Is. 40 *ff.*

[1] At the time when Dt. was written this sanguinary proscription of the native population can hardly have had much practical significance.

people and the land from false religion and immorality is thus explained and justified: 'Thou shalt exterminate the evil from the community' (13 5 and *passim*; see 22 13-30 21 18-21 19 16-21 etc.).

Notwithstanding the sanguinary thoroughness with which it demands the extirpation of heathenism, and the severity of many of the special laws, the distinctive note of the deuteronomic legislation is humanity, philanthropy, charity. Regard not only for the rights, but also for the needs of the widow, the orphan, the landless Levite, the foreign denizen, is urged at every turn.[1] The interests of debtors (23 20 24 10-13 15 1-11), slaves (5 14 15 12-18), and hired labourers (24 4 *f.*) are carefully guarded. Various provisions protect the rights of the wife or the female slave (24 1-4 22 13-19 21 10-14 15-17). Nor are the animals forgotten (25 4 22 6 *f.*). The spirit of the legislation is seen not least clearly in the laws which appear to us altogether utopian, such as 20 (cp 24 5 17 14-20 15 1-6).

In conformity with its prophetic character, Dt. presents itself not merely as a law-book, but also as a book of religious instruction. Its lessons are to be diligently remembered, and not forgotten in times of prosperity (6 6-12 8 11-18 etc.). Its fundamental precepts are to be repeated daily, to be worn as amulets, to be inscribed in public places (6 7-9 11 18-21). They are to be taught to children, that each succeeding generation may be brought up in the knowledge of Yahwè's will (6 7 20-25 11 19 4 9); and every seven years the whole law is to be publicly read in the hearing of the assembled people (31 9-13).

Taken all in all, Dt. will ever stand as one of the noblest monuments of the religion of Israel, and as *one* of the most noteworthy attempts in history to regulate the whole life of a people by its highest religious principles.

33. Literature.

1. *Commentaries.*—Of the older works, Drusius (1617) Gerhard (1657), and Clericus (1696) may often be consulted with profit. The principal modern commentaries are Vater, *Pent.* iii., 1805; M. Baumgarten, 1843, 1844; F. W. Schultz, 1859; Kn., 1861; Schroeder, 1866 (Lange's *Bibelwerk*), ET with additions by Gosman, 1879; Keil, 1862, 2nd ed. 1870, ET 1867; Espin, 1871 (*Speaker's Comm.*); Di., 1886; Montet, *Le Deut.*, 1891; Oettli, 1893; Dr., 1895; Steuernagel in Nowack's *HK*, 1898.

2. Criticism—Vater, *Comment. über den Pent. mit. Einl.* 3, 'Abhandlung iiber Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs,' 391 *ff.*; De Wette, *Dissert. crit.-exeget.* (1805); *Beitr. z. Einl. in d. AT* 1 (1805), 168 *ff.* 265 *ff.*, 2 (1807), 385 *ff.*; J. F. L. George, *Die ält. jüd. Feste* ('35); W. Vatke, *Die Rel. d. AT* 504 *ff.* ('35); *Einl.* 384 *ff.* ('86); E. Riehm, *Die Gesetzgeb. Mos.*, etc. ('54); *St. Kr.* 165-200 ('73) (review of Kleinert); Colenso, *Pent. and Josh.*, Pt. 3 ('63), cp pt. 7 App. 85-110; Graf. *Die gesch. Büch. d. AT* ('66); Kosters, *Die historiebeschouwing van den Deuteronomist* ('68); Klo., 'Das Lied Mose's u. d. Deut.' *St. Kr.* ('71, '72); 'Beiträge zur Entstehungsgesch. des Pent.' *Neue kirchl. Zt.*, 1890-92, reprinted in *Der Pent.* ('93)', Kleinert *Das Deut. u. d. Deuteronomiker* ('72); Reinke, 'Ueber das nnter dem Kanige Josia anfgefundene Gesetzbuch,' *Beitr. zur Erkl. d. AT* 8 ('72), 131-180; Kayser, *Das vorexil. Buch der Urgesch. Isr. u. seine Erweiterungen* ('74); J. Hollenberg, 'Die deut. Bestandtheile d. Buches Josua,' *St. Kr.*, 1874, pp. 462-506; We. CH, *JDT*, 1876, 1877; reprinted separately, under the same title, 1885, and with Nachtrage, *Die Comp. des Hex. u. d. hist. Bücher des AT* ('89); *GI* ('78) and ed. called *Prol.* 8. *GI* ('83), 4th ed. 1895, ET, *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel* ('85); S. J. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests* ('77); WRS, *Additional Answer to the Libel* ('78); *Answer to the Amended Libel* ('79); *OTJC* ('81; 2nd ed. '92); E. Renss, *L'hist. sainte et la loi*, 1 154 *ff.* ('79); *Die heil. Gesch. u. d. Gesetz*, 106 *ff.* ('93), (*Das AT*, Bd. 3); Steinthal, 'Das fünfte Buch Mose,' *Zt. für Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwissens*, 1879, pp. 1-28; 'Die erzählenden Stucke im fünften Buche Mose,' *ib.* 1880, pp. 253-289, also separately (Berlin, '80); Valeton, *Theo. Stud.* 5 ('79), pp. 169-206, 291-313; 6 ('80), pp. 133-174, 303-320; 7 ('81), pp. 39-56, 205-228; F. Del. 'Pentateuch-kritische Studien,' *ZKWL* 1 ('80), 445 *ff.* 503 *ff.* 559 *ff.*; Castelli, *La legge del popolo Ebreo nel suo svolgimento storico*, 207-320 ('84); Cheyne, *Jeremiah, his life and times* ('88), chaps. 5-7; Baudissin, *Gesch. des AT Priesterthums* ('89); A. Westphal, *Les sources du Pent.* 2 32 *ff.* ('92); Staerk, *Das Deut. sein Inhalt u. seine literarische Form* ('94); Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deut.* ('94); *Entsteh. des deut. Gesetzes* ('96); Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 3 32 *ff.* ('78); d'Eichthal, *Mél. de crit. bib.* ('86), and *Étude sur le Deut.* 81-350; Vernes, *Une nouv. hypoth. sur la comp. et l'origine du Deut.* ('87), reprinted in *Essais bibliques* ('91); L. Horst, 'Etudes sur le Deut. *Revue de l'Hist. des Relig.* 16 28-65 ('87), 17 1-22 ('88), 18 320-334 ('88), 23 184-zoo ('91), 27 119-176 ('93); cp Kuenen, 'De jongste phasen der Critiek van den Hex.' *Th.T*, 35 *ff.* ('88); C. Piepenbring, *Reo. de l'Hist. des Relig.* 24 28 *ff.* 37 *ff.* ('91), 'La réforme et le code de Josias,' *ib.* 29 123-180 ('94); Addis, *Documents of the Hex.* 2 ('98).

See also Introductions to the OT:—Eichhorn, 4th ed. ('23); De Wette ('17, 7th ed. '52, 8th ed. by E. Schrader, '69); Bleek ('60) substantially unaltered in later edd., ET by Venables ('69)); S. Davidsoii ('62); Kuenen, *Hist. krit. Ond.* ('61; 2nd ed. entirely rewritten '85); ET by Wicksteed, *The Hexateuch*, ('86); Reuss, *Gesch. des AT* ('81; 2nd ed. '90); Cornill ('91; 2nd ed. '92); Driver, *Introd.* ('91; 6th ed. '97), cp 'Deuteronomy' in Smith's *DB*(2) ('93); Konig ('93); Wildeboer, *De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds* ('93); Holzinger, *Einl. in den Hex.* ('93).

On the relation of Dt. to Jeremiah, see Kueper, *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres et vindex*, 4-45 ('38); König, 'Das Deut. und der Prophet Jeremiah,' *AT Studien.* 2 ('39); Zunz, *ZDMG* 28 669-676 ('73); Colenso, pt. 7, App. pp. 85-110, cp 3 563 *ff.* 572 *ff.*

In defence of the Mosaic authorship: Hengstenberg, *Authentie des Pent.* 2 159 *ff.* ('39), ET *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, 2 130 *ff.* ('47); Havernick, *Einl. in das AT* 1 601 *ff.* ('36), ET *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, 410 *f.* ('50); Keil, *Einl. in das AT*, 1853, 3rd ed. 1873, ET by G. C. M. Douglas, *Introd.*, etc. 1869; Bissell, *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure* ('85); G. Vos, *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes* ('86); Martin, *Introd. à la crit. gen. de l'Anc. Test.* 1 295 *ff.* ('87); A. Zahn, *Das Deut.* ('90).

G. F. M.

DEVIL. For Dt. 32 17 etc. (שֵׁדִים), Lk. 4 33 etc. (δαιμόνιον), Mt. 8 31 etc. (δαίμων), see DEMONS, § 4; for Lev. 17 7 etc. (שָׂעִיר), see SATYR; and for Mt. 4 1 etc. (ὁ διάβολος), see SATAN, § 4 *f.*

DEVOTED, AV sometimes, RV usually, for חֵרֶם, *ḥērem* (Lev. 27 21 EV, 1 K. 20 42 RV, etc.). See **BAN**, § 2.

DEW (טַל; ΔΡΟCΟC). 'Dew' is a theme which kindles the enthusiasm of the OT writers; but what does 'dew' mean in the OT? and are the common explanations of the biblical references altogether correct?

During the spring and autumn the phenomenon which we call dew is, at least in the intervals of fine weather, as familiar in Palestine as in western countries: the moisture held in suspension in the atmosphere during the day is deposited, in cloudless nights, owing to the cooling of the surface of the ground, in the form of 'dew.' It is not, however, simply this phenomenon of spring and autumn that excites the enthusiasm of the Hebrew writers; for it is not the dew but the former and the latter rains that are in these seasons of vital importance to the agriculturist (see **RAIN**). During the summer season, however, from the beginning of May to the latter part of October, there is an almost unbroken succession of cloudless days, when vegetation becomes parched, and would altogether perish but for another phenomenon which has a prior claim to the descriptive Hebrew name *ṭal* ('sprinkled moisture') uniformly represented in the EV by the word 'dew.' During the summer, but more especially (when the need is greatest) in the latter part of August and during September and October, westerly winds bring a large amount of moisture from the Mediterranean (see **WINDS**). This moisture becomes condensed by the cool night air on the land into something not unlike a Scotch mist, which, though specially thick on the mountains, is yet abundant enough everywhere to sustain with its moisture the summer crops, and to keep some life in the pastures of the wilderness.[1]

1. Meaning of the term.

Coming only in the night, and being so much finer than ordinary rain, this beneficent provision of nature received a special name, *ṭal*, to which the Arabic *ṭallun*, 'fine rain,' corresponds. The Greek poetical terms δρόσος ποντία and θαλασσία, δροσεραὶ νεφέλαι, seem more adequate than the simple δρόσος,

1 See 10 18 *f.* 16 18-20 17 8-13 24 17 *f.* 27 19 12 12 18 *f.* 14 27-29 16 11 14 24 19-22 26 11 *ff.*

1 The true meaning of טַל is most clearly set forth by Neil, *Palestine Explored* ('82), pp. 129-151, to whom this article owes its central idea.

and, but for the shock to our associations, 'night mist'[1] would be a preferable rendering to 'dew.

This explanation clears up certain otherwise obscure passages. It also enables us' to identify with considerable probability the season to which any important passage mentioning *ṭal* refers. The miracle of Gideon's fleece, *e.g.*, was presumably placed by the writer in the summer. At the same time, when perfectly general language is used respecting *ṭal* ('dew'), it may be open to us to suppose that a confusion exists in the writer's mind between the genuine 'dew' of winter (spring and autumn) and the 'night mist' of summer, which is not, in our sense of the word, dew at all. since the vapour becomes condensed in the air before it reaches the ground.

In illustration, see Lane's *Arabic* Lexicon, s.v. *ṭalla*. One example given is, 'The sky rained-small-rain (*ṭallat*) upon the earth.' *Ṭallun* is defined as 'light or weak (*i.e.*, drizzling) rain, or the lightest and weakest of rain ; or dew that descends from the sky in cloudless weather.' Cp also Koran, Sur. 2 *267*, 'And if no heavy shower (*wābilun*) falls on it, the mist (*ṭallun*) does.'

2. Biblical and other references.

(a) Where the '**dew**' *comes from.* —Job 38 *28* is, probably enough, a scribe's insertion (Bi., Duhm); but, if so, the scribe gives an invaluable early summary of what precedes. He states that what is said of the rain in *vv. 25-27* refers not only to the winter rains or to the occasional thunderstorms but also to the 'night mist.'

Has the rain **a** father?
Or who has begotten the streams[2] (not 'drops') of '**dew**'?

To this question a wise man replies (Prov. 3 *20*),

By his (God's) knowledge the depths were opened (*i.e.*, at creation),
And the sky drops down 'dew.'

So Gen. 27 *28* Dt. 33 *28* Hag. 1 *10* Zech. *8 12*; cp also Judg 5 4 (𝔊ᴮ and Theod.).[3] A more complete answer is given in Enoch, where the 'treasuries' of snow and bail (Job 38 *22*) and also of dew and rain are described. If Job did not 'come to those treasuries' Enoch did, according to the current legend. The statements are important : 'The spirit of the dew **has** its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds, and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one passes over into the other' (60 *20*, Charles).

In chap. 76 the twelve portals of the winds are described. From eight of them dew and rain are said to proceed ; the winds are not, however, always beneficial. The author is by no means a good observer, and his statement is of value only as confirming the statement of 60 *20* that 'dew' and 'rain' are connected.

(b) Preciousness of 'dew.'—The land of Israel is called 'a land of corn and wine; yea, his heavens drop down dew' (Dt. 33 *28*). The blessing of Jacob says : 'God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the land' (Gen. 27 *28* ; contrast *v.* 39, RVᵐᵍ·). Yahwè himself resembles 'dew'; 'I will be as the dew for Israel' (parched up, desolate Israel), Hos. 14 5 [6]. The preciousness of the 'dew' is shown by its effects, which are next described.

Perhaps, however, *ṭal* here includes rain. Dew is an emblem of resurrection ; 'A dew of lights is thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades' (Is. 26 *19*, *SBOT*). From the world of perfect light where Yahwè dwells a supernatural 'dew' will descend on the dead Israelites. 'The dew of resurrection' (טל של תחיה) is a Talmudic phrase based on this prophecy. In the Koran, also (*e.g.*, Sur. 41 *39*), rain is referred to as **a** sign of the resurrection. Probably, too, Micah 5 7 [6] also should be mentioned here. The traditional text, as it stands, is unintelligible. The 'remnant of Jacob' among the nations cannot be at the same time like showers of night mist on the earth and like a lion. The upright line (Pasek) placed after 'And shall be' (והיה) warns us (as so often) that there is something doubtful in the text. Possibly עַל, 'upon' has dropped out. The passage reads thus, 'And there shall be on the remnant of Jacob . . as it were "dew" from Yahwè: . . . which tarries not for man,' etc.—*i.e.*, which is independent of human effort. Reluctant as one may be to deviate from an unquestioned tradition, it becomes necessary to do so, when even the acute Wellhausen admits that the point of the comparison in the present text is unintelligible to him.

(c) Other illustrative passages.—The dew (night mist), like the rain, comes by the word of a prophet (1 K. 17 *1*). It falls suddenly (2 S. 17 *12*), and gently, like persuasive eloquence (Dt. 32 *2*) ; it lies all night (Job 29 *19*), but early disappears like superficial goodness (Hos. 6 4). Such a night mist is to be expected in the early summer, in the settled hot weather of harvest (Is. 18 4 ; but, on text, see VINE, § 1). It bas a healing effect on vegetation (Ecclus. 18 *16* 43 *22*); but for a man to he exposed to it is a trying experience (Cant. 5 *2*). It is all-pervading; hence Gideon asks, as a sign of his divine mission, first, that the fleece which he has put on the threshing-floor may be wet with a night mist (*ṭal*) when the floor itself is dry, and next, that the fleece may be dry when the floor is wet. So abundant is the moisture of the night mist that in the morning after the first experience Gideon is able to wring out of the fleece a whole bowlful of water (Judg. 6 36-40).

(d) Two doubtful passages.—In Ps. 110 3, if the scribes have correctly transmitted the text, there is **a** condensed comparison of **a** king's youthful army to the countless drops of dew: **a** highly poetic figure, adopted by Milton in speaking of the angelhosts. The words, however, 'thou hast the dew of thy youth' ('dew' is not attested by the LXX, though the other Greek translators all have δρόσος), are probably corrupt (see Che. *Psalms*(2)). The other passage (Ps. 133 3) appears to state that it is the dew of Hermon that comes down on the mountains of Zion. Some (so Del.) have thought that a plentiful dew in Jerusalem might he the result of the abundance of vapours on Hermon; others (so Baethg.), that 'dew of Hermon' is a proverbial expression for a plentiful dew. Robertson Smith (*OTJC*(2) *212*) suggests that the expressions may he hyperbolical; the gathering of pious pilgrims from all parts at the great feasts at Jerusalem was 'as if the fertilising dews, of great Hermon were all concentrated on the little hill of Zion' ; but the passage, as it stands, is incapable of **a** natural interpretation. The text came into the editor's band in an imperfect condition. Hermon and Zion can by no possibility he brought into connection either here or in the equally corrupt passage, Ps. 42 6 [7]. T. K. C.

[1] This is the first rendering of טַל in BDB. It had been adopted by Che. in his *Prophecies of Isaiah* and *Book of Psalms*(1), who followed Neil, *op. cit.*, 140.

[2] MT reads אֶגְלֵי, generally rendered 'drops' (𝔊 βώλους). 'Reservoirs' would be more defensible ; but this does not suit 'begotten.' The obvious emendation is פַּלְגֵי. Rain is called פלג אלהים in Ps. 65 *10*. The scribe is thinking of the 'channel' (תְּעָלָה) in *v.* 25.

[3] Heb. text has only 'dropped.

DIADEM. Strictly διάδημα (διαδέω, to bind round) is no more than a rich fillet or head-band. It was worn around the Persian royal hat (see MITRE, 2). and, as distinguished from στέφανος (see CROWN), is the badge of royalty; cp 1 Macc. 1 9 6 *15* 8 14 etc., Rev. 12 3 13 *1* 19 *12* (RV, AV 'crown,' and so EV in 1 Esd. 4 *30*). It is probable that fillets of a more or less ornate character are referred to in the Heb. נֵזֶר, עֲטָרָה (see CROWN) and צִיץ (see MITRE).

1. Διάδημα is used by 𝔊 to render כֶּתֶר, *kether*, Esth. 1 *11*, and נֵזֶר, *nēzer*, 2 S. 1 *10* [L, Sym. Theod.] (see CROWN, § 2), תַּכְרִיךְ, *takrīk*, Esth. 8 *15* (see MANTLE), and צָנִיף, *ṣānīph*, Is. 62 3 (cp Ecclus. 47 6) ; see 4 below.

Diadem in EV represents the following words :—

2. *p i ~ ~* :Bar. 5 2 (EV, in Judith 10 3 16 8, EV 'tire,' AVᵐᵍ· 'mitre').

3. מִצְנֶפֶת, *miṣnepheth*, Ezek. 21 26 [31] AV ; see MITRE, 1.

4. צָנִיף, *ṣānīph*, Is. 62 3 EV, Zech. *3 5* RVᵐᵍ· (EV 'mitre'), Job 29 *14* EV (RVᵐᵍ· 'turban') ; see TURBAN, 2.

5. צְפִירָה, *ṣĕphīrāh* (properly 'a plait' ; √to weave), Is. 28 5 (‖ עטרה, ὁ πλεκείς or πλακείς, etc. [BℵAQΓ], πλέγμα [Aq. Theod.], κίδαρις [Sym.]). In Ezek. 7 7 *10* (RV 'doom'), according to Co., *ṣĕphīrāh* means 'crown' (cp RVᵐᵍ· 'crowning time'); text perhaps faulty, see Co., Bertholet.

DIAL and **SUN-DIAL** (מַעֲלוֹת, literally 'steps,' ἀναβαθμοί ; Tg. אבן שעיא, 'hour-stone'; Sym. in Is. 38 8 ὡρολόγιον ; *horologium*), 2 K. 20 *11* Is. 38 8. The term occurs in the account of Hezekiah's illness.

In point of fact, however, the narrator says nothing of **a** 'dial' and of 'degrees' but only of 'steps' ; where AV says, 'The sun returned ten degrees,' RV mnre correctly says, 'The sun returned ten steps,' though immediately afterwards it uses the incorrect term 'dial' (with a marginal note, 'Heb. steps'). Hence both in AV and in RV the account is more obscure than it need have been. It is true, the parallel accounts in 2 K. 20 and Is. 38 differ, which produces some difficulty.

On the whole, Is. 38 7 *f.* is probably nearer to the original text than 2 K. 20 8-11. It is not, however, free from awkwardness. Explanatory words have evidently been introduced, after removing which we get something like this : 'Behold, I will cause the shadow to go back as many steps as the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz. So the sun went back as many degrees as it had gone down.'[1] The date of this part of the narrative is long after the age of Isaiah, who was ordinarily no worker of miracles (see ISAIAH, ii. § 15, and cp 1 Cor. 1 22) ; and, if Duhm is correct, the phrase 'on the steps of Ahaz' is the awkward insertion of an editor. The reference is, therefore, of very small archæological value. Still, we may fairly ask what the late writer meant, and the most usual answer is that the steps were those which led up to the base of an obelisk, the shadow of which fell on the upper steps at noon, and on the lower in the morning and the evening. We may suppose the monument to have been near enough to the palace for Hezekiah to see it from his chamber. This, however, is quite uncertain, and, nothing being said of such heathenish objects elsewhere,[2] it is scarcely probable. 𝔊 (see Is. 38 8, and cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 2 1) thinks that the steps were those of the palace. This has been too hastily rejected. It is perfectly possible that בֵּית, 'house (of),' fell out of the text before אָחָז, 'Ahaz.' We must at any rate abandon the view that a dial with concentric circles and a central gnomon is meant. Ahaz might no doubt have borrowed this invention from Assyria (cp Herod. 2 109). There is no evidence, however, that מַעֲלוֹת can mean 'degrees,' and it must be repeated that the narrative appears to be a glorification of Isaiah (cp Ecclus. 48 23), based on no ascertainable tradition of fact,[3] either as regards the wonder or the 'steps.' 'Steps' was the simplest word to use in such a context, in speaking of a comparatively remote age. T. K. C.

DIAMOND (שָׁמִיר, יַהֲלֹם ; see below, § 2). The name diamond is merely a modification of *adamant*, though, unlike the latter word, it has a quite definite meaning, designating the well-known gem composed of crystallised carbon, with traces of silica and earths. It is usually colourless, but is often tinged white, gray, or brown ; more rarely yellow, pink, etc.

1. Unknown to the Hebrews.

The diamond does not appear to have become known to the Greeks till the time of Alexander's successors, when the Greek kings had much intercourse with India, the only place in the ancient world where diamonds are known to have been obtained. Delitzsch has, indeed, ascribed to the Assyrians an acquaintance with the diamond (comparing *elmēšu* with Ar. *'almās*) ; but this is precarious. Nor is it any more likely that the diamond was known to the Egyptians ; the cutting point used by them in working hard stones was more probably corundum (Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, 173). We need have little hesitation, therefore, in deciding that it was not one of the stones known to the Hebrews of the sixth century B.C. (Ezek. 28 13 EV). Much less could it have been an inscribed gem in the high-priestly 'breastplate' of P (Ex. 28 18 = 39 11 EV) ; for neither Greeks nor Romans could engrave the diamond.

It was not until the sixteenth century A.D. that the wonderful skill of the cinque-cento engravers succeeded in producing intagli upon the diamond. No doubt, even many of the works celebrated under this name may have been in reality cut in the white topaz or the colourless sapphire ; but Clusius, a most competent judge, declares not only that Clement Birago had engraved on a diamond the portrait of Don Carlos as a betrothal present to Anna, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II., but also that he had himself seen it during his stay in Spain in 1564. Birago had engraved the arms of Spain as a seal. Paolo Morigia, too says that Torezzo discovered the method and engraved the arms of Charles V. on a diamond, whilst Jacobus Thronus is said to have engraved on a diamond the arms of England, for Queen Mary of England, Philip's consort.

Diamond occurs four times in EV—once (Jer. 17 1) to translate the Heb. שָׁמִיר (*shāmīr*), which was almost certainly corundum (see ADAMANT, § 3), the only substance used by the Greeks to engrave gems down to the end of the fourth century B.C., and thrice (Ex. 28 18 39 11 Ezek. 28 13) to translate the Heb. יַהֲלֹם (*yahălōm*). See PRECIOUS STONES. W. R.

2. The Hebrew terms.

DIANA (ἀρτεμις [Ti. WH], Acts 19 24 *ff.*). The characteristic feature of the early religion of Asia Minor was the worship of a mother-goddess in whom was adored the mystery of Nature, perpetually dying and perpetually self-reproducing. She 'had her chosen home in the mountains, amid the undisturbed life of Nature, among the wild animals who continue free from the artificial and unnatural rules constructed by men' (Ramsay, *Hist. Phryg.* 189); the lakes with their luxuriant shores also were her favoured abode; and, generally, in all the world of plants and animals her power was manifest. It was easy to identify such a goddess with the Greek Artemis, for the latter also was originally the queen of nature and the nurse of all life ; but from first to last the Ephesian goddess was an oriental divinity.

1. The goddess and her worship.

Under different names but with essential identity of character, the great godddss was worshipped throughout Asia Minor, and the various modifications of the fundamental conception often came into contact with, and influenced, one another, as though they were originally distinct. In northern and eastern Phrygia the great Nature-goddess was worshipped as Cybele. In Lydia Katakekaumĕnē she was invoked as Artemis, and also by the Persian name Anaitis, introduced perhaps by Asiatic colonists planted in the Hermos valley by Cyrus (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of As. Min.* 131). She was known there also as Leto, which is her title at Hierapolis and Dionysopolis. As Leto she is traceable through Lycia and western Pisidia to the Pamphylian Perga, where again she is also called Artemis (Str. 667). The name Leto is the Semitic Al-lat (אלת, cp Ἀλιλάτ, Herod. 1 131), and points to Semitic influence, radiating perhaps from Cyprus (Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 190).

The world-renowned seat of this worship was Ephesus (Acts 19 27 ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται : the festival in her honour was called Οἰκουμενικά). The fame of the Ephesian shrine was primarily due to the fact that 'the Asian mead by the streams of the Cayster' (Hom. *Il.* 2 461) was the natural meeting-point of the religious ideas brought westwards by the expansion of the pre-Aryan kingdom of Asia Minor (Sayce, *Anc. Emp.* 430), and of the foreign, Semitic, influences which penetrated the peninsula at various points on the coast where intercourse with the Phœnicians was active. Thus must we explain the peculiar composite features of the hierarchy which early grew up round the temple on the bank of the Cayster. It consisted of certain vestals (παρθένοι)[1] under the presidency of a eunuch-priest, bearing the titular name Megabyzos (Str. 641). Some have understood the passage in Strabo to assert the existence of a College of Megabyzoi; but probably merely a succession is meant (one only in Xen. *Anab.* 5 3, § 6 *f.* and App. *BC* 5 9). Persia was probably the source of supply. There were three grades among the vestals, who seem to have had, besides, a female superintendent (Plut. *An seni.* 795 34 Reiske). There is no evidence (Hicks, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 3 2, p. 85) that they were called μέλισσαι, though the statement is usually made (after Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, 108) ; certain priestesses of the Great Mother were so called, however, according to Lactantius (*Inst.* 1 22), and the bee was the regular type on the coins (Head, *Coins of Eph.*).

There was also a college of priests (Ἐσσῆνες). The popular derivation of the name was from ἑσμός =

[1] Cp Duhm, Cheyne.

[2] Obelisks were characteristic of Egyptian sun-worship (cp Jer. 43 13).

[3] Bosanquet (*TSBA* 3 37) explained the alleged phenomenon as the disturbance of the shadow during the solar eclipse of 11th Jan. 689 B.C. It is needless to discuss this. Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 17.

[1] For the meaning of this word in connection with the Anatolian system, see Ramsay, *Hist. Phryg.* 196.

'swarm' (so Curtius, *Ephesos*, 36); but it is perhaps wrong to follow Lightfoot (*Coloss. Intro.* p. 94) in denying all connection with the name of the Jewish sect of the Essenes. These priests were the connecting link between the hierarchy and civic life—*e.g.*, they cast the lot which determined the Thousand and Tribe of a newly created citizen (Hicks, *l.c.*, no. 447, etc.). Neither their number nor the mode of their appointment is known, but they held office only for a year and superintended the feasts at the Artemisium following the sacrifices at the Artemisia, or annual Festival (Paus. viii. 13 1). For minor sacred officials see Hicks, *l.c.* 85 *f.*

The analogous establishments of the goddess Ma in the remote E. of Asia Minor, at the two Komanas (Cappadocia, Str. 535; Pontus, *id.* 557), show us the system in a more thorough-going form; Strabo's words (νυνὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν φυλάττεται τῶν νομίμων τὰ δ' ἧττον) imply that the grosser features of the cult had been got rid of at Ephesus. In the eastern shrines we have a presiding priest allied in blood to the reigning family, and second only to him in honour, ruling the temple and the attendant ἱερόδουλοι (6000 in number), and enjoying the vast revenues of the sacred estates.

2. The image. The cultus-statue was thoroughly oriental in form, being a cone surmounted by a bust covered with breasts (Jer. *Præf. Eph.*). Like the most ancient image of Athena at Athens (Paus. i. 26 6) and the statue of Artemis at Tauris (Eur. *Iph. T.* 977), and that of the allied Cybele of Pessinus, it 'fell down from Jupiter' (so AV and RV in Acts 19 35: τοῦ διοπετοῦς, 'that fell from heaven'). Such was her form wherever she was worshipped as Ephesian Artemis; but on the coins we find mostly the purely Hellenic type. The 'silver shrines' (Acts 19 24 ναοί) were offered by the rich in the temple: poorer worshippers would dedicate shrines of marble or terra-cotta.

Numerous examples in marble, and some in terra-cotta, are extant (*Athen. Mitth.* 2 49, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880); the series shows continuous development from the earliest known representation of the Mother-goddess (the so-called 'Niobe' at Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus) to such as that figured in Harrison, *Myth. and Mon. of Athens*, 48 (cp Rams. in *JHS*, 1882, p. 45). Such shrines were perhaps also kept in private houses (Paus. iv. 31 8 ἄνδρες ἰδίᾳ θεῶν μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ). Similar shrines were carried in the sacred processions which constituted an important part of ancient ritual (Ignat. ad *Eph.* 9 σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι; Metaphr. *Vit. Timoth.* 1769: εἴδωλα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες in the festival called Καταγώγιον; *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 3 no. 481, referring to the thirty gold and silver ἀπεικονίσματα presented by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 A.D.).

In the manufacture of these shrines many hands and much capital were employed (Acts 19 24 παρείχετο τοῖς τεχνίταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν).

The characteristic formula of invocation was μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις (whence we must accept the reading of D as against the μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις of the other MSS). The epithet is applied in inscriptions (CZG 2963 C, τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος; id. 6797, Ἐφέσου Ἄνασσα). Its use in invocation has been detected at other centres of the allied cults.

This was the case, for example, at the shrine of Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos at Dionysopolis (Rams. *Hist. Phryg.* 1 151, n. 49, μεγας Ἀπόλλω Λερμηνός, see *J. Hell. Stud.*, 1889, p. 216 *f.*; cp *Hist. Phryg.* 153, n. 53, εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῷ ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ ποιεῖ). In an inscription from the Limnai (mod. *Egirdir Geul* and *Hoiran G.*), where Artemis of the lakes was revered, we have the formula Μεγάλη Ἄρτεμις (Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of* AM, 410). The Artemis of Therma in Lesbos is invoked by the phrase 'Great Artemis of Therma' which appears on a stone still standing by the road between Therma and Mitylene (*Bull de Corr. Hell.*, 1880, p. 430). The Artemis of Perga also affords a parallel (Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 138; cp also id. *Hist. Geog. of AM*, 292).

All these examples show that the *power* of the goddess was a prominent idea in the cult, and give point to the reiteration of the formula by the mob (Acts 19 34). Cp Xen. Eph. 1 11, ὀμνύω τέ σοι τὴν πάτριον ἡμῖν θεὸν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἄρτεμιν.

One of the secrets of the popularity of the temple was its right of asylum. Whatever the fate of the town, the

3. The temple. temple and all within the precinct were safe (Paus. vii. 2 8 τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δεῖμα ἦν οὐδέν. Cp also Herod. 1 26; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 133; Strabo, 641). The peribolos-area was several times enlarged—by Alexander the Great who extended it to a radius of a stade from the temple, and again by Mithridates. Antony doubled it, taking in μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως—*i.e.*, part of the suburbs. This extension worked in favour of the criminal classes (Strabo, *l.c.*, Tac. *Ann.* 3 60), so that Augustus in 6 B.C. narrowed the sanctuary area, and surrounded it with a wall (Hicks, *l.c.* no. 522 *f.*). There was a further revision by Tiberius in 22 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 3 61). Connected with this security was the use of the place as a national and private bank of deposit (Dio Chrys. *Rhod. Or.* 595; see also Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* 333 105; Strabo, 640). From the deposits, loans were issued to individuals or communities (Hicks, *Manual Gr. Hist. Inscr.* no. 205).

It is noteworthy that the opposition to Paul did not originate among the priests (see EPHESUS). The energies of the priests of the great shrines must have been largely directed to the absorption of kindred elements in the new cults with which they came in contact, or at any rate to the harmonising of the various rival worships. In this they were assisted by the tendency of the Greeks to see in foreign deities the figures of their own pantheon. That very definite steps were taken in Ephesus to avoid conflict with the cult of Apollo is proved by the localisation there of the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis (Str. 639, Tac. *Ann.* 3 61; cp Pauly's *Realenc.* 1373). The teaching of Paul would seem but another importation from the E., likely to effect a revival redounding to the advantage of the temple. This blindness of the priesthood to the real tendencies of the new teaching is well illustrated at Lystra, where the priest of Zeus Propoleos is foremost in doing honour to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14 13). Not until a later period was this attitude exchanged for one of hostility; the earliest pagan opposition was based on lower grounds than those of religion (Rams. *Church in R. Emp.* 131, 200). [See especially Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874.]

W. J. W.

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָתָה; ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ]), Ezek. 6 14 RV. See RIBLAH.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלַיִם), Hos. 1 3; see GOMER (2).

DIBLATH (דִּבְלָתָה in MT; the statement that the true Palestinian reading is 'רב' is weakly attested [Ea.]; ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ]), Ezek. 6 14 AV (RV DIBLAH), where the 'toward' of EV demands an emended text. See RIBLAH.

DIBLATHAIM (דִּבְלָתָיְמָה), Nu. 33 46; see BETH-DIBLATHAIM.

DIBON (דִּיבוֹן; so thrice [Ba. ad Is. 15 2]; elsewhere in OT and on Moabite stone דיבן, and so ΔΑΙΒΩΝ [BAFL]—whence the true pronunciation is probably Daibon, Meyer, *ZAW* 1 128, n. 2—but in Josh. 13 17 ΔΑΙΒΩΡ [A], ΔΕΒΩΝ [L]).

1. A city of Moab (Is. 15 2, Δηβων [Bℵ^corr.pl.], Δαιβηδων [ℵ*], Λεβ. [QΓ], Jer. 48 18 22 δεβων [ℵ], [α]δαιβων [Q]), the modern *Dībān*, about 3 m. N. from Aroer and 4 from the Arnon. A fragment of an ancient song preserved by JE in Nu. 21 commemorates the conquests of the Amorite king Sihon over Moab 'from Heshbon to Dibon' (*v.* 30). According to Nu. 32 34 [E] it was 'built' by the Gadites, and it is alluded to as Dibon-Gad in Nu. 33 45 *f.* [P]. Josh. 13 17 [P] gives it to the Reubenites. In Is. 15 9 the name is written DIMON [*q.v.*]. It was at Dībān that the famous stone of King Mesha was discovered in 1868.

2. In list of Judahite villages (EZRA, ii. § 5 [*b*] § 15 [1] a), Neh. 11 25 (Διβων [ℵ^c.a mg.], om. BA); perhaps the DIMONAH [*q.v.*] of Josh. 15 22.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי; ΔΑΒΡ[Ε]Ι [BAF], ΖΑΜΒΡΙ [L]; *DABRI*), father of SHELOMITH [*q.v.*, no. 1]; Lev. 24 11.† P's story of the son of Shelomith who blasphemes 'the Name'[1] bears a close family likeness to the incident in

[1] So MT. The original text no doubt had 'Yahwè.

Nu. 25_{14} *ff.* There the marriage of Zimri (a name not unlike Dibri)[1] with a Midianitess is the cause of sin, and here the offender is the sou of a mixed union. Zimri belongs to the tribe of Sirneon which, according to Gen. 46_{10}, had Canaanite relations, and in the person of Dibri the tribe of Dan is pilloried (see DAN, § 8). In both stories the prevailing principle is the necessity of cutting off Israel from all strangers; cp Neh 9_2 1330, and see Bertholet, *Stellung d. Israel.* **147.**

[1] Note L's reading above. Zimri in old Ar. (Sab.) compounds is *dimri* (see ZIMRI, i., n.); and for interchange of 6 and *m* cp ZABDI, n.

DIDYMUS (ΔΙΔΥΜΟϹ [Ti. WH]), Jn. 11_{16} etc.; see THOMAS.

DIKLAH (דִּקְלָה; ΔΕΚΛΑ [AEL], in Ch. ΔΕΚΛΑΜ [A]; om. B; *decla*), son of Joktan (Gen. 10_{27} 1 Ch. 1_{21}). The name is obscure; it has been supposed by Bochart and others to designate 'a palm-bearing district' (cp Ar. *dakal*[un], a sort of palm tree, and see BDB). Hommel connects it with the name of the Paradise river Ḥid-deḳel (see PARADISE).

DILEAN, RV Dilan (דִּלְעָן; ΔΑΛΑΛ [B]; -ΛΑΔ [A]; -ΛΛΑΝ [L], Pesh. ܕܠܥܢ), an unidentified city in the Shephēlah of Judah (Josh. 1538). It occurs with Mizpeh (Tell eṣ-Ṣâfiyeh) in a group apparently N. of the group comprising Lachish and Eglon.

DILL (ΤΟ ΑΝΗΘΟΝ), Mt. 23_{23} RVmg.; EV ANISE (*q.v.*).

DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה; ΔΑΜΝΑ [AL]; ϹΕΛΛΑ [B]), one of the cities of Zebulun theoretically assigned to the Levites (Josh. 21_{35}† P). It is mentioned together with NAHALAL (*q.v.*). The form, however, seems incorrect; we should rather read Rimmonah, with Di.,. Berth., Bennett. Cp Rimmono (1 Ch. 662 [77]), and 'see RIMMON, ii. 3. T. K. C.

DIMON (דִּימוֹן; ΔΕΙΜΩΝ [B twice]; ΡΕΜΜΩΝ [ℵ$^{c.a, c.b}$ twice, AΓ once, Q* once]; ΔΕΜΜΩΝ [once M 1° sup ras ℵ$^{a?}$; ΔΕΡΜΩΝ ℵ* fort]; ΔΙΜΩΝ [once Qmg.]; ΝΕΜΜΩ̄ [once ℵ*]), a town of Moab mentioned only in Is. 15_9 (twice). According to Che. דימון is a corruption of נמרים NIMRIM [*q.v.*]; it is no objection to this view that Nimrim has already been mentioned in *v.* 6; MADMEN in Jer. **482** is still more plainly a corruption of Nimrim. Those who adhere to the traditional text suppose that Dimon = Dibon, the former with *m* being chosen on acconnt of the assonance with *dām*, 'blood,' or else that some unknown place is referred to (according to Duhm, on the border of Edom; cp 16_1 and see 2 K. 3_{22}). The former view is the more prevalent one. If Abana = Amana, may not Dimon be equivalent to Dibon? Jerome in his commentary says, 'Usque hodie indifferenter et Dimon et Dibon hoc oppidulum dicitur,' and in the OT itself we find DIMONAH [*q.v.*] and Dibon (2) used for the same place. If Dibon be meant in Is. 15, 'the waters of Dimon' may, according to Hitzig and Dillmann, be a reservoir such as many cities probably possessed (cp Cant. 7_4 [5], but see HESHBON). The Arnon flowed too far off from the town to be meant. Still the text may be admitted to be doubtful. H. W. H.

DIMONAH (דִּימוֹנָה; ΡΕΓΜΑ [B], ΔΙΜΩΝΑ [AL]), a Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15_{22}). Perhaps the DIBON (2) of Neh. 1125 (cp Dibon and Dimon in Moab). Knobel and others suggest the modern *Kh. edh-Dheib* or *eṭ-Ṭeiyibeh*, 2½ m. NE. of Tell 'Arād; but this is quite uncertain. Pesh. ܝܪܡܘܢܐ presupposes a form ירמונה; cp the variation given under DANNAH.

DINAH (דִּינָה; Δ[Ε]ΙΝΑ [AL]), 'daughter' of Leah and 'sister' of Simeon and Levi.

Whilst Ben-oni left behind it some memorials (see BEN-ONI), the disappearance of Dinah, to judge from the absence of all later traces, seems to have been absolute.

1. Gen. 34. In J's story, however, when Simeon and Levi fell upon the people of Shechem, as the Danites fell upon Laish, their attempt to carry Dinah away was successful. Two explanations are possible. Dinah may have disappeared as a tribe later along with its rescuers[1]—there is, however, a difference: the brother tribes left traces (see LEVI, SIMEON)—or the success of the raid may be an element of exaggeration in the story: Dinah may have been absorbed into Shechem. Indeed the question suggests itself, as it does in the case of the other 'wives' in the patriarch stories (see ZILPAH, BILHAH, RACHEL, LEAH), Have we here really a distinct tribe? or does Dinah simply mean Israelitish families (of whatever clan) that settled in Shechem?

Unfortunately J's story is incomplete: we are not told what the dowry demanded of Shechem was, or why the city was attacked. A later age forgot that in Canaan only the Philistines were uncircumcised (see CIRCUMCISION, § 3), and thought that Israel could never have consented to settle in Shechem unless that town adopted the circumcision rite. J cannot have meant this.

Unlike the raid on Laish, that on Shechem seems to have been condemned by public sentiment. 'Cursed

2. Motive. be their anger,' says the 'Blessing of Jacob,' 'for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel'; but according to J the chief reason of this disfavour was that the safety of Israel had been imperilled. The judgment that overtook the perpetration of the raid is clearly indicated in the Blessing: they should be divided and scattered. One instinctively asks, How does this 'judgment' stand related to the name *dinah*? Does one explain the other? and, if so, which?

The Dinah story may be regarded as an explanation of the 'judgment' either on Shechem or on Simeon-Levi. It is also, however, fitted to serve as a popular explanation of the name Jacob, which it assigns to the immigrant people: Jacob was a wily people; and he paid back an injury done him. Stories are easily worked up so as to explain several distinct points.

It was a common belief in the days of the monarchy that the Leah tribes had been in the highlands of

3. Meaning. Ephraim before they settled in the south (see ISRAEL, § 7, LEVI, SIMEON, DAN, § 2). The point that concerns us here is whether some of them settled in Shechem. Unfortunately the earliest traditions that have come down to us belong to an age when there was no distinct memory of the real course of events. Every one knew that there was a time when Israelites had planted themselves in the hill-country but had not yet incorporated Shechem—the belief of a later age, that it was the resting-place of the remains of Joseph, had not arisen—but as to how it became Israelite there were already various theories. One story told of deeds of sword and bow (Gen. 48_{22} Judg. 945); another made more of a treaty or contract of some kind (connubinm? circumcision? a sale of property? an alliance [ברית]?; 33_{19} 34). It might perhaps be suggested that the *ṣadīḳa*-alliance with the Shechemites (Judg. 831) points to a third story, a story of an Abiez-

[1] Prof. Cheyne thinks that the disappearance of the tribe is actually recorded in 35_8: that what E wrote was not 'and there died Deborah,' but 'and there died Dinah.' There are certainly, as he urges, difficulties in the text as it stands: the connecting of a famous tree with a nurse; the preservation of the name (contrast Gen. 2459, where moreover 𝔊 read מקנה for מנקתה: τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς: cp 31_{18}); the presence of the nurse in the train of Jacob; the whole Jacob-clan making a solemn mourning over her; the geographical discrepancy between Gen. 358 and Judg. 43. He therefore proposes to emend דברה מינקת רבקה into דִּינָה בַּת יַעֲקֹב הַבְּכִירָה and to read: 'And Dinah Jacob's eldest daughter, died, and was buried at the foot of [the hill of] Bethel, and was buried under the Tree; so its name is called Allon-bakuth' (*see* ALLON-BACUTH). The destruction of a tribe would certainly fully account for the mourning (*bākūth*). Both J (Gen. 37_{35}) and P (Gen. 467) represent Jacob as having more than one daughter.

rite settlement in Shechem. The idea of the covenant, however, may be simply a popular attempt to explain the name BAAL-BERITH (*q.v.*), like the story connected with the name Jerubbaal (see GIDEON). The warlike story, though early, may have to be classed with others of the same type. The peaceable settlement theory is historically the most probable; but it is hardly necessary to question the occurrence of a Dinah raid, less successful than the Danite. See, further, LEVI, SIMEON, JUDAH. H. W. H.

DINAITES (דִּינָיֵא), mentioned with the APHARSATHCHITES, TARPELITES [*qq.v.*], and others, in the Aramaic letter from Rehum to Artaxerxes (Ezra 49). It is improbable that the word is an ethnic name (so 𝔊^BA, δ[ε]ιναῖοι, *dinaei* [Vg.]), and we should rather point דַּיָּנַיָּא 'judges' (*so* 𝔊^L οἱ κριταί). It is the Aramaic translation of the Persian title *dātābhar*. Cp Hoffmann, *ZA*, **1887**, p. **55**; Schrader, *HWB*(2); Andreas in Marti, *Bibl. Aram. Gram.* 59*.

DINHABAH (דִּנְהָבָה; ΔΕΝΝΑΒΑ [ADEL]), the city of the Edomite king BELA (*q.v.*), Gen. 3632. Almost beyond a doubt דנהבה is a corruption of רְחֹבֹת (cp *v.* 37). See BELA, and cp Che. *OLZ*, May '99. It is a mere accident that several names can be quoted somewhat resembling Dinhabah. Thus in the Amarna tablets Tunip or Dunip is mentioned as in the land of Martu. Tnnipa also occurs in the list of the N. Syrian places conquered by Thotmes III. (Tomkins, *RP*(2) 529). There was a Danaba in Palmyrene Syria (Ptol. v. 1524; Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* 32, p. 595*f.* 606, quoted by Kn.), and a Danabe in Babylonia (Zosim. *Hist.* 327). There was also a Dannaba in N. Moab (OS11431). A Toneib (*PEF* map) or Thenib (Tristram) is to be found NE. of Ḥesbān; the *PEF* map calls it Ḥodbat el Toneib, but the Beni Sakhr 'knew not Hodbat' (Gray Hill, *PEFQ*, **1896**, p. 46). With this place Dinhabah is identified by v. Riess, *Bibel-Atlas*, and Tomkins, *PEFQ*, **1891**, p. 322*f.* T. K. C.

DINNER (ΑΡΙϹΤΟΝ), Mt. 224 etc. See MEALS, § 2, n.

DIONYSIA (ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΑ [VA]), 2 Macc. 67 RV^mg.; EV BACCHUS.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΟϹ [Ο] ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓ[Ε]ΙΤΗϹ [Ti. WH]), one of Paul's Athenian converts (Acts 1734). See DAMARIS.

Eusebius (*HE* 34 423) tells us on the authority of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who flourished about 171 A.D., that Dionysius the Areopagite became first bishop of Athens. In ecclesiastical tradition he is sometimes confounded with St. Denis, the first apostle of France, a confusion which was greatly fostered by Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis (834 A.D.) in his *Areopagitica*, which made large use of spurious documents. The important writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, first mentioned in the sixth century, do not fall within the scope of a Dictionary of the Bible.

DIONYSUS (ΔΙΟΝΥϹΟϹ [VA]), 2 Macc. 67 RV^mg.; EV BACCHUS.

DIOSCORINTHIUS (ΔΙΟϹ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ [VA], [illegible] [Pesh.]; 2 Macc. 1121†); see MONTH, § 4.

DIOSCURI (ΔΙΟϹΚΟΥΡΟΙ [Ti. WH]), Acts 2811 RV^mg.; AV CASTOR AND POLLUX.

DIOTREPHES (ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΗϹ [Ti. WH]) is the subject of unfavourable comment in 3 Jn. 9*f.* Beyond what is there stated, nothing is known concerning him.

DIPHATH (דִּיפַת), 1 Ch. 16† AV^mg. and RV; AV and RV^mg. RIPHATH.

DISCIPLE. One who learns (cp Gk. ΜΑΘΗΤΗϹ, from ΜΑΝΘΑΝΩ), as opposed to one who teaches (ΔΙΔΑϹΚΑΛΟϹ); see RABBI, TEACHER.

1. OT usage. AV and RV both give 'disciples' in Is. 816 (*discipuli* [Vg.]), and RV^mg. in 504 and 5413 (παιδ[ε]ία, διδακτός [BℵAQ]). In each case this represents לִמּוּדִים, 'those who are taught or trained.' A synonymous word from the same root is תַּלְמִיד, common in late Jewish writings (cp esp. תַּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים, 'disciples of the wise'), and found once in 1 Ch. 258, where the contrast between ὁ μαθητής and ὁ διδάσκαλος (for which cp also Mt. 1025) is expressed by מֵבִין עִם־תַּלְמִיד 'as well . . . the teacher as the scholar' (τελείων καὶ μανθανόντων [BAL], [συνιὼν μετὰ μανθάνοντος, L], *doctus pariter at indoctus* [Vg.]). The apparent parallel in 'master and scholar' Mal. 212 AV (MT עֵר וְעֹנֶה *magistrum et discipulum*) is untrustworthy; the passage is rendered in many different ways, and is certainly corrupt.[1] In the LXX μαθητής occurs only, in A, for אַלּוּפִים 'friends' (as if from אלף 'to teach'), viz., in Jer. 1321, and in Jer. 2011 469 where B (and in 409 A(2), see Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*) correctly redds μαχητής. On the subject generally see EDUCATION.

2. NT usage. In the NT μαθητής (fem. μαθήτρια, Acts 936), though limited to the Gospels and Acts, is of frequent occurrence. Here it sometimes agrees with the usage in Attic (cp especially Plato) and designates merely the pupil. one who is taught by another (Mt. 1024=Lk. 640): It is then applied to the followers of a particular teacher, or sect: as, for example, of Moses as opposed to Jesus (Jn. 928), of the Baptist (Mt. 914 Mk. 218), of the Pharisees (Mt. 2216 Mk. 218); it is also used of Jesus and his teaching (Jn. 666 and often). As referring to the followers of Jesus we find that μαθητής is appiied (*a*), widely, to all his adherents and followers (Mt. 1042, and esp. in Acts 627 etc., only once followed by τοῦ κυρίου, 91), including, even, those who had been baptized only 'into John's baptism' (Acts 191-3); and (*b*), in a more restricted manner, to denote the nucleus out of which the Twelve were chosen, who, themselves, are also called μαθηταί in addition to the more familiar name of ἀπόστολοι (Lk. 613 compared with Mt. 101, cp also Mk. 827 1024 etc.); see APOSTLE.[2]

Finally, in ecclesiastical language, the term 'disciple' is applied (in the plur.) more particularly to the Seventy

3. Later Christian usage. who were sent out by Jesus to preach the Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. 101-17). The number varies between seventy (so Text. Rec., Pesh. KACL) and seventy-two (Vg. Cur. B, D etc.; *see* more fully *Variorum Bible* and Comm.). 'Lists of the names are extant in various forms and are ascribed to Dorotheos, Epiphanius, Hippolytus,[3] and Sophronius. They comprise the names in the Acts and Pauline Epistles; but variations are to be found in each list. See Lipsius, ***Die*** *Apokryphen Apostelgesch. u. Apostellegend.* 1193-206.

DISCUS (ΔΙϹΚΟϹ [VA]), the Greek game played at the palæstra introduced by Jason among the Hellenistic Jews of Jerusalem (2 Macc. 414); see HELLENISM, § 4; also CAP. It is mentioned alone, either as the chief, or perhaps only as an example, of the games played.

On the discus (a circular plate of stone or metal [cp 'dish']); see *Class. Dict.* s.v. 'Discus,' 'Pentathlon.' The indignation which the writer displays towards this Hellenizing innovation is paralleled in later times by the abhorrence the Jews felt at the introduction of the Grecian game of 'dice' (קוביא, κυβεία); see *Shabb.* 232 and cp Schür. *GVI* 233, n. 154.

DISEASES. OT terms for diseases are, as might be expected, vague (it is still a widespread practice in the East to refer euphemistically to any illness of **a** severe nature rather than to give it **a** name), and the nosological explanations[4] which will presently be given are but plausible or probable conjectures. Not to spend time on general terms such as חֳלִי, מַדְוֶה, νόσος (rendered 'sickness, disease'), or on terms implying a theological theory of disease, such as מַכָּה, מַגֵּפָה, נֶגֶף, נֶגַע (words which are often rendered 'plagne,' but properly mean 'stroke,' cp Is. 534), we pass to special terms for pestilence.

Such are (*a*) מָוֶת, (*b*) דֶּבֶר, (*c*) קֶטֶב and קֹטֶב, (*d*) רֶשֶׁף. (*a*) מָוֶת, *māweth* (cp Ass. *mûtânu*), θάνατος (properly 'death'), is

[1] Torrey's correction is plausible—to read שרש וענף, 'root and branch' (cp 319 [41]).

[2] For the same usage cp Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 424.

[3] Cp Ante-Nicene Library ix. *Hippolytus*, 2132 *ff.*

[4] For these we have to &knowledge obligations to Dr. C. Creighton.

used for a fatal sickness, such as the plague, in Jer. 15 2 18 21 43 11 Job 27 15. Cp the use of *θάνατος* in Rev. 6 8 18 8. (*b*) דֶּבֶר, *débher* (perhaps originally a boil [Socin]), *θάνατος*, is the most distinctive term (see, *e.g.*, Ex. 9 3 Dt. 28 21). Possibly, too, in the phrase דבר בליעל, rendered 'an evil disease' (Ps. 41 8), we should point דֶּבֶר (with Lag. Che.). (*c*) קטב, *keṭebh* and *ḳōṭebh*, 'cutting-off' (Dt. 32 24 Ps. 91 6 Hos. 13 14), and (*d*) רֶשֶׁף, *réšeph* (properly 'flame,' cp RESHEPH; Dt. 32 24 Hab. 3 5 ‖ דֶּבֶר) are poetical words. See PESTILENCE.

The following terms, which are of a more specific character, occur chiefly in the threatenings of Lev. 22 26 Dt. 28 :—

1. חַרְחֻר, *ḥarḥūr* (*ἐρεθισμός*), Dt. 28 22†, 'extreme burning,' RV 'fiery heat,' may refer to some special fever, such as typhus or relapsing fever.

2. דַּלֶּקֶת, *dalleḳeth* (*ῥῖγος*), Dt. 28 22†; probably inflammation.

3. חֶרֶס, *ḥeres* (*κνήφη*), Dt. 28 27†, the itch, probably some eruptive disease, such as the *lichen tropicus*.

4. יַלֶּפֶת, *yallepheth* ('accretion'? *λείχην*), Lev. 21 20 22 22†, EV 'scab(bed),' is, according to Jewish tradition, חֲזָזִית מִצְרִית the Egyptian herpes.

5. יַבֶּלֶת, *yabbeleth* (*μυρμηκιῶντα*), 'one suffering from warts' (so Jew. trad.), Lev. 22 22†; AV 'having a wen'; RVmg. 'having sores' (ulcers); from √יבל, 'to flow,' hence 'a suppuration'; see translation of Lev. in SBOT.

6. קַדַּחַת, *ḳaddaḥath* (*πυρετός*), Lev. 26 16 Dt. 28 22†, fever (AV in Lev. 'burning ague').

Under the last of these (*ḳaddaḥath*) may be included malarial or intermittent fevers, which are met with in the Jordan valley, but are not specially a disease of Syria and Palestine, owing to the equable climate and the moderate variation of temperature. It was at Capernaum (a place liable probably to malaria) that Simon's wife's mother was 'taken with a great fever' (Lk. 4 38)—an expression which is thought to indicate medical knowledge.[1] Certainly Galen and Hippocrates use the phrase, as Wetstein has pointed out. There are parallel cases in Acts 12 28 28 8 (see 9 10). According to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*; cp *Expositor*, July 1899, pp. 20-23) the 'thorn (stake) in the flesh' spoken of in 2 Cor. 12 7 means the severe headache ('like a hot bar') which follows an attack of the malarial fever of Asia Minor.

7. שַׁחֶפֶת, *šaḥepheth*, Lev. 26 16 Dt. 28 22†, 'consumption,' perhaps to be understood as the wasting of marasmus which may attend various sicknesses. Pulmonary consumption is not, however, frequent in Syria (Pruner, 283).

8. גָּרָב, *gārābh*,[2] Lev. 21 20 22 22 Dt. 28 27, 'scurvy' (but AV in Dt. 'scab'). The reference seems to be to some chronic skin disease such as eczema; a sense in which 'scurvy' and 'scorbutic' were once used.

9. *δυσεντέριον* (so the best MSS), Acts 28 8; RV 'dysentery.'

The last of these terms, 'dysentery,' occurs in Acts 28 8†, where the combination of relapsing malarial fever (*πυρετοῖς*) with dysentery is carefully noted. According to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1 1) the disease of the Philistines in 1 S. 5 was dysentery, a view which, if the traditional Hebrew readings of the text may be accepted, has some plausibility. The more usual biblical expression for dysentery is the falling out of the bowels, implying either painful straining as if the bowels would fall out, or some shedding of the mucous membrane, or a degree of prolapse, such as occurs normally in the horse, mule, etc.

There is a singular combination of the idea of bursting asunder with that of falling out in Acts 1 18; but the second part of this passage will not bear the stress of critical treatment. It is the conventional fate of traitors in apocryphal legends that is assigned to Judas. The statement must if this view is correct, he classed with the less historical portions of Acts. Cp ACELDAMA.

10. *σκωληκόβρωτος* ('eaten of worms') gives us the only detail as to the disease by which Herod Agrippa I. was carried off (Acts 12 23). It reminds us, however of the disease of which, acc. to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii 6 5), Herod the Great died, one feature of which was *ἧψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα*, and of that which 2 Macc. ix. 5 9) asserts to have caused the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. One is almost led to think that, in the deficiency of evidence, narrators imagined such a fate as this for wicked kings. Sir R. Bennett conjectures, partly on the ground of Josephus' statement (*Ant.* xix. 8 2), that the cause of Herod Agrippa's death was perforation of the bowels by intestinal worms (*Diseases of the Bible*, 103).

On affections of the sight, see EYE; on other diseases see BOIL, LEPROSY, LUNATIC, PESTILENCE, THORN IN THE FLESH, etc.; cp MEDICINE.

[1] Wetstein (1752) remarks, 'Lucas medicus morbos accuratius describere solet.' Cp Hobart, The *Medical Language of St Luke*, Dublin, 1882.

[2] Cp Ar. *jarab*, a contagious eruption consisting of pustules.

DISH. See BOWL (*sēphel*), CHARGER (*ḳeʿārāh*), CRUSE (*ṣallaḥath*), and MEALS, § 9.

DISHAN (דִּישָׁן; ρ[ε]ιcων [ADEL], see DISHON).

1. A Horite clan, reckoned as the seventh and youngest son of Seir. The name occurs in Gen. 36 21 (om. B, ΔΙCΑΝ [L]) and 1 Ch. 1 38, Gen. 36 28 (ρΗCων [E]), 1 Ch. 1 42 (MT דִּישׁוֹן; ΔΑΙCων [BA]), Gen. 36 30. The name is practically identical with DISHON, and should perhaps be emended after 𝔊E to רִישׁוֹן.

2. Gen. 36 26, RVmg., EV DISHON (*q.v.*).

DISHON (דִּישׁוֹן [1 Ch. 1 41]; דִּישָׁן [1 Ch. 1 38]; wrongly pointed דִּישָׁן [Gen. 36 26]; דִּשׁוֹן [Gen. 36 21]; דִּשׁ [*vv.* 25 30]; § 68; ΔΗCων [BADEL]). Twice reckoned as the fifth son of Seir (Gen. 36 21 1 Ch. 1 38), but once (Gen. 36 25 [*Δαισων* (L)]) as the son of Anah the son of Seir. His sons are enumerated in Gen. 36 26 (RVmg. DISHAN, following present MT), 1 Ch. 1 41 (*Δαισων* [BAL]). Cp DUKE, 1.

In spite of his genealogical phraseology, the writer is fully conscious that he is dealing not with individuals but with clans. Dishon, like Lotan and the other names, belongs to a Horite clan. Its meaning seems to be some sort of mountain-goat (see PYGARG). As Di. and WRS agree, the Horite genealogy is full of animal names.

DISPERSION. ΔΙΑCΠΟΡΑ, so rendered by RV of 2 Macc. 1 27 Jn. 7 35 Ja. 1 1 1 Pet. 1 1, is used partly to denote the process itself, the gradual distribution of Israelites among foreign lands, and partly as a collective term for the persons so dispersed or for their surroundings. In the present article it is proposed to treat briefly of the origin of the Jewish Dispersion (§§ 1-14), its legal standing (§ 15), and its inner and outer life (§§ 16-22).

διασπορά occurs in 𝔊 of Dt. 28 25 Jer. 34 [41] 17 for Heb. זַעֲוָה, 'tossing to and fro' (?). In Jer. 13 14 δ. [א*] is apparently a corruption for *διαφθορά* [so BA, etc.]. It renders נִדַּח (a collective) in Dt. 30 4 and Neh. 1 9, and נִדָּחִים in Ps. 147 2 ('outcasts'—'dispersed ones'), and in Is. 49 6 *διασπορὰ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ*—נצורי (Ktb. נְצִירֵי) יִשְׂרָאֵל, 'the preserved of Israel.' It also occurs in Jer. 15 7 Dan. (cod. 87) 12 2.

I. Permanent settlements of Israelites in regions outside Canaan had their origin in one or other of two causes—the exigencies of commerce and the chances of war. The regular commercial relations into which Solomon and his successors entered with Egypt, Phœnicia, and the countries of Middle and Northern Syria (1 K. 10 28 *f.*) must of necessity have led to the formation of small Israelite colonies outside of Palestine. These enjoyed the protection of the foreign prince under whom they lived, and had in the city of their choice a separate quarter of their own, where they could follow their distinctive customs without disturbance or offence (cp 1 K. 20 34, and see DAMASCUS, § 7; ISRAEL, § 23 *ff.*). Prisoners of war, on the other hand, either remained under the power of their captors or were sold as slaves all over the world (Am. 1 6). Obviously it was only in the first of these cases that the prisoners could by any possibility have formed the nucleus of a permanent Israelite community living abroad; but we know of no actual instance in which this happened.

1. Origin.

The forced migrations arising out of the conquests of

the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings were of a quite different character. The first was brought about in 734 by Tiglath-pileser III. (2 K. 15 29); at a later date Sargon deported 27,280 inhabitants of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media (2 K. 176). These large colonies seem to have become completely absorbed; history furnishes no clear trace of their continued separate existence. Still, there is no improbability in the supposition that many of the banished Israelites subsequently became united with the later exiles from Judah. These later exiles were transported by Nebuchadrezzar II. to Babylon in 597, 586, and 582,—according to Jer. 52 28-30 to the number of 4600 souls. They did not readily accommodate themselves to the arrangements made by the king in their behalf, having been ied by their prophets to expect a speedy return to Jerusalem (Jer. 29 Ezek. 13). This view, as we know, was not shared by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and hence it is that the first-named prophet has left us a clear utterance with regard to that (for Israel) perplexing event—the 'exile.' For him the Babylonian Exile is a prolonged punishment from God. It must be submitted to with resignation and patience, and relief will come only to those in whom the chastisement has fulfilled its purpose. Hence he admonishes the exiles to settle quietly down in Babylonia, to think of the welfare of their families, and to seek their own good in that of the foreigners among whom their lot is cast (Jer. 29 4-7). On the other hand, in his view the intention of those men of Judah who were proposing of their own proper motion to forsake the land of Yahwè and remove to Egypt was against the will of God: it was the road to ruin (Jer. 42 *f.*). This view of the prophet did not, however, turn them from their purpose (see JEREMIAH). Nor did the distinction made by the prophet between involuntary and voluntary exile, however obvious in itself, affect the theorists of a later age, whom we find expecting the return of the Israelites indiscriminately from all the lands of the dispersion (Is. 11 12 43 5 *f.*).

2. Tiglath-pileser and Nebuchadrezzar.

3. Feelings of Israelites.

Let us now seek to trace the subsequent history of the diaspora in the various lands of its abode. The Judahites deported to Babylonia constituted, alike in numbers and in worth, the very kernel of their people (2 K. 24 12-16 25 11 Jer. 52 15). They carried with them, accordingly, as we learn from the Book of Ezekiel, into their new home all the political and religions tendencies of the later period. In particular, there was in Babylonia no want of persons who cherished and developed the ideas of the prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries. For proof we have only to look at the great zeal which was shown in preserving and adapting the older historical and legal literature, or to call to mind the many prophetical utterances belonging to this period. Those who cherished these ideals did not constitute any 'close' community; they mingled freely with those who were opposed to them, and the prophetic conception always had much to contend with. Still, there were certain centres for Israelitic piety at which fidelity to the Law and hope in the return of the exiles were sedulously and specially cherished. TEL-ABIB (Ezek. 3 15), the river CHEBAR (Ezek. 1 3), AHAVA (Ezra 8 15), and CASIPHIA (Ezra 8 17) are the only names of such places that have come down to us; but doubtless there were others. When we find Ezra fetching Levites from Casiphia we have evidence enough to mark the place as a centre of deuteronomistic legalism. The Babylonian Diaspora was by no means entirely deprived of these devoted religious workers in the sixth and fifth centuries. The return under Cyrus must not be construed exactly as we find it represented in Ezra 1-3 (see ISRAEL, § 50 *ff.*; EZRA, ii.; CYRUS). The command of Cyrus to rebuild the temple of Yahwè in Jerusalem and the mission of Sheshbazzar in 538 led to the return of but few families to the ancestral home; the tidings that the restoration of the temple had been accomplished (519-515) led only to the sending of deputations and of gifts to Jerusalem (Zech. 6 9 *ff.*); it was not more than some 5000 or 6000 persons that Ezra led back to Judæa about 430 B.C. All this abundantly proves that the inclination to return was not very strongly felt by the exiles.

4. Diaspora in Babylonia.

5. Few returned to Judah.

For this there were various causes. Many of the exiles were indifferent in religious matters; some had in the interval adapted themselves too closely to the new conditions in which they found themselves; others held the return to be premature, deeming that the times of fulfilment had not yet come. In accordance with prophecy, the last-mentioned were expecting some special divine interposition to put an end to the 'exile' and to give the signal for the beginning of the glorification of Israel (Jer. 32 36 *ff.* Ezek. 34 11 *ff.* Is. 40 3 *ff.* 9 *ff.* Mic. 5 2). Just as, in Jerusalem, men hesitated as to whether they should proceed with the building of the temple and not rather wait for Yahwè's manifestation of himself in glory (Hag. 1 2 *ff.*), so in Babylonia they hesitated as to whether they ought to return forthwith and not rather await some special divine interposition. It is possible that a few additional families may have migrated to Jerusalem after the post-exilic community there had been reconstituted under Nehemiah and Ezra (430 B.C.); but in any case it is certain that a very considerable body of Jews who still adhered to the law remained behind in Babylonia, and thus that the same tendencies which had led to the great changes in Jerusalem brought about through the help of the Persian kings continued to be influential in Babylonia also. The Babylonian Diaspora received an accession under the reign of Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-338) when he transported Jews to Hyrcania and Babylonia (Georg. Syncell. ed. Dindorf, 1486).

The Persian overlordship may be assumed to have helped to open the way for the Jews of Babylonia towards the E. and the N. (The case of Nehemiah [Neh. 1 *ff.*] is a clear example of the kind of thing that must often have happened; compare also Tobit 1 9-22. Wherever a Jew had established himself in some advantageous position there were never wanting others to press forward and follow this up for themselves.) From Babylonia (and Hyrcania) the Jews advanced to Elam (Is. 11 11), Persia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, and the Black Sea. The relations which Herod the Great had established with the princes of the Upper Euphrates were utilised, we may be sure, by the Jewish Diaspora. Their centre of radiation for the whole of these Eastern countries, however, continued always to be in Babylonia, where the Euphrates and the Tigris begin to merge. Here was situated Nehardea (נהרדעא, Ναάρδα), where the temple tax levied in these parts was annually collected (see below, § 16). In the same neighbourhood two Jews named Asinæus and Anilæus, in the time of Caligula, founded a sort of robber state which held its own for sixteen years (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 1). Another important focus of Judaism was the city of Nisibis (נציבין), in the upper basin of the Chabōras. The Jewish community in Babylonia could boast of the conversion of King Izates of Adiabēnē (חדייב), on the upper Tigris, along with his mother and the rest of his kindred, in the reign of Claudius (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2-4).

6. Babylonia a radiating centre.

The development of the Diaspora in Egypt followed a quite different course from that which has just been sketched. Whilst the Judaism of Babylonia maintained its Oriental character with considerable strictness, in Egypt, or (to speak more precisely) in Alexandria, it entered upon that remarkable alliance with Hellenism which was

7. Diaspora in Egypt.

destined to have such important effects on the history of religion. Whether Psametik I. (663-609 B.C.) actually had Jewish mercenaries in his service (Letter of Aristeas) may be left an open question. We know, however, that in 609 Nechō II. condemned King Jehoahaz to exile in Egypt, and that in 586 a body of Jews, including Jeremiah the prophet, under the leadership of Johanan b. Kareah, migrated to TAHPANHES (*Tell Defenne*; cp Jer. 42 *f.*). According to Jer. 44 1 6 (an insertion dating from about the fifth century) Jews settled also in MIGDOL, NOPH (Memphis), and PATHROS (Upper Egypt). Their settlement in Alexandria is assigned by the Pseudo-Hecatæus, by Aristeas, and by Josephus to the period of Alexander the Great or Ptolemy I. It has been shown by H. Willrich,[1] however, that the statements of these writers must be taken with great caution. In his own view there was no considerable Jewish element in Alexandria until the second century B.C. Against this theory two objections can he urged. First, the Statement of Apion that the Jews settled to the E. of the harbour of Alexandria (Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 4) can he understood only with reference to the time of the rise of the city. Secondly, the statement of Josephus (*ib.*; cp *BJ* ii. 18 7) that the Jews in Alexandria received the honorific name of Macedonian can hardly he doubted. Josephus indeed exaggerates; the Jews in Alexandria were in the first instance under the protection of the 'phyle' of the Macedonians, and the Jewish quarter formed a part of this 'phyle'; in the limited sense only came they to be called Macedonians. As the later Ptolemies, especially from the time of Ptolemy VI. Philometor onwards, favoured the Egyptian more than the Grecian element in Alexandria, it is not to be supposed that the Jews reached this privileged position so late as the second century.[2] This being so, they can have obtained it only under the first Ptolemies, and in that case it is very far indeed from improbable that Jews were included among the earliest inhabitants of Alexandria and thus acquired special privileges there. They had a separate quarter of their own, known as the Δ (Delta) quarter (Jos. *BJ* ii. 18 8). The repeated struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids, and the preference of the Jews for the former dynasty, may he presumed to have led in succeeding generations to further Jewish migrations into Egypt, especially to Alexandria, partly even as prisoners of war (cp Jer. in Dan. 11 4).

We are told of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2 1) that, as a fitting prelude to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, he redeemed some 120,000 Jewish prisoners of war. The story is doubtless a fiction; but it throws light on some of the circumstances which had to do with the increase of the Jewish population in Egypt. Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-145) also is mentioned in history as a friend to the Jews; Ptolemy VII. (see EUERGETES), as a relentless enemy. For the former see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3 1 *f.*; for the latter Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 5. We may take it that Euergetes for some years regarded the Jews as his political opponents siding as they did with his rival Ptolemy Philometor; hut we have evidence of papyri and inscriptions that he also showed them various marks of favour (Willrich, *op. cit.* 142 *ff.*).

In Philo's time (40 A.D.) the Jews in Alexandria were so many as to occupy two entire quarters, besides furnishing a sprinkling over the rest of the city (*in Flaccum*, 8, ed. Mangey, 2 525).

8. Leontopolis. An exceptional position was taken by the Onias colony in the nome of Heliopolis. The high priest ONIAS (*q.v.*), son of Simon the Just, had taken refuge from his adversaries, the children of Tobias, and from Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, in 173 or 170, by flight into Egypt. He was accompanied by a body of his adherents—among them DOSITHEUS (4), who is named in the subscription to the Greek version of the Book of Esther. From Ptolemy VI. Philometor he and his people received permission to settle on the eastern border of the Nile delta in the nome of Heliopolis. Here Onias built a fortress, and within this a sanctuary (on the pattern of the temple of Jerusalem), in which he established a legal worship of Yahwè. Philometor endowed the temple with laud (cp Jos. *BJ* i. 1 1; vii. 10 2 *ff.*; *Ant.* xii. 5 1; 9 7; xiii. 3 1 *ff.*; also the recent discussions of the date of this exodus and the persons engaged in it in Willrich, *op. cit.* 64 *ff.* 126 *ff.*; Wellh. *GGA*, 1895, p. 947 *ff.*; also ISRAEL, § 7).

The temple of Onias, however, did not receive universal recognition even in Egypt (not to speak of Palestine). It had, indeed, the legitimate high priest, of the family of Aaron; but it did not occupy the legitimate site. Thus the Diaspora in Egypt was brought to a state of schism, which is alluded to in a veiled manner in Ant. xiii. 3 4 and elsewhere, as Willrich (*op. cit.* 129 *ff.*) has conjectured, no doubt correctly. At the same time, the antagonism between Leontopolis (as the city of the Onias-temple was called) and Jerusalem does not seem to have been very intense: otherwise the allusion to the temple of Onias in Is. 19 18 *f.* (hut cp HERES, CITY OF) would hardly have been allowed to pass. Moreover, national feeling appears on repeated occasions to have overridden religious or ecclesiastical differences (Jos. Ant. xii. 13 2; xiv. 8 1; *BJ* i. 9 4). Peculiarly noteworthy is the readiness for war and the ability for self-defence to which Josephus frequently calls attention in the followers of Onias (*c. Ap.* 2 5; Ant. xiii. 10 4; 13 1 *f.*; *BJ* i. 9 4; *Ant.* xiv. 8 1). The temple at Leontopolis was destroyed in 73 A.D. by Lupus and Paulinus by order of Vespasian (Jos. *BJ* vii. 10 2 *ff.*).

9. Upper Egypt, etc. Jews penetrated also into Upper Egypt and Cush (Is. 11 11), as we learn from lately published papyri. They were strongly represented in Cyrenaica also (c. *Ap.* 2 4; Jer. on Dan. 11 14). Strabo (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2), writing of 85 B.C., divides the inhabitants of the city of Cyrēnè into four classes—citizens, peasants, settlers (metœci), and Jews. In the city of Berenice the inscriptions show a special πολίτευμα of the Jews dating from 13 B.C. (cp *CIG* iii. no. 5361).

10. Attractions of civilisation. The Diaspora in Egypt did not owe its origin entirely—as, in the first instance, did that of Babylonia—to external compulsion. It owed its growth and its reputable standing mainly to the great changes produced throughout the East generally by the conquests of Alexander. The greatly enlarged channels of commerce, especially by sea-routes, attracted many from the interior to the coasts. The newly-founded Grecian cities, rendered attractive by all the achievements of Greek art and civilisation, became favourite resorts. Henceforth trade relations, the desire to see the world, soon also political considerations and (we may well suppose) a certain conscious or unconscious craving for culture, became operative in promoting the dispersion of the Jews over the civilised world.

11. Diaspora in Syria. Such things seem to have been specially influential in bringing about the settlement of Jews in Syria. It is quite possible, indeed, that the old Israelite colony in Damascus (see above, § 1) may have maintained an uninterrupted existence and gradually developed into the Jewish community to the largeness of which Josephus bears witness (*BJ* ii. 20 2; vii. 8 7). In some of the Phœnician cities also, as, for example, in Tyre (cp Ezek. 27) and Sidon, Israelites may have settled from a very early period; as at the main points on the great trade route between Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, such as Hamath (Is. 11 11). The Syria of the Seleucidæ, however, seems first to have become thoroughly accessible to Jews only after the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. It was his successors, for example, who first conceded to them the right of free settlement in Antioch (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3 3). The later Seleucidæ had abundant occasion for showing

[1] *Juden u. Griechen vor d. makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1-43, 126 *ff.* ['95].
[2] Cp Lumhroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani* ['95]; Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 359 *ff.* 383 *ff.* ['95].

consideration to the resident Jews: in the frequent struggles for the crown, the support of the Maccabees became important (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 53). The opposite statement of Josephus that it was Seleucus I. (306-280 B.C.) who granted to the Jews the rights of citizenship in Antioch (*c. Ap.* 2 4), or even equal rights with Greeks in all the cities founded by him in Asia and Lower Syria (*Ant.* xii. 3 1), is probably to be understood only as meaning that the Jews ultimately received the rights of citizenship in all the places named. It is easy to understand how the astonishing increase in numbers, power, and influence, which the Jewish commonwealth gained under the rule of the Maccabees, should first have made itself felt in the neighbouring kingdom of the Seleucidae. The Maccabees had subjugated and converted the Idumæans in the south as well as the Ituræans in the north; Galilee and Peraea also became Jndaised during their supremacy. What was the little community founded by Ezra and Nehemiah, either in extent or in numbers, in comparison with this? Jerusalem bad become so strong that—reversing the prophetical prediction—it could lend to the Dispersion from the abundance of its own forces. From this time forward it was, we may plausibly conjecture, that the Diaspora in Syria became so strong as to exhibit the largest admixture of the Jewish element known anywhere (Jos. *BJ* vii. 3 3). Precise details regarding the individual localities are, however, lacking.

12. In Asia Minor and the West. The immigration of Jews to Asia Minor and its islands was partly overland by way of Syria and Mesopotamia, and partly by sea from Egypt and Phcenicia, but for the most part not before the Grecian period. It is possible, however, that Jews may have been sold as slaves into these regions at an earlier date (cp Ezek. 27 13 Joel 3 [4] 7). It is interesting that Clearchus of Soli (circa 320 B.C.) speaks of a meeting between his master Aristotle and an already Hellenised Jew (Jos. c. *Ap.* i. 22). In the passage in question the Jews are represented as descendants of the Indian philosophers; which shows that at that time and place the Jew was looked upon with wonder as a new phenomenon—the educated Jew, at least. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3 4) will have it that a colony of 2000 Jewish families was transported by Antiochus III. the Great (224-187) from Mesopotamia and Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia. The form and the substance of the statement alike arouse suspicion (Willrich, 39 *ff.*). Here again we are in ignorance as to the details of the migration. In any case, it was to the advantage of the Jewish Diaspora when Greece and Asia Minor in 146 and 130 B.C. became Roman provinces and the kings of Eastern Asia Minor accepted the supremacy of Rome. From the days of Simon, the Maccabees had been in friendly alliance with Rome, and the Jews very soon began to realise that under the Roman rule they enjoyed greater freedom in the exercise of their religious customs than they had found in the Grecian kingdoms (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 4, and below). Accordingly, as early as the first century B.C., we find them making use of their good relations with the Romans to secure any doubtful or disputed rights in the cities of Asia Minor and Syria by decisions of the supreme authority (cp decrees and the names therein mentioned as given in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 12 3 *ff.*, xvi. 2 3 *ff.*, 6 2 *ff.*; for Cyprus, *Ant.* xiii. 10 4, Acts 13 4 *ff.*; for Crete, *BJ* ii. 7 1; also Acts 13-21 *passim*).

13. In Greece and Italy. Jews arrived in Greece and Italy in the second century B.C. if not earlier. Between 170 and 156 we find an emancipated Jewish slave named in a Delphi inscription (Willrich, 123 *f.*), and Valerius Maximus (1 3 2) mentions that in 139 B.C. certain proselytising Jews were expelled from Rome. The fabulous assertion of kinship between the Jews and the Spartans (1 Macc. 12 21) presupposes for the time of its origin (see SPARTA) a mutual acquaintance. Jewish inscriptions, moreover, occur in Greece, and the apostle Paul found firmly organised communities there (Acts 17 *f.*). In 63 B.C., Jewish captives were brought to Rome by Pompey and sold as slaves. Soon emancipated, they acquired the Roman citizenship and founded the Jewish colony upon the right bank of the Tiber (Philo. ed. Mangey, 2568). Caesar conferred upon the Jews many favours: compare the decree of the senate in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 8 5, and the immediately preceding narrative. Herod the Great, who always interested himself in the welfare of the Jewish Diaspora (*Ant.* xvi. 2 2-5, 6 1-8), cultivated relations with Rome assiduously, and greatly promoted the Jewish settlements there. Thus in the course of the first Christian century the Jews had already been able to establish themselves on the left bank of the Tiber beside the Porta Capēna (Juv. *Sat.* 3 12-16), and at a somewhat later date on the Campus Martius and even in the Subura. In connection with events in the year 4 B.C. Josephus (*BJ* ii. 6 1) speaks of a Jewish embassy to Rome as having been supported by more than 8000 Jews there. Under the same year he incidentally mentions (*BJ* ii. 7 1) the existence of Jews in Dicaearchia (Puteoli). The friendship of the two Agrippas with the imperial house, the relations of Josephus with the Flavii, the love of Titus for Berenicè, all testify to the progress which Judaism had made in the highest Roman circles; and no one will imagine the Jews of that day to have been so self-forgetful as not to utilise such favouring circumstances, as far as they possibly could, for their own advantage.

To complete the present survey, Arabia also ought to be mentioned as one of the fields of the Jewish Diaspora. From Acts 2 11 and Gal. 1 17 the inference that in the first century there were Jewish communities there is certain; but as to their origin we are left entirely to conjecture.

14. Approximate numbers. Philo (*in Flacc.* 6, ed. Mangey, 2 523) estimates the number of Jews living in Egypt alone in the time of Caligula at a million. If to this figure we add the total of the other groups mentioned above, we shall not be far wrong in putting the figure at three or four millions. The violent breaking-up of the Jewish population in Palestine in consequence of the war of 66-70 A.D. (cp Jos. *BJ* vi. 8 2, 9 3) raised this number still further; and thus the expression of Dio Cassius (69 3) in speaking of the Jewish insurrection under Hadrian—that all the world, so to say (ἡ οἰκουμένη), was stirred—is intelligible enough.

15. Legal standing. 11. The legal standing of the communities of the Diaspora at first varied in the various lands. The colonies in the Assyrio-Babylonian empire were crown possessions, under royal protection (Ezra 4 14). The lands they tilled were grants from the king, on which they were free to live in accordance with their own laws and customs (cp the counterpart in Israel 2 K. 17 24 *ff.*). If the colonists flourished they gradually established their independence; if otherwise, they ultimately lapsed into a state of serfdom (cp Gen. 47 13 *ff.*). In this respect it is not to be supposed that any considerable change came about under Persian or Greek supremacy as long as the aliens continued to be members of the colony. In Egypt the same course was followed by the rulers or pharaohs, as Gen. 47 3 *ff.* shows: to shepherds a pastoral region was assigned, and the pharaoh was their master (*v.* 6*b*; Ex. 1 11). It must be borne in mind, however, that in this case Israelites came into Egypt not only as prisoners, hut also as refugees.

Brighter prospects opened up before Israelites in foreign parts as Alexander and his successors founded new cities in the east. In Alexandria they received important privileges; they came into a fellowship of protection with the Macedonians—the 'phyle' which probably was considered the foremost of all and was therefore named after Dionysus (see above, § 7). What use the Jews made of this privilege is shown by Josephus,

who asserts that they had equal rights (ἰσοτιμία, ἰσονομία, ἰσοπολιτεία) with the Macedonians and even the right to bear this honorific name (c. *Ap.* 2 4; *BJ* ii. 18 7). As Alexandria never attained the characteristic constitution of a Greek city with a βουλή, but continued to be governed directly by royal officials. it is probable that the special administration and special jurisdiction in civil matters which the Jews enjoyed within the bounds of their own quarter of the city were of ancient standing. At a later period, as the Ptolemies came to take more account of the Egyptian population, it is possible that many of the Jewish privileges may have been curtailed (cp Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 76, 359 *ff.*, 381 *ff.*; Lumbroso. *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*, 1895, 140 *ff.*). In Strabo's time, however, they still had an administration of their own under the special jurisdiction of an ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2). In any case, they again received full rights of citizenship in Alexandria from Cæsar (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 1; c. *Ap.* 24). In Cyrenaica also they enjoyed special privileges (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2). The Onias colony doubtless enjoyed the special protection of the sovereign (see above, § 8).

In the Greek cities properly so called the Jews were not so favourably situated. In these a group of foreigners could keep up the observance of its ancestral customs, especially its religious customs, only as a private society or club (θίασος, ἔρανος; cp E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896). The Jews in this respect followed the lead of the Phœnicians in Athens and Delos. We do not possess definite evidence of the fact, though it is interesting to note that in the Roman decree preserved in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 8 the Jewish communities without prejudice to their privileges are placed upon a level with θίασοι. In particular cities, such as Ephesus and Sardis. they no doubt sooner or later acquired the rights of citizenship (Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 4; *Ant.* xiv. 10 24); but whether they already had it under the Seleucidae, as Josephus asserts, or whether they first received it from the Romans, is not quite clear (see above, § 11). It frequently happened that their citizenship became in turn a source of embarrassment. In the Greek cities, by ancient custom, community of place was held to imply community of worship; in many places the fact of citizenship found its expression in some special cult, such as that of Dionysus. Hence a demand that the Jews should worship the local god—a demand which they were compelled by their creed to resist (Jos. c. *Ap.* 26). Even in Cæsarea Palæstina their ἰσοπολιτεία did not secure them full protection (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8 7 9 *BJ* ii. 13 7 14 4-5 18 1).

It was not till the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus that the Jews of the Diaspora received a general recognition of their legal standing throughout the Roman Empire. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 8 5 10 12 3-6 xvi. 6 2-7) quotes a series of enactments from 47 B.C.-10 B.C. by which the Jews had secured to them the enjoyment of religious freedom, exemption from military service, special rights in the administration of property, and special jurisdiction (in civil matters). Nicolaus Damascenus, in his apology for the Jews before M. Vipsanius Agrippa in Lesbos, in 14 B.C., says: 'The happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means we estimate by this very thing, that on all hands we are allowed each one of us to live according to his conviction and to practise his religion' (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 4). In Roman law the Jewish communities came under the category of *collegia licita* (Tertullian, *religio licita*). After 70 A.D. this held only for the Jewish religion, not for the Jewish nation. From cases covered by these general regulations we must distinguish those in which individual Jews had obtained for themselves the Roman citizenship (Acts 22 25-29; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 16 17 *f.*). See GOVERNMENT, § 30 *f.*

III. The great difficulty of Jewish social life in the Diaspora lay in the fact that community of place and community of worship no longer coincided. The case had been quite otherwise in Palestine, and the Jewish laws in their original framing had contemplated Palestinian conditions alone.

16. Inner and outer life. Communities of some sort, however, had to be formed abroad, if Judaism was to maintain itself there at all. Thus the attempt to secure local separateness was abandoned. Attention was concentrated on the effort to maintain the bond of union by means of a separate, if restricted, jurisdiction, and administration of property; the sacrificial worship was given up; and the means for a new spiritual worship were sought in regularly recurring meetings for prayer, reading of the scriptures, and preaching (see SYNAGOGUE). For the central sacrificial worship there remained the high honour of being the expression of the connection still subsisting between Jerusalem and the outside communities; every Jew of twenty years old or more had yearly to pay a half-shekel or didrachma to the temple for the maintenance of the sacrificial system still carried on there. This tax was collected yearly in the various districts, and transmitted to Jerusalem by the hands of persons of repute (Philo, *de Mon.* 2 3) under carefully framed regulations (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 1). Further, the pilgrimages to the three principal feasts, particularly that of Tabernacles, annually brought vast crowds of Jews of the Diaspora to the religious capital. Josephus (*BJ* vi. 9 3) gives the number of persons—natives and strangers together—present at the Passover, according to a census taken in the time of Cestius Gallus (63-66 A.D.), as having been 2,700,000. After the sacrificial system had been brought to an end in 70 A.D., it was by the forms of religious fellowship which had been developed in the Diaspora that the continued existence of Judaism was rendered possible.

The individual community was called כְּנֶסֶת (lit. 'congregation'; συναγωγή). In towns with a large Jewish

17. Synagogues. population (Alexandria, Antioch, Rome) there were many synagogues. The heads of the communities are usually spoken of as ἄρχοντες. In Alexandria an ἐθνάρχης was at the head of the entire Jewish community (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2): it may be added that he had nothing to do with the office of the Alabarch or Arabarch (cp ALEXANDRIA, § 2). Under Augustus the direction of affairs was handed over to a γερουσία with ἄρχοντες at its head. In Rome each of the many synagogues had its own γερουσία with ἄρχοντες and a γερουσιάρχης over all. The building in which the meetings were held—on sabbaths and feast days especially—was called [בֵּית] הַכְּנֶסֶת, in Gr. συναγωγή or προσευχή, less frequently συναγώγιον, προσευκτήριον, σαββατεῖον. See, further, SYNAGOGUE.

The contact brought about by the Diaspora communities between Judaism and the Græco-Roman culture

18. Contact with Hellenic world. was of great consequence to the history of civilisation. Here again it is the Western Diaspora that principally claims our attention; the Eastern, in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, had little share in this movement, and indeed hardly comes under observation at all. It was not until comparatively late in the day, it would seem, that the Greeks began to take any but the most superficial interest in Judaism and the Jews. Willrich (43-63) has collected all that Greek writers had to say about them down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and remarks (170): 'In the period before Antiochus Epiphanes the Greek regarded the Jew with feelings of mingled curiosity and wonder, astonishment and instinctive antipathy.' In these circumstances it is not surprising that, down to the date in question, the intellectual importance of the Diaspora was slight. Traders, freedmen, and prisoners of war constituted the majority of the Diaspora of these days; that such people should excite the interest and attention of educated Greeks was not to be expected. An educated Jew

acquainted with Greek is spoken of as a rarity by Clearchus of Soli (*c. Ap.* 1 22).

19. The Septuagint. The question of the rapidity or tardiness of the change in this respect that ultimately came depends on whether we date the production of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch from the reign of Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), or, as has recently been done by Willrich (*ut sup.* 154 *ff.*), from that of Philometor (181-145 B.C.). Whatever its date, this attempt to make the Law speak in Greek conclusively shows that when it was made the Jews of Alexandria had already assimilated so much of what was Greek that they could no longer get on with Hebrew alone, either in their synagogues or in their courts. Their sojourn abroad made it imperative on Jews everywhere to complete their *rapprochement* with Hellenism. In the process many may well have become lost to Judaism altogether. The Greek version of the Pentateuch, however, evinces the fixed determination of the majority not to allow themselves to be robbed of the old faith by the new culture. As the influence of the Jews,' on trade and public life generally, advanced—in Egypt and Syria in the first instance—it became increasingly necessary for the Greeks to decide definitely what their own attitude towards them was to be. This led to struggle, but also to friendly dealings.

20. Foreign antipathy. Antipathy to Judaism manifested itself both in coarse and in refined ways. The uneducated masses scoffed at the Jews for their outlandish customs, plundered them at all hands. and occasionally gave expression to their hatred in massacres. Civic authorities tried to infringe Jewish privileges or to hinder the transmission of the temple money to Jerusalem (see the decree in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10). Roman emperors even more than once sanctioned measures that pressed hardly on the Jews. Tiberius in 19 A.D. expelled them from Rome, and forced 4000 of them upon military service to Sardinia (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3 5; similarly Tac. *Ann.* 285 Suet. *Tib.* 36). They seem soon afterwards to have been restored to the enjoyment of their rights. Caligula gave free course to a bloody persecution of the Jews in Alexandria in 38 A.D. Petitions and embassies (Philo, Apion) to the emperor proved of no avail. It was not until Claudius had come to the throne that the old privileges were again restored to the victims of persecution (Philo, *in Flacc.* and *Leg. ad Caium;* Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8 1 xix. 52). Later, Claudius intervened in Rome in a hostile sense (Acts 182 Suet. *Claud.* 25 Dio Cassius lx. 6). The Jews defended themselves as best they could, not so much by force as by money or writings, and by cultivating friendly relations with those in high places.

21. Literary controversy. The controversy carried on with the pen is worthy of remark. Gentile writers made it a reproach that the Jews as a people had done nothing for civilisation and had produced no men of distinction (so Posidonius, Polybius, Strabo, Apion). These and similar charges the Jews answered in innumerable apologies—some of them (such as those of Nicolaus Damascenus and Philo) with a dignity and earnestness worthy of the cause, though others (such as that of Josephus in many cases) showed a disposition to confound the convenient with the true, and others did not hesitate to resort to misrepresentation and positive falsehood (Pseudo-Hecataeus, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristobulus, Aristeas, etc.). The most incredible fables were gravely set forth.

Abraham was the founder of astronomy; Joseph the founder of geometry and the inventor of agriculture; Moses the author of the division of Egypt into nomes, and even of the Egyptian animal worship. Jews and Spartans exchanged salutations as descendants of Abraham (1 Macc. 1220*f.*; cp *Ant.* xiv. 1022).

Such things could be written only by Jews who had become familiar with the activities and intellectual life of Hellenistic circles, by men for whom the Græco-Roman culture had become an indispensable element of everyday life. They were only unconsciously proving the respect which they themselves cherished for foreign culture when they tried to trace the origin of culture to their own forefathers. Such literary phenomena could not be produced in Jerusalem, the home of Judaism; they prove that Judaism abroad, although still wearing the garment of the Law, carried a very different nature under that old-fashioned vestment. It had now found a large range of activities which it shared with contemporary humanity at large.

22. Friendly contact. This struggle—itself an evidence of the power to which the Judaism of the Diaspora had attained—does not exhaust the history. There were many points of friendly contact between Judaism and the outer world. For the more educated circles of the Gentile world the Judaism of the Diaspora had, in fact, a great attraction. In it men felt themselves face to face with a power which had developed new forces—unflinching self-sacrificing fidelity in the maintenance of religious customs which seemed to the outsider meaningless—sabbath observance, circumcision, laws of purity. Through Judaism they became acquainted with a conception of God which, strange in its severity, enlightened by its simplicity, and attracted religious natures by its purity and its sincerity. The popular polytheism of Greece and Rome had been shattered by philosophy; in the Oriental religions, which at that time were advancing in triumph westward, the idea of a supreme God found many supporters; Judaism in its monotheism presented the explicit conception for which so many were looking. Inseparably connected with it was the thought of a divine creation of the world, of the original oneness of the world and the human race, as well as that of the providential ordering of the world—thoughts which promised to provide fixed formulae for the cosmopolitan tendencies of the time, and were welcome on that account. No one has set forth the contents of Judaism from this point of view more nobly than Philo. the contemporary of Jesus in Alexandria. The confidence with which he handles these conceptions makes it probable not only that he had literary predecessors in this style but also that an appeal to practical experience gave a powerful support to his teaching (cp Strabo ap. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2; also Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22 2 36 39 41 *BJ* iv. 5 2 κοσμικὴ θρησκεία; also PROSELYTE, § 3). The Diaspora of the Mediterranean, and especially in Alexandria, thus not only led the way to the breaking of the narrow bonds of the Jewish Law, but also was the first to make the heathen world acquainted with a spiritual conception of God and a spiritual worship presented in a positive religion, and thus paved the way for the coming of Christianity.

Literature. Schürer, *GVI* 2 493-548; O. Holtzmann, *Ende des jüd. Staatswesens u. Entsteh. d. Christenthums* ('88) = B. Stade, *GVI* 2 270 *ff.*; O. Holtzmann, *NTliche Zeitgesch.* ('95); H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, 1895 (see also We. in *GGA* 1895, p. 947 3 and Schürer in *TLZ*, 1896, no. 2); Th. Mommsen, *Röm Gesch.* 5 489 *ff.* ['85]; Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaisme, réunis, traduits, et annotés*, 1895; Cless, *De Coloniis Judæorum in Æg. deductis*, i. ('32); Schürer, 'Die Alabarchen in Ägypten' in *ZWT*, 1875, p. 13 *ff.* (cp Marquardt. *Röm Staatsverwaltung*(2), 1446 *f.*); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl. d. class. Alterthumswiss.* (*s.v.* 'Arabarch'); Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*(2), 1895, 'Ricerche Alessandrine' in *Mem. d. Accademia d. Scienza di Torino*, ser. ii. t. 27 ['73], sc. mor. e filol. 237-245; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. by J. P. Mahaffy, i. and ii., 1891, 1893; Ulr. Wilcken, 'Alexandrinische Gesandtschaften vor Kaiser Claudius' in *Hermes*, 30 481 *ff.* ['95]; Th. Reinach, 'L'Empereur Claude et les anti-semites Alexandrins d'après un nouveau Papyrus' in *REJ* 31 161 *ff.* ['95]; B.P. Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, 1896; *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, introd. J. P. Mahaffy, 1896: Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*, 1879; A. Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* ('95); Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* ('96); Alf. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896; E. Schürer, 'Die Juden im bospora-

nischen Reich u. die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ebendaselhst' in *SBAW* 1897, p. 200 *ff.* H. G.

DISTAFF. See FLAX.

DISTRICT 1. (פֶּלֶךְ;[1] περιχωρος; *vicus* [once *pagus* 3 15]; Neh. 3 9 12 14-18† RV), the name given to certain administrative divisions of Judæa in Nehemiah's time, each of 'which was under a 'ruler' or 'chief' (שַׂר). These 'districts' comprise Jerusalem and Keilah (each with two rulers), Beth-haccerem, Beth-zur, and Mizpah (BKA om. [L μέρος; for Vg. see above]). It is not impossible that the list was originally much fuller. From the character of the names of the 'rulers' Meyer (*Entst.* 166 *ff.*) has concluded that they were Calebites (see CALEB, § 4). The organisation of the Calebites in the genealogies 1 Ch. 2 4 suggests further that the *pelek* was a tribal subdivision,[2] the head of which would correspond to the ἐθνάρχης (in Gr. inscr. from the Ḥaurān) of the later Nabatæan kingdom (cp 2 Cor. 11 32, and see ETHNARCH).

2. 'District' in Acts 16 12 RV also translates μερίς, which here represents, apparently, the Latin *regio.* See MACEDONIA, PHILIPPI. S. A. C.

DITCHES (גֵּבִים), 2 K. 3 16, etc. See CONDUITS, § 1 (3, 5). and PIT.

DIVINATION. Men instinctively wish to know the future, and among all peoples there have been those

1. Divination. who have, from certain omens, claimed to be able to predict it. Such knowledge could only come from supernatural beings. When beasts or birds, by their movements, or otherwise, gave men intelligible signs, it was because they were 'indwelt' by beings that were supernatural, or because they were supernatural themselves. 'Omens are not blind tokens; the animals know what they tell to men' (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 443).

Necromancy is a kind of divination, not a thing distinct in itself (see below, § 3). It is difficult, if not impossible, to indicate the boundary line between divination and ***prophecy.*** In both the same general principle obtains—intercourse of man with the spiritual world in order to obtain special knowledge. In divination, this knowledge is usually got by observing certain omens or signs; but this is by no means always the case, since sometimes the beings consulted possessed the soothsayer. Divination, as practised in this last method, does not differ from prophecy of the lowest kind—that of the ecstatic state—as distinguished from that higher species of prophecy which in Riehm's happy phrase is 'psychologically mediated.'[3] See PROPHECY.

The ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc., had modes of divining that apparently were unknown to the

2. Methods. Hebrews of the OT—*e.g.*, by observation of the flights and cries of birds, inspection of the entrails of animals, etc. (see Freytag, *Einl.* 159 *ff.*); but there are mentioned in the OT many signs or omens that resemble or are identical with those in use among other nations.

i. *Rhabdomancy* (divination by rods) appears to be referred to in Hos. 4 12, 'My people ask counsel at their "wood," and their "staff" declares unto them' (cp Herod. 4 67). The higher prophets of course forbade this; but we may perhaps assume that it was uncondemned in earlier times.

ii. *Belomancy* (divination by arrows), a development of rhabdomancy, is mentioned in Ezek. 21 23 *ff.* [19 *ff.*], where the Babylonian king is said to have stood 'at the parting of the way,' and to have 'shaken the arrows to and fro.' The doubtful point was whether he was to march from Babylon to Egypt by Jerusalem or by Rabbath-Ammon. As Pocock (quoted by Rosenmuller) long ago pointed out, belomancy was much in use among the Arabs (see also We. *Heid.*(2) 132). For the Babylonian practice, see Lenormant, *La Divination*, chap. 2; as this able though sometimes uncritical writer truly points out, belomancy had but a secondary importance. Nebuchadrezzar had certainly consulted the stars and the regular omens in order to ascertain whether the right time had come for the campaign against Egypt. Arab tradition tells how Imra-al-Kais practised belomancy before setting out against Asad. He did so 'by shuffling before the image of the god a set of arrows. These were here three in number, called respectively, "the Commanding," "the Forbidding," and "the Waiting." He drew the second, and thereupon broke the arrows, and flung them in the face of the idol.' Mohammed forbade the use of arrows, as 'an abomination of Satan's work' (Koran, Sur. 5 92). The arrows were special, pointless arrows (originally rods).

iii. The Babylonian king, however, did more than shake the sacred arrows; the passage continues, 'he looked in the liver' ('*hepatoscopy*'). (We omit the reference to the teraphim because no new point is indicated by it; the king consulted the teraphim [*singular*], by shaking the arrows *before* it, as was always done also by the heathen Arabs.) The liver, which was regarded as the chief seat of life (Prov. 7 23), was supposed to give warning of the future by its convulsive motions, when taken from the sacrificed victim (see LIVER). That an application for oracles was accompanied by sacrifices we know from the story of Balaam. Lenormant (*op. cit.* 58 *f.*) refers to two Babylonian fragments relative to the inspection of the entrails, giving some of the features which had to be watched for. The Greeks, too, practised ἡπατοσκοπία.

iv. The objects used for *lots* in Arabia were, as we have seen, pointless arrows. Among the Israelites, however, the principal objects employed were probably stones of different colours, one of which gave the affirmative, the other the negative answer to the question put (*so* Wellh., Bu., H. P. Smith, in connection with the classical passage, 1 S. 14 41). Other passages in the historical books in which the phrase שָׁאַל בְּ ('to inquire of') occurs should probably be explained on the analogy of this passage. Cp EPHOD, URIM AND THUMMIM, TERAPHIM.

v. Passing over such omens as Gideon's in Judg. 6 36 and Jonathan's in 1 S. 14 8 *ff.*, and reserving astrology for subsequent consideration (see STARS), we pause next at the most important of all the modes of divination that linked the Hebrews with other peoples—

(vi.) The method of *dreams (oneiromancy).* Jacob may have sufficient reason for making good his escape from Laban; but he will not take the decisive step without a direct revelation (Gen. 31 10-13). In other cases the divine communication is such as exceeds the power of human reason to discover; instances are the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. 20 3 6 *f.*), and especially those of Joseph (Gen. 37 5 cp 40 8 41 1 *f.*). Other noteworthy instances of divinely sent dreams are Gen. 28 12 *ff.* 31 24 Judg. 7 13 1 K. 3 5 J Mt. 1 20 2 12 *ff.* 27 19. Notice E's fondness for relating dreams. The author of the speeches of Elihu also attaches great importance to dreams as a channel of divine communications (Job 33 14-16). It would almost seem as if the belief in the symbolic character of dreams should be reckoned among other revivals of primitive beliefs in the period of early Judaism (cp the dream-visions in Enoch chapb. 83-90, and the dreams in the Book of Daniel; also Jos. *BJ* ii. 7 4 iii. 8 3). Men were oppressed by constant anxiety as to the future, and there was no prophet in the great old style to assuage this. They looked abont, therefore, for artificial means of satisfying their curiosity. Prophets

1 The word is no doubt the Ass. *pulug(g)u, pilku, pulukku,* 'border,' 'district'; cp probably Phmn. פלג לאדך, 'district of Laodicea,' CIS 1, no. 7. On the Heb. 'פ, see also Dr. on 2 S. 3 29.

2 Cp פְּלַגּוֹת, Judg. 5 15 16 (if correct, see Moore), מִפְלַגּוֹת, 2 Ch. 35 5 12.

3 *Messianic Prophecy*, 45 *et passim.*

like Isaiah, however, never refer to their dreams, and it is even a question how far the visions of which they speak are to be taken literally (see PROPHECY).

vii. On a possible divination by means of sacred garments, see DRESS, § 8.

We must now consider briefly the various terms applied to divination and diviners, and endeavour to define their application.

3. Terms.

1. קֶסֶם, *ḳesem*, a general term for divination of all kinds (cp the Ar. *kāhin*, and see PRIESTS), on the derivation of which see MAGIC, § 3 (1). Thus EV renders קֶסֶם, 'divination '(once 'witchcraft,' 1 S. 15 23 EV), קֹסֵם, 'diviner' (1 S. 6 2 Zech. 10 2), also 'soothsayer' (Josh. 13 22 EV) and 'prudent' (Is. 3 2 AV); and 𝔊 gives the more general terms μάντις, μαντεύομαι, μαντεία, μαντεῖον. Ezek. 21 26 [21], however, shows plainly enough that the word had the distinct sense of obtaining an oracle by casting lots by means of arrows (see above, § 2 [2]).[1] The one selected by chance was supposed to represent the divine decision, on the other hand, in 1 S. 28 8, Saul is made to ask the witch to divine for him by means of the *'ōb* (אוב); see below, § 4,(ii.); and cp MAGIC.

2. מְעוֹנֵן (*me'ōnēn*). The etymology of this word is much disputed (cp Del. on Is. 2 6). Two interpretations deserve mention: (*a*) *Me'ōnēn* is one who divines by observing the clouds (denom. from עָנָן), a mode of divination well known among the ancients; or perhaps, one who brings clouds, or causes storms (*capnomancy*). In the passages in which the word occurs, however, there is nothing to suggest that the *me'ōnēn* has anything to do with the sky. (*b*) One who smites with the 'evil eye' (denom. from עַיִן); but, apart from other considerations, the Targ. rendering עָנֵן appears to he decidedly against this view. In the absence of further evidence it is best to follow Ewald (*Bib. Theol.* 1 234) and WRS (*loc. cit.*; cp also Dr.), who compare the Arabic *ǵanna*, 'to emit a hoarse, nasal sound.' The fact that so many of the words connected with magic and divination denote low subdued mournful speaking, favours this last surmise, though there must ever remain much doubt about the exact origin and meaning. 𝔊 renders by a word which means primarily to take an omen from the flight of birds, examples of which practice may be found in Arabia (cp We. *Heid.*(2) 202 *f.*). The word is usually rendered by 'observers (once Judg. 9 37 AVmg. 'regarders') of times' (AV), or 'augurs' (RV) (Dt. 18 10 14 Lev. 19 26 2 K. 21 6), in Is. 2 6 Mi. 5 12 [11] EV 'soothsayers' (so also Jer. 27 9 RV, where AV 'enchanter'): once (fem.) 'sorceress' (Is. 57 3). An oak near Shechem, famous in divination, bears the name 'Oak of MEONENIM' (Judg. 9 37). For other examples of sacred trees cp IDOLATRY, § 2, and *see* NATURE-WORSHIP.

3. נִחֵשׁ (*niḥēš*), 'to use enchantment' (2 K. 21 6 = 2 Ch. 33 6 Lev. 19 26; cp נַחַשׁ, 'enchantment' Nu. 23 23 24 1), or 'to divine' (Gen. 44 5 15 EV: and Gen. 30 27 RV, where AV 'to learn by experience', cp 1 K. 20 33 'diligently observe,' RVmg. 'take as an omen'), is probably used to include any kind of divination (WRS). In Gen. 44 5 15 the same word is used for divination by a cup[2]—*i.e.*, probably by *hydromancy*, where a vessel is filled with water and the rings formed by the liquid are observed. Was נחש originally used in a special sense, and connected with נָחָשׁ, 'a serpent'? So at least Bochart, Lenormant, and Baudissin (*Studien zur sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1 287); see SERPENT, § 1, 3, MAGIC, § 3, 3.

4. גָּזְרִין, *gāzerīn*, is found only in Daniel (2 27 4 4 [7] 5 7 11, EV 'soothsayers'), and may be rendered 'prognosticators,' properly 'those who determine [what is doubtful]'; cp Bev. *ad loc.* The root means 'to cut'; but whether the 'cutting of the heavens' by Babylonian astrologers is meant, is uncertain (see STARS, § 5). Perhaps (cp Ar. *jazara*, 'to slaughter') the *gāzerīn* originally offered a sacrifice in connection with the art (cp Vg. *haruspices*). See § 2, iii.

5. אַשָּׁף (*'aššāph*) and אָשַׁף (*'āšaph*) occur in the Heb. (1 20 2 2) and the Aram. (2 10 4 7 [4], etc.) parts of Daniel respectively, and are rendered 'astrologer,' RV 'enchanter.' The word is of Assyrian origin (STARS, § 5). It is difficult to say whether גזר, אשף and the other terms found were meant to represent' separate class, or whether the writer employed these terms indiscriminately (Bev. *Dan.* 63).

6. כַּשְׂדָּאִים (*kasdā'īm*) in Dan. 1 4 2 10 (5 7 11) means the caste of wise men. This usage (well known from classical writers) arose after the fall of the Babylonian empire, when the only Chaldæans known were astrologers and soothsayers.

7. For גַּד (*Gad*) and מְנִי (*Meni*) in Is. 65 11†, see FORTUNE AND DESTINY. *See* also other terms under MAGIC.

4. Necromancy.

Necromancy, to which we turn next, is, as the etymology of the word implies, divination by resort to the spirits of deceased persons. Three terms or expressions fall to be noticed, all of them met with in Dt. 18 11.

i. We shall begin with that which occurs last in the verse, viz. דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים (one who resorts with an inquiry to the dead), rendered by EV 'necromancer.' It is clear from Is. 8 19 that this is a general description embracing the kinds of necromancy indicated by the two words next to be considered and other kinds (see Dr. on Dt. 18 11): the conjunction with which it is introduced is simply the explanatory '*waw*,' answering to the Gk. epexegetic καί.

ii. שֹׁאֵל אוֹב (*shō'ēl 'ōb*), one who consults an *'ōb*. The word *'ōb* is generally found with *yidde'ōni* (see below, iii.), like which, from meaning the spirit of a departed one, it came to stand for the person who possessed such a spirit and divined by its aid. The full phrase בַּעֲלַת אוֹב (the possessor of an *'ōb*) is found in 1 S. 28 7, where it is applied to the 'witch of Endor.'

𝔊 explains the expression by ἐγγαστρίμυθος, 'ventriloquist' (*i.e.*, in the OT passages, one who, 'by throwing his voice into the ground, where the spirit was supposed to be, made people believe that a ghost spoke through him'), and Lenormant (*Div.* 161 *ff.*), Renan (*Hist.* ET, 1 347), and others so explain the phenomenon; but the writer of Samuel, and other biblical writers who speak of this species of divination, evidently regard it as being really what it claimed to be. Lev. 20 27 is the only possible exception.

The etymology of the word is very uncertain. Other suggestions may be passed by, for the field seems to be held by two principal views, H. P. Smith's view[1] (*Sam.* 239 *f.*) being not very probable. (*a*) *Ōb* has been connected with Arab. *āba* = *awaba*, and explained 'a soul which returns (from Shĕōl)', cp French *revenant*. So Hitz. and KO. (on Is. 8 19), St. (*GVI* 1 504), and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 69). Schwally also suggests a connection with אָב 'father' (note plu. of both in *oth*). Van Hoonacker (*Exp. T.* 9 157 *ff.*) objects that in Dt. 18 11 the *'ōb* is distinguished from the dead (*mēthīm*); but if the latter clause of the verse is simply a generalisation of the two foregoing clauses, this objection falls.

(*b*) The other view (Ges., Del., Di.) connects the word with *'ōb*, 'a bottle, literally 'something hollow.' A similar word in Arabic (*wa'ba*) means 'a hole in a rock,' a large and deep pit—*i.e.*, something hollow.[2]

On the assumption that the fundamental idea of the word is hollowness, many explanations have been suggested (*see* Van Hoonacker, as above). Of these, two may be noted as probably approximating most nearly to the truth.

1. Böttcher (*De inferis*, 101), Kau. (Riehm, *HWB*(2), 'Todtenbeschwörer'), and Di. (on Lev. 19 31) hold that the spirit is called *'ōb*, on account of the hollow tone of the voice—such a tone as might be expected to issue from any empty place. Other terms for practising magic and divination lend some support to this view.

2. The idea of hollowness has been held to apply in the first place to the cave or opening in the ground out of which the spirit speaks. Among the Greeks and the Romans, oracles depending on necromancy were situated among large deep caverns which were supposed to communicate with the spirit-world. If the Hebrew *'ōb* is parallel to the Greek chthonic deities and to the Arabian *ahl al-arḍ* or 'earth-folk,' with whom wizards have intercourse, it is conceivable that, by a metonymy—contained for container, and *vice* versa—the hollow cavern may have come to be used for the spirit that spoke out of it. *See* WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 198.

iii. יִדְּעֹנִי (*yidde'ōni*). The English word 'wizard,' by which this Hebrew term is rendered, means 'a very wise one,' and agrees with 𝔊 γνώστης (in Dt. 18 11 τερατοσκόπος), Syriac *yaddū'ā*, Arabic *'arrāf*, and with Ewald's rendering 'viel-wisserisch.'

Like *'ōb*, *yidde'ōni* is used, in the first instance, for the spirit of a deceased person; then it came to mean him

1 Possibly the Teraphim were similarly employed; see TERAPHIM.

2 The so-called κυλικομαντεία. Cp Joseph's divining-cup with the famous goblet of Jemshid, and see Lenormant *La Divination*, 78-80. For a parallel French superstition: see B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions*(2), Paris, 1697, 1 187 *ff.*

1 Namely, that the 'ōb was originally a skull prepared by superstitious rites for magical purposes; H. A. Redpath, on the other hand, suggests that the *'ōb* was one who spoke out of a hollow mask or domino.

2 In Job 32 19 אֹבוֹת seems to mean 'bellows' (𝔊 ὥσπερ φυσητὴρ [-τής ℵ*] χαλκέως).

or her that divines by such a spirit. Robertson Smith (*I. Phil.* 14 127), followed by Driver (on' Dt. 18 11), distinguishes the two terms thus :—

Yidde'ōni is a familiar spirit, one known to him that consults it. The '66 is *any* ghost that is called up from the grave to answer questions put to it (cp 1 S. 28). The *yidde'ōni* speaks through a personal medium ; that is, through the person whom it possesses. The *'ōb* speaks directly, as for example out of the grave (cp 1 S. 28). Rashi (on Dt. 18 11) says that *yidde'ōni* differs from בַּעַל אוֹב (*ba'al 'ōb*) in that he held in his mouth a bone which uttered the oracle. It is hard to establish these distinctions, the data for forming a judgment heingso slight.

Is it quite certain, however, that the words are to be held as standing for distinct things? Why may we not have in them different aspects of the same spirit? So regarded, '86 would convey the notion that the spirit bas returned from the other world, while *yiddeʿōni* would suggest that the spirit so returned is knowing, and therefore able to answer the questions of the inquirer. The fact that in all the eleven instances of its occurrence *yiddeʿōni* is invariably preceded by 86 is in favour of its being a mere interpretation of it. *'Ôb*, on the other hand, is often found by itself (1 S. 2878 1 Ch. 10 13 etc.). It is probable, therefore, that these two characters are at bottom one, the 'and' in Dt. 18 11 joining *'ōb* and *yiddeʿōni* in the way of a hendiadys : 'he who seeks a departed spirit that is knowing,' just as the remaining part of the verse is, as we have seen already (§ 3, i.), simply a repetition in different words of the same thought. This is in complete harmony with the usages of Hebrew parallelism. The whole compound expression might be rendered as follows:—'He who inquires of the departed spirit that is knowing, even he who seeks unto the dead.'

iv. To the expressions considered already may be added אִטִּים, *iṭṭīm*, Is. 19 3†, EV 'charmers.' RVmg. prefers 'whisperers'; cp Ar. *aṭṭā*, 'to emit a moaning or creaking sound'; or perhaps rather Ass. *eṭū*, 'darkness.' 𝔊 apparently renders by τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν.

Though condemned in the OT (1 S. 28 7 *ff.*; Is. 8 19; cp Lev. 19 31 20 6 27 Dt. 18 11), necromancy among the Israelites held its own till a late period. The leaders of religious thought were opposed to both witchcraft and necromancy ; but the influence of habit and of intercourse with people around was too strong to be wholly overcome. See Schultz, *OT Theology*, 2 322 (ET). Winer[3] (*RWB* s.v. 'Todtenbeschworer'; see references) shows that in the ancient world divination by calling back the spirits of the dead was very widespread among the Greeks, the Romans, and the other ancient nations. Cp BABYLONIA, § 31 *ff.*, and see MAGIC.

For the literature see MAGIC. T. W. D.

DIVORCE, DIVORCEMENT (כְּרִיתוּת; ἀποστάσιον [BKAQ]), Jer. 3 8 Is. 50 1. See MARRIAGE, § 6.

DIZAHAB (דִּי זָהָב, καταχρυσεα BAFL), *ubi auri est plurimum—i.e.*, דִּי זָהָב [Vg.]), in the topographical description Dt. 1 1. 'If it be the name of a place in the "steppes of Moab" the situation is unknown' (Dr. in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.*); on the identifications, cp Dillmann. The explanation 'place of gold' is difficult to justify (see Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.*). The name corresponds to 'Me-zahab' in Gen. 36 39 (as Sayce, *Acad.* Oct. 22, 1892, and Marq. *Fund.* 10, have observed), and like ME-ZAHAB [*q.v.*] is no doubt a corruption of די) מצרים came from מ)—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian land of Muṣri or Muṣur, which adjoined Edom (see MIZRAIM, § 26, and cp Che. *Or. LZ*, May 15, 1899). It was perhaps premature to identify 'Di-zahab,' before the correctness of the reading had been investigated. T. K. C.

DOCUS, RV Dok (Δωκ [AℵV]), called by Josephus Dagon (Δαγων; *Ant.* xiii. 8 1; *BJ* i. 2 3), a small fortress near Jericho, in which Simon the Maccabee was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy his son-in-law (1 Macc. 16 15). The name, doubtless, still survives in the mod. *'Ain ed-Dūk*, 2½ m. N. of Jericho, where there are traces of ancient substructions and remains of a line aqueduct (Rob. BR 2 309; *PEF Mem.* 3 173 190; Baed.[3] 152; v. Kasteren, *Rev. Bibl.* 1897, p. 93 *ff.*).

DOD, NAMES WITH. This group of compound names comprises with certainty only Dodavah and Dodiel (see DANIEL, 1), and virtually David, Dodai, Dodo. To these Gray (*HPN* 60-63) would add אלדד (Eldad), בלדד (Bildad). In all these names he interprets דד as meaning 'uncle on the father's side,' which is no doubt a perfectly legitimate sense of דּוֹד or דֹּד (see 2 K. 24 17). (*a*) First, as to Eldad and Bildad. The objection to admitting that these names are compounded with the divine name Dad is obviously provisional. The god Rammān was so well-known in Canaan that we may expect to find at any rate isolated names compounded with Dad, which was one of the names of this deity (Wi. *AT Untersuch.* 69, n. 1). In the Amarna letters, it is true, the form we find in compound proper names is Addu; but the equivalence of Addu and Daddu is admitted. (*b*) Next, as to the other names. That Dod is not the name of some one special deity, is admitted ; but whether it is, or is not, a term designating some degree of kinship, is disputed. It is undeniable that דּוֹד (=Ass. *dādu*) means 'beloved,' and also, by a natural transition, 'divine patron' (cp רֵעֶה, used of God, Job 16 21). The present writer contends that it is more natural to give this second sense to Dod in the few Hebrew names compounded with it than to adopt the theory (Gray, *HPN* 60) that דד as well as עם in proper names has the sense of 'uncle' or 'kinsman.'

This is not affected by the discovery that there are some S. Arabian names compounded with *Ammi*, and some others with *Khāli*, both meaning 'uncle.' Nor need we enter into the question whether the S. Arabian name Dādi-kariba (so Hommel gives the name) really means 'My cousin hath blessed' (Hommel, *AHT* 85). See DODO, DODAVAH. T. K. C.

DODAI (דּוֹדַי, דֹּדַי, § 52; but Ginsb. in 2 S. 23 9 points Kt. דֹּדַי), another form of DODO [*q.v.*], presumably shortened from a form דּוֹדִיָּה: see under DODAVAH ; 'Yahwè is patron' (Marquart, *Fund.* 16), 2 S. 23 9 (RV following Kt.; but AV DODO; σουσει [B*], σωσ. [A], δουδει [Bb vid. L]) and 1 Ch. 27 4 (AV and RV; Δωδεια [B*], -δεια [Bb], -δια [A], -δαι [L]), where the words 'Eleazar, sou of,' found in 1 Ch. 11 12 are wanting, but are supplied by Kittel (*SBOT*) from 1 Ch. 11 12; see DODO (2), ELEAZAR.

DODANIM (דֹּדָנִים), or RODANIM (רוֹדָנִים).

דד', Gen. 10 4, Vg. *DODANIM* (cp Pesh.), so EV, AVmg. 'Rodanim' after ῥόδιοι [𝔊ADEL], and Sam. ; רוד', 1 Ch. 1 7 AVmg., RV 'Rodanim' after ῥόδιοι [𝔊BA], but many MSS דוד, cp δωδανειμ [L], *DODANIM* [Vg.], whence AV 'Dodanim.' In Is. 21 13 Aq. Sym. δωδανιμ for דְּדָנִים.

A son of JAVAN [*q.v.*], son of Japheth, Gen. 10 4 = 1 Ch. 1 7. The same name—*i.e.*, either Dōdān (דֹּדָן) or Rōdān (רֹדָן)—should possibly be restored for 'Dedan' (דְּדָן) in Ezek. 27 15 (ῥοδιων [BQ; adnot. ῥοδιοι ορασις κρισεως Qmg.], αραδιων [A]; so Pesh. but Aq. Sym. Theod. δαδαν). The merchants there referred to brought to Tyre the ivory and ebony which they had themselves procured from Africa or India. Two views are held.

(*a*) Stade, Cornill, Bertholet are strongly for 'Rōdān,' and naturally hold a similar opinion as to the reading in Gen. 10 4. It is, however, by no means certain that MT is not right in reading בְּנֵי דְדָן, 'sons of Dedau,' in Ezek., *l.c.*; Edom (*so* all [except Aq.] read for 'Aram') follows in *v.* 16. As to Gen. 10 4, the most prevalent opinion certainly is that Rōdānīm is the better reading, and that this term designates not only the Rhodians proper so-called (on whom cp. Hom. *Il.* 2 654 *ff.*), but also ('many islands' being also mentioned) the people of other Ægean islands. (*So* Di., Hal., Kau., Holzinger, Ball, GASm. *HG* 135.) This view is geographically plausible, but the short o in Ῥόδος must not be overlooked.

(*b*) Another view, so far as the name goes, is more satisfactory. The Rodanim of the text of Chronicles (if we follow most MSS and 𝔊) may be as inaccurate as the 'Diphath' which it gives for 'Riphath' (1 Ch. 16), and Dodanim itself may be incorrectly given for Dardanim (Tg. Jon., Luzzatto, Ges., Knob., Franz Del.). The name Dardan, as inscriptions of Rameses II. show, comes down from early times; it designates properly a people of Asia Minor, not far from the Lycians (see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 354 *f.*). It is not impossible that for דורנים (Ch. reads ו) the original source of P's information read דרדנים (cp TOGARMAH), and it would be natural for writers and scholars of the Greek period (𝔊 and perhaps Ch.) to convert Dardanim into Rodanim, and to understand the Rhodians. It has been proposed elsewhere to identify another son of Javan (Tarshish, or rather Turuš) with another people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions (see TIRAS). The author of the list used by P may have known Dardan as well as Turuš. If רדן is the correct reading in Ezek. we should perhaps pronounce it Redan, not Rodan. Recent critics may, however, have been too hasty in rejecting MT's reading Dedan. The 'islands' are not necessarily those in which the merchants spoken of resided; they may very well be the coast-lands with which Dedan had commercial dealings. Cp DEDAN, and, on Ezek. 27 15, see EBONY. T. K. C.

DODAVAH, as AV, or rather DODAVAHU as RV (דֹּודָוָהוּ, perhaps for דּוֹדִיָּהוּ, 'Yahwè is friend or patron,' § 47—whence come the abbreviated forms DODO, DODAI [*qq.v.*[1]]—ωΔ[ε]ια [BA], ΔΟΥΔΙΟΥ [L]; *Dodoa*; Pesh. implies the reading 'Dodo'), the father of a prophet called Eliezer (2 Ch. 20 37). T. K. C.

DODO (דּוֹדוֹ, § 52, with which cp דּוֹדַי, DODAI, and דָּוִד, DAVID). The fuller form is probably דּוֹדִיָּהוּ [cp DODAVAH], which means 'Yahwè is friend or patron' [so Marq. *Fund.* 16]. דד, *genius loci*, is rightly restored by Wi. in Am. 8 14, and there appears to be an allusion to the 'divine friend' in Is. 5 1 (where note that דודי and ידידי are parallel). The Dodah (דודה) of Ataroth is mentioned in the Mesha inscription *l.* 12. May we also compare Dudu, the name of a high Egyptian official in the Amarna tablets (*Am. Tab.* 44 45 52 15, cp Wi. *AF* 194)? T. K. C.

1. A Bethlehemite, father of the renowned hero ELHANAN (*q.v.*); 2 S. 23 24 (δουδ[ε]ι [BL], λου. [A]), 1 Ch. 11 26 (δωδωε [BK], -αι [A], -δει [L]).

2. (AV following Ḳrē; but see DODAI.) An AHOHITE (*q.v.*), father of David's warrior Eleazar, 2 S. 23 9 (υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ [BA], see AHOHITE, δουδει [L]); 1 Ch. 11 12 (δωδαι [BAL], -δε [ℵ]; *patruus ejus*).

3. An ancestor of Tola of Issachar, one of the Judges, Judg. 10 1, if we should not rather follow eight cursive MSS of 𝔊 and read, for 'son of Dodo,' 'son of his (Abimelech's) uncle Kareah.' See Hollenberg, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 104 *f.* 𝔊BAL has υἱὸς πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ (so Pesh. Vg.). See TOLA.

DOE (יַעֲלָה), Pr. 5 19†, RV. See GOAT.

DOEG (דֹּאֵג, 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9, but דּוֹיֵג, 1 S. 22 18 22 [Kt.], דּוֹאֵג, Ps. 52 2; ΔωΗΚ [BℵARTL], but ΔωΗΓ, 1 S. 22 9 [A]; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12 1, ΔωΗΓΟC). An Edomite (for the reading אֲרַמִּי, 'Syrian,' presupposed [except in Ps. 52 2] by 𝔊BA [but not L] and Jos., is certainly wrong) who filled some minor post among the servants of Saul; most probably he was 'keeper of the saddle asses' (cp Judg. 10 4 1 S. 9 3 2 S. 16 2 1 Ch. 27 30), 1 S. 21 7 [8] 22 9. He had been detained (so one tradition tells us) 'before Yahwè'—*i.e.*, in the sacred precincts at Nob (or Gibeon; see NOB)—by some obscure religious prescription (see *RS*[2] 456), and had cunningly watched David in his intercourse with the priest Ahimelech (see DAVID, § 3). Soon after, he denounced the latter to the suspicious Saul, and when the king commanded his 'runners' to put Ahimelech and the other priests to death, and they refused, it was this foreigner who lifted up his hand against them (1 S. 22 9-18).

1 See also under DANIEL, 4.

The two passages in which Doeg's office is referred to are no longer in their original form in MT. In 21 8 [AV 7] he is called the mightiest of the shepherds' (אַבִּיר רֹעִים), a strange description of a shepherd, and still stranger when we observe that אַבִּיר occurs nowhere else in Hebrew narratives. The conjecture 'the mightiest of the runners' (רָצִים, Grätz, Dr., Ki., Bu.) gives an easier but still not a natural phrase, and disregards the rendering of 𝔊BAL in 21 7 [8], νέμων τὰς ἡμιόνους Σαουλ. There can be little doubt that Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 3 350) is right in reading אֹבִיל עֲיָרִים, which he renders 'driver of the mules,'—a less natural rendering than that given above, but still possible. Words like עַיִר and אֹבִיל are flexible. For the former see Lagarde (*l.c.*); for the latter, see ABEL. Almost as certainly we should also read עֲיָרַי for עֲבָדַי in 22 9 (see 𝔊). We.'s objection to following 𝔊 here (*TBS* 125) falls to the ground as soon as it is recognised that 21 7 [8] is a later insertion in the narrative.

The reference to Doeg in the title of Ps. 52 is due to the thirst of later Jewish readers for biblical justification of their idealising view of David. The Psalm was written for use in the temple (see *v.* 8). T. K. C.

DOG (כֶּלֶב, a name, of unknown origin, common to all Semitic dialects; ΚΥωΝ, *canis* [but Mt. 15 26 *f.* = Mk. 7 27 *f.* ΚΥΝΑΡΙΟΝ, *catellus*]).

1. References. No dogs of any noble type are mentioned in the Bible. The Israelitish kings were not, like the Assyrian,[1] great hunters, and even the Hebrew legend of Nimrod the hunter (but is 'hunter' meant literally? see NIMROD) in Gen. 10 9 says nothing of his dogs.[2] According to EV the greyhound is referred to in Prov. 30 31 as one of the four things which are 'stately in going'; but this is doubtful (see COCK, GREYHOUND). The shepherds dog is mentioned in Job 30 1, and dogs which guard the house may be intended in Is. 56 10; but neither passage vouchsafes the dog any friendly words. The OT references are in fact almost entirely to the pariah dog, such as may be seen in any of the 'Bible lands' to-day. They seem to have gone careering in packs round the city at night (Ps. 59 6 14 *f.*); it was dangerous to stop one of them (Prov. 26 17). Doubtless, however, they were useful as scavengers. They were ready to devour even human bodies (1 K. 14 11 16 4 21 23 *f.* 2 K. 9 10 36 and similarly Jer. 15 3 cp 1 K. 21 19 22 38 Ps. 68 23 [24]), and to them flesh that men might not eat was thrown (Ex. 22 31; contrast Mt. 7 6). From Mk. 7 28 (Mt. 15 27) some have inferred a sympathy between men and dogs in the time of Christ; but this is hazardous. Paul has no such sympathy (Phil. 3 2), and a certain Rabbi dissuades from keeping fierce dogs in the house, apparently because they would frighten away the poor (*Shabb.* 63 *a*). Most dogs, then, were fierce. Yet Tobit, according to the Greek text, makes a companion of his dog on his journeys (Tob. 5 16 11 4); see TOBIT.

2. Pariah dog. The pariah dog referred to above is a variety of the cosmopolitan dog (*Canis familiaris*), though the breed has probably been intermixed by crossing with jackals or wolves. The dogs live in companies, each dog having its own lair (sometimes two), to which it returns for rest during the day. Those that frequent the towns act as scavengers, living on offal; but in the country they are trained by the shepherds and farmers to act as sheep-dogs (cp Job 30 1). Not much good, however, can be said of the latter: they are 'a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned generation,' whose use consists in barking at intruders and warning the shepherds of any possible danger.[3] In appearance they resemble the Scotch collie, and are said to be

1 On the breeds of hunting dogs known in Assyria, see Houghton, *TSBA* 5 52-62 ['77].

2 On the four 'dogs' of Marduk (Merodach) see below. So in some legends the Tyrian Heracles (or Melkart) is accompanied by a dog (*Rel. Sem.*[2] 292).

3 Thomson, *LB* (ed. '94), 202; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 309 337 *f.* 2 6.

intelligent, and sagacious when trained. Rabies is almost, or entirely, unknown among them.

3. Exegetical details. The stress laid in Judg. 75-7 on the way in which Gideon's three hundred drank, lapping with their tongues, like dogs, probably indicates that they were fierce uncivilised men (Moore, *Judges*, 202). The mention of 'dogs' in company with 'lions' in Ps. 22 as typical of the fierce enemies of pions Israel, is surprising. There is no OT parallel for the use of the pariah dogs of Eastern cities as symbolic of the enemies of Israel. In later times the Gentiles were called 'dogs' (*Niddah*, **77** *a*; *Baba Kama*, 49 *a*, etc.); but the Talmudic use has no biblical authority; Mk. 7 **27** surely does not express what may be called *biblical* doctrine. Moreover in Ps. 2221 only lions and wild oxen are referred to. Aq., Theod., and Jer. evidently read כַּלָּבִים 'hunters'; this is a clever attempt to get over a real difficulty. In *v.* **17** (EV **16**) we should certainly read לְבָאִים כַּבִּירִים, and עֲדַת רְאֵמִים. The sense then becomes,

Greedy lions in their strength surround me,
A troop of wild oxen encircles me.

Similarly in *v.* **21** (EV **20**) we should read לְבִיא חַיָּתִי, and render (reading מכפיר for מחרב),

Snatch my soul from the young lion
My life from the clutch of the greed; lion.

We now pass on to a group of five passages which have been much misunderstood.

1. 2 K. **8** **13** 'What is thy servant, the dog [𝔊 has 'the dead dog'], that he should do this great thing?' RV, paraphrasing! 'which is hut a dog.' AV incorrectly, 'Is thy servant a dog, etc.

2. 2 S. **169** 'Why should this dead dog [𝔊L 'this cursed dog'] curse my lord the king?'

3. 2 S. **98** 'What is thy servant that thou shouldest look upon a dead dog like me?'

4. 1 S. 2414 [15] 'After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog?'

5. 2 S. **38** 'Am I a dog's head that helongeth to Judah?' (EV).

As to (1) AV is quite wrong. Hazael does not revolt in horror from the description of Elisha, but only affects to think it too great an achievement for him. 'Dog' is here an expression of servile humility towards Elisha, as in Assyrian ('we are the king's dogs,' *i.e.* his humble servants).[1] In (2) 'dead dog' (כֶּלֶב מֵת) cannot be right, as 𝔊L indicates hy the substituted epithet (see above). The text must he incorrect. We want some word which will he equally suitable in (2) (3) and (4); and if possible some word which will make better sense than 'dead' (מֵת) even in (3) and (4), where it has hitherto been plausibly taken as an Oriental exaggeration. The word which we seek is טָמֵא 'unclean'; 'dead dog should be 'unclean, despised, pariah dog.' To explain his see Doughty's striking description of the treatment of their hounds by the Bedouin, who 'with blows cast out these profane creatures from the beyt.'[2] As to (5) the text is evidently not quite correct (see Klo.); there seems to he a play on the name of Caleh the dog-tribe (see **1025**, n. **1**; NABAL). To read 'Am I a dog's head' (omitting the next words), with Prof. **H. P.** Smith, can hardly be called satisfactory.

This idiom may cast light **upon** Dt. 2318[19] where 'dog' appears to be applied to the class of persons elsewhere called *kĕdēšīm*. It was natural to explain the word as a term of contempt (see IDOLATRY, § 6). If, however, 'unclean dog' or some similar phrase was a common circumlocution indicative of humble deference used in addressing superiors, as *kalbu* is in Assyrian (especially in the Amarna letters), *keleb* need not, *as* applied to these temple servants, have been a term of contempt: it may have been their ordinary name (so *RS*(2) 292). The word appears in fact in Phœnician, applied to a class of servants (כלבם) attached to a temple of Ashtoreth in Cyprus (*CIS* **1** no. 86 B, l. 10).

4. The dog in religion. There are not wanting indications that the dog was held in religious veneration. A river running into the sea **a** few miles N. of Beirūt is called the Dog river (*Nahr-el-Kelb*, *Lycus flumen*), and al-Nadim informs us that the dog was sacred among the Harranians. 'They offered sacrificial gifts to it, and in certain mysteries dogs were solemnly declared to be the brothers of the mystæ.'[3] This seems to be connected with primitive Babylonian mythology; 'my lord with the dogs' (a divine title at Ḥarrān) points to Marduk and his four dogs. It is possible that the dog may have been among the animals worshipped by the earliest Semites as a totem[1] (as, *e.g.*, among some N. American Indians and in Java). Robertson Smith refers to Justin (18 1 10), who states that Darius forbade the Carthaginians to sacrifice human victims and to eat the flesh of dogs (in a religious meal, it is implied). There seems also to be an allusion to something of this kind in post-exilic Palestine—to *a* custom, chiefly prevalent perhaps among the mixed Samaritan population,[2] of sacrificing the dog[3] on certain occasions (Is. 663). T. K. C. § 3.

[1] The explanation **of** RV, therefore, is not quite correct.
[2] *Ar. Des.* **1337**.
[3] *RS*(2) 291, referring to *Fihrist*, **326, and** other passages.

DOLEFUL CREATURES (אֹחִים), Is. **13**21; see JACKAL.

DOMINIONS (κυριοτητες), or rather 'lordships,' Col. 1 16; cp Eph. 1 21 Jude 8 2 Pet. 2 10. See ANGEL, § 1.

DOOR (דֶּלֶת, θυρα,[4] θυρωμα, etc. [BAFL], perhaps from √דלה, 'to swing,' or cp Ass. *edilu*, 'to bolt, bar').

The Hebrew *deleth* is used of the doors of a chamber (Judg. 3 23 *ff.*), or of a gate (1 S. 21 13 [14]), and even of the gate itself (Dt. 35, EV 'gates'). The difference between *pethaḥ* which may be any opening or entrance (*e.g.*, of the ark, Gen. 6 16: LATTICE, § 2 [7]) and *deleth*, is clearly illustrated by Gen. 19 6, where Lot stands in the *pethaḥ* to keep hack the men of Sodom from approaching the *deleth* (cp also 1 K. **631**). For שַׁעַר ('door' Ex. **35** 17 Job **38** 17 AV) see GATE.

However necessary for ventilation doorways were in the East (see LATTICE, § 1), the doors themselves were not employed so much as in less tropical regions. 'The lock was doubtless like those now in use in the East, so constructed that the bolt (מַנְעוּל, Cant. 5 5 Neh. **3** 3 etc., RV; 'lock,' AV) was shot 'by the hand or by a thong; the key (מַפְתֵּחַ, 'opener') was only used for unlocking the door' (Moore, *SBOT* [Eng.], *Judges*, **60**). For descriptions of keys and locks, see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 353; Moore, *Judg.* 99; Che. *Is. SBOT*, ET, 159 *f.*

The Hebrew terms for the component parts of the doorway are (1) סַף, *saph*, the threshold (πρόθυρον, πυλών, etc., αὐλή [BℵA], Jer. 35 4, ὁδός *ib.* ℵc.a?Q, σταθμός **Aq.** Sym. Theod.), also מִפְתָּן 1 S. 5 4 *f.*; see THRESHOLD, and cp TEMPLE. (2) מְזוּזָה, *mezūzāh*, door post, Dt. 6 9 11 20; on derivation cp Schwally, *ZDMG* 52 136 *f.*; see FRONTLETS. (3) מַשְׁקוֹף, *mašḳōph*, lintel, Ex. 12 7, 22 *ff.* (φλιά [BAL]); cp MH שְׁקוֹף. (4) צִיר, *ṣīr*, hinge, Prov. **26** 14 στρόφιγξ; cp also pl. פֹּתוֹת 1 K. 7 50 (if correct, θυρώματα [BAL]). See GATE.

DOPHKAH (דָּפְקָה; ραφακα [BAFL], -αν [A after εἰς in *v.* 12]), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 12 *f.*). See WANDERINGS, § **12**.

DOR (דּוֹר, **Aωρ** [BAL]; Josh. 12 23, ελλωμ [B], αδδωρ [A]; Jndg. 127 and 1 Ch. 7 29 **Gwpa** [L]; also written דֹּאר, cp Ph. דאר below, Josh. 17 11, δωρ [Bab mg.]),

1. Name. more fully **Naphath-dor** (1 K. 4 11 RVmg.; נָפַת דֹּאר; νεφαδδωρ [A], represented by ανα φαθει αμηρ [B], and βαθαναη ο νετωφατι ανηρ [L]; Josh. 12 23 RVmg נ׳ דּוֹר του φεννεδδωρ [B, for variants see Sw.] τ. ναφεδδωρ [A], τ. [ν]αφαθδωρ [L]), and **Naphoth** Dor (Josh. **11** 2 RVmg., נָפוֹת דּוֹר, φεναεδδωρ [B], ναφεδωρ [A*], -θδ. [A1FL]), the modern *Ṭanṭūrah*,[5] lay on the Mediterranean coast about mid-

[1] There is still, however, some obscurity. Compare also such proper names as כלבאלם ,כלבא (Phœn.), כליבו ,כליבת ,כלבא, כלבו (Nab. and Sin. inscr.), (Cur. *Anc. Syr. Doc.* 156), *Kalb.*, plur. *Kilāb Aklub*, and dim. *Kulaib* among Ar. tribal names, and the Heh. כָּלֵב (cp *Kin.* 200, *Journ. Phil.* 9 89; though Nöld. *ZDMG*, 1886, **164**, n. 1, throws doubt on the identification of Caleh and כֶּלֶב; see NAMES, § 88).

[2] See Che. *Intr. Is.* **367**, and cp *RS*(2) **357**, and (on breaking the neck) *Kin.* 309 *f.*

[3] Note that both the Sam. text and the Sam. Targum of Ex. 22 31 omit the contemptuous reference to the dog, and speak simply of casting away.

[4] θύρα is the usual word in NT; cp **Acts 5 19 23 etc.**

[5] **On** the origin of the name cp Ges. *Thes.* 331.

way between the promontory of Carmel and Cæsarea, at a distance of about eight miles from the latter.

The fuller form of the name is explained by Sym. as the *παραλία* of Dor, or as Awp *ἡ rapahia* (cp *OS*[2] 115 22 250 56, *dor nafeth*, *δὼρ τοῦ ναφαθ*, 142 13 283 3, *nefeddor*, *ναφεθδωρ*); it probably includes the undulating plain of Sharon lying inland. The exact meaning of נָפוֹת, נָפַת (RV 'height,' AV 'region, coast, border, country') as well as that of 'Dor' is very uncertain.[1] Outside the OT the shorter form of the name is usual. It is frequently mentioned by Greek writers and appears as *δῶρος*, *δῶρα* (*δωρά* in 1 Macc. 15 11 13 25 AV, **Dora**), also *δοῦρα* (Polyb.), *Dorum* (Pliny), and *Thora* (Tab. Peut.). In Ass. *Du-ru* (by the side of Megiddo) occurs only once, in a geographical list (2 R. 53, no. 4, *l.* 57). The meaning of the name is obscure (see EN-DOR, and for HAMMATH-DOR see HAMMATH).

2. OT and other references, etc. Dor is first mentioned in the Pap. Golenischeff (temp. Ḥri-ḥor, *circa* 1050 B.C.), where *D-ira* belongs to the *Takara*, a race which entered Palestine along with the *Purusati*, and occupied the sea-coast (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 388, and see CAPHTOR, §§ 2, 4; PHILISTINES).[2] Their prince bears the name Ba-d-ira, which appears to represent a theophorous name (Ahd-il, 'servant of El' or Bod-el). That Dor continued to remain in the hands of a non-Israelite people seems highly probable.

Later writers, with Deuteronomic sympathies, supposed that Dor joined the northern coalition against Joshua (Josh. 11 2), and they include its king among those who fell (*ib.* 12 23). In the same spirit Dor is assigned to Manasseh (Josh. 17 11; cp 1 Ch. 7 29).[3] A more historical view is presented in Judg. 1 27, where Beth-shean, Ibleam, Megiddo, and Dor (in MT the order is disturbed) form a belt of Canaanite towns stretching from E. to W., which must have separated Ephraim from the more northerly tribes. In the time of Solomon, it is true, the 'heights of Dor' was under one of his commissaries; but it is hardly probable that the town of Dor was itself included (1 K. 4 11; see BEN-ABINADAB).

3. Later history. For the next few centuries Dor drops out of Jewish history. It was well known, however, to the Greeks, the earliest authority in which the name occurs being Hecatæus of Miletus (*circa* 500 B.C.). It is not improbable that it ought to be identified with the *Δῶρος* which, in the fifth century, was tributary to the Athenians (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Δῶρος*), and this agrees with the view that the *Takara* (the earliest known occupants of Dor) were from Asia Minor, and, therefore, might have been in close touch with Greece. At the beginning of the fourth century Ešmunazar relates that Dor (דאר) and Joppa (יפי), rich corn-lands (ארצת דגן) in the field of Sharon (בשד שרן), were handed over to Sidon by the king of Persia (Artaxerxes Mnemon?), probably (as Schlottmann conjectured) in return for their help in the battles of Cnidus (394) and Citium (386).[4] Hence perhaps arose the belief of later Greek geographers that Dor was originally a Phœnician colony. It successfully resisted two sieges, one by Antiochus the Great (ANTIOCHUS, 1) during his war with Ptolemy Philopator in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 5 66), and the second by Antiochus Sidetes (ANTIOCHUS, 5) in 139-8 B.C., when the siege was raised in consequence of the flight of Trypho (1 Macc. 15 11 *ff.*). It was afterwards held along with Strato's tower (CÆSAREA, § 1) by a tyrant named Zoilus, on whose subjugation by Ptolemy Lathyrus it became part of the Hasmonæan dominions (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 12 24). From Pompey's time it was directly under Roman rule. Gabinius restored the town and harbour (56 B.C.), and it enjoyed autonomy under the emperors (*ib.* xiv. 4 4 xv. 5 3). It possessed a synagogue in 42 A.D. (*Ant.* xix. 6 3). At a comparatively early date after this its prosperity declined, and in the time of Jerome (*OS*[2] 115 22 142 14) it was already deserted, and soon scarcely anything was left but its ruins—which were still an object of admiration—and the memory of its former greatness (cp Plin. 5 17: *memoria urbis*). Down to at least the seventh century it continued to give its name to an episcopal see.[1] Its prosperity was largely due to the abundance of the purple-yielding murex on its rocky coast, and to its favourable position (but see *Ant.* xv. 9 6). The modern village consists merely of a few hovels.

The ancient remains which lie to the N. of the modern village are inconsiderable (*Baed.*[3] 271 *f.*, *PEF Mem.* 2 6 *ff.*), the most conspicuous object, to former travellers, being the ruins of a tower (of the time of the Crusaders) which crowns a rocky eminence. The tower (el-Burj; cp Pirgul [= *πύργος*] in Foulcher de Chartres) has since collapsed (*PEFQ*, 1895, p. 113).[2]

S. A. C.

[1] Wholly obscure is שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנָּפֶת Josh. 17 11 which 𝔊 (*τὸ τρίτον τῆς μαφετα* [B], . . . *ναφεθα* [A], . . . *νοφεθ* [L]) treats as a place-name (note that 𝔊B gives only *three* names). Sym. here again has *αἱ τρεῖς παραλίαι*. Slav. Ostrogothic adds the gloss *τρία κλίτη*.

[2] On the identification of the *Takara* town Dor with the Ass. *Zakkalu* (4 R 34 no. 2, *l.* 45); see Hommel, *PSBA* 17 203 ('95); *AHT* 236.

[3] The passage in Josh. is hardly sound; Addis corrects after Judg. 1 27. See also ASHER, § 3.

[4] For Ešmunazar's inscription, cp Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eschmunazars* ('68), and see *CIS* 1, no. 3. Skylax assigns Dor to Sidon and Ashkelon to Tyre during the Persian period.

DORCAS (ΔΟΡΚΑϹ [Ti. WH], *i.e.*, 'gazelle,' § 68), the Greek name of the Christian disciple (*μαθήτρια*) at Joppa, whom Peter, by prayer, raised from the dead (Acts 9 36-42). She was manifestly a Jewess, her Greek name being simply a translation of that by which she was known in Aramaic, Ṭăbītha (טְבִיתָא, *i.e.*, 'gazelle,' = Heb. צְבִי; see GAZELLE). A handmaid of R. Gamaliel was called Tabitha (*Wayyikra R.* 19).

In the so-called *Acts of Prochorus*, dating from about the middle of the fifth century, Tabitha figures as the hostess of John and Prochorus during their three days' stay at Joppa on their way to Egypt.

DORYMENES (ΔΟΡΥΜΕΝΗϹ [AKV]; in 2 Macc. ΔΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟϹ [V]), father of Ptolemy Macron [see PTOLEMY]; 1 Macc. 3 38 2 Macc. 4 45.

DOSITHEUS (ΔΩϹΙΘΕΟϹ [B*AV], ΔΟϹ. [B^{a.b}LβV]).

1. A captain under Judas the Maccabee; he and his fellow-officer Sosipater had Timothens in their power after the action before Carnion, but allowed themselves to be persuaded to let him off (2 Macc. 12 19 24).

2. A mounted soldier who distinguished himself in battle by a brave though unsuccessful attempt to take Gorgias prisoner (2 Macc. 12 35).

3. A renegade Jew in the camp of Ptolemy Philopator (3 Macc. 1 3).

4. 'Said to be a priest and Levite,' who, with his son Ptolemy, carried to Egypt the (translated) letter of Mordecai respecting the feast of Purim (Esth. 11 1, 𝔊; *Δοσιθεος* [A], *Δωσει.* [ℵ]).

DOTEA (ΔΩΤΕΑ [A]), Judith 3 9 AV^{mg.}; AV JUDEA, RV DOTÆA. See DOTHAN.

DOTHAN (דֹּתָן, Gen. 37 17 2 K. 6 13, and דֹּתַיְן, Gen. 37 17 [NAMES, § 107]; Di. (*in loc.*) thinks the latter a vocalic modification of the former. This is doubtful (cp Ba. *NB*, § 194 *c.*); but in any case the termination ־ַיִן is very ancient, occurring in the Palestine lists of Thotmes III., sixteenth century B.C., *tu-ti-y-na* (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 88). It is possible, therefore, that דותן is merely a defective form of דותין [*Δωθαειμ* [BℵADEL], in Judith 3 9, *Δωταια* [Bℵ]; *Δωτεα* [A]; Eusebius has *Δωθαειμ*, Jerome *Dothaim*]).

Eusebius placed it 12 R. m. N. of Sebasté (Samaria). The site was identified by Van de Velde[3] (1 364 *ff.*) with *Tell Dōthān* 10 m. N. of Sebasṭīyeh. It is a green mound lying on the S. of a plain, sometimes called after it (Judith 4 5 [6], *τὸ πεδίον τὸ πλησίον Δωθαειμ*, **Dothaim**), and sometimes called Sahl 'Arrābeh, which lies some 500 feet above sea-level, and drains to the Mediterranean by the Wādy Selhab, afterwards Wādy 'Abū Nār, and is connected with Esdraelon by the wide descending valley of Bel'ameh, the ancient IBLEAM [*q.v.*]. Thus it carries

[1] *Βαρώχιος Δώρων ἐπίσκοπος* is mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.).

[2] See, further, for coinage, etc., Schür. *GJV* § 23, i. 10.

[3] Also, independently, a few days later, by Robinson (*LBR* 1 22). Rabbi Parchi had noted it in the fourteenth century; see Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, 2 434).

the great caravan road from Damascus and Gilead to Egypt, which is still in use, as it was when the story of Joseph and the company of Ishmaelite traders passing Dothan with spices from Gilead for Egypt was written (GASm. *HG* 151 *f.* 356). Van de Velde found the remains of a Jewish roadcrossing from Esdraelon to Sharon. At the S. foot of the Tell is a fountain called El-Ḥafîreh; there is a second fountain and two large cisterns (cp *the cistern* into which Joseph's brethren are said to have lowered him). There is very fine pasturage on the surrounding plain, which the present writer found covered with flocks, some of them belonging to a camp of nomad Arabs. From its site on so ancient a road through the country, and near the mouth of the main pass from the N. into the hills of Samaria, the Tell must always have been a military position of importance; note the description in 2 K. 6 13 *ff.*, and the frequent mention of it in the Book of Judith (advance of Holofernes). Cp *PEFMem.* 2169 215; Thomson, *LB.*, ed. 1877, p. 466 *f.*; Buhl, *Pal* 24 *f.*, 102, 107. G. A. S.

DOUGH. For Nu. 15 20 *f.* Neh. 10 37 [38] (עֲרִיסָה; RVmg. 'coarse meal'), see FOOD, § 1, and for 2 S. 13 8 RV (בָּצֵק), cp BREAD, § 1.

DOVE. The word dove is somewhat loosely applied to certain members of the suborder *Columbæ* or pigeons; and, as no sharp distinction can be drawn, it is proposed to treat the doves and pigeons together in this article.

1. Hebrew terms.

Three Heb. words come under consideration: (1) יוֹנָה, *yōnāh*, probably derived from its mournful note (περιστερά [𝔊]); (2) תֹּר, תּוֹר, *tōr* (probably onomatopoetic, cp Lat. *turtur*; τρυγών [𝔊]), EV 'turtle-dove'; and (3) גּוֹזָל, *gōzāl*, EV 'young pigeon' (Gen. 15 9, ‖ תור, περιστερά [ADL]), properly any young bird; cp Dt. 32 11† (with reference to the נֶשֶׁר).

2. OT references.

Apart from its occurrence in P and Gen. 15 9 (see below), תור is found only in Cant. 2 12 (where allusion is made to its 'voice'), in Jer. 8 7 (a migratory bird; cp § 4 [v.] below; EV in both 'turtle'), and in Ps. 74 19 (not 𝔊). In the last-quoted passage תור, as the harmless, timid dove (cp Hos. 7 11 11 11 Mt. 10 16), is usually thought to be symbolical of Israel. The text-reading, however, is doubtful.[1] Elsewhere it is to the יונה ('dove') that Israel is compared (see JONAH, ii. § 3). This is the most common term, which appears notably in the Deluge-story, Gen. 8 8-12 (DELUGE, § 17). Allusion is made in Ps. 55 6 [7] to its plumage, in Is. 38 14 59 11 to its mournful note.[2] Its gentle nature makes the dove a favourite simile or term of endearment in love poems (Cant. 1 15 4 1 5 2 12 6 9). That doves were domesticated among the Hebrews may be inferred from Is. 60 8 (see FOWLS, § 5), and it is of interest to recall that carrier-pigeons were well known in Egypt, and that at the coronation ceremony four were let fly to carry the tidings of the newly-made king to the four corners of the earth (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 320).

Are there reasons for supposing that among the Hebrews the dove ever enjoyed a reputation for sanctity?

3. Sacred character.

Conclusive evidence in support of this view is absent: but it is remarkable that the dove, although a 'clean' bird, is never mentioned in the OT as an article of diet. It was a favourite food of the Egyptians, and is commonly eaten in Palestine at the present day. Moreover, we have to note that the תּוֹר and גּוֹזָל are mentioned in an old covenant ceremony by E (Gen. 15 9), and that in P's legislation 'turtle-doves' (תורים) and 'young pigeons' (בְּנֵי יוֹנָה) are frequent sacrificial victims in ceremonies which, however, do *not* involve a sacrificial meal (Lev. 5 7 12 8 etc.; in NT Lk. 2 24).[1] This exceptional treatment of the dove suggests that originally the Hebrews were wont to ascribe to the bird a sacrosanct character, similar to that which it has obtained among other branches of the Semites. In Palestine 'the dove was sacred with the Phoenicians and Philistines, and on this superstition is based the common Jewish accusations against the Samaritans that they were worshippers of the dove.' There were holy doves at Mecca (the custom is hardly indigenous), and according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 54, cp 14) doves were taboo to the Syrians, he who touched them remaining unclean a whole day.[2] On the symbolism of the dove in NT (Mt. 3 16 etc.) and in early Christian times, see Smith's *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, *s.v.*

The following species occur in Palestine:—

4. Species.

(i.) *Columba palumbus*, the ring-dove or wood-pigeon, common in England and throughout most of Europe. Large flocks of these assemble in the winter months and do much damage by feeding on the young leaves of cultivated plants; some migrate in the autumn but many pass the winter in Palestine. (ii.) *C. œnas*, the stock-dove, smaller and darker than the above and rarer in Palestine, unlike *C. palumbus* it does not build on branches of trees, but lays its eggs in holes or in burrows. (iii.) *C. livia* the rock-dove, is abundant on the coast and uplands; it is 'the parent stock from which the domesticated varieties have been derived. (iv.) *C. schimperi*, closely allied to the preceding, which it takes the place of, in the interior and along the Jordan valley. It is elsewhere found in Egypt and in Abyssinia. It nests in crevices and fissures of the rock (cp Jer. 48 28). (v.) *Turtur communis* or *auritus*, the turtle-dove, which probably represents תור (see § 2), is a migratory species whose return is very constant (Jer. 8 7, Cant. 2 12) about the beginning of April, when they become very plentiful and are to be found in every tree and shrub. This species is the most abundant of all the *Columbæ* in Palestine. (vi.) *T. risorius*, the Barbary or collared dove, which extends from Constantinople to India. Around the Dead Sea this species is a permanent resident, being found as a rule in small flocks of eight or ten. (vii.) *T. senegalensis*, the palm turtle-dove, has been regarded by Tristram as the turtle-dove of the Bible. It lives amongst the courtyards of houses in Jerusalem and seems to be half tame; it especially frequents palm groves. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

DOVE'S DUNG (חרייונים or חֲרֵי יוֹנִים, Kt. [Ginsb.], דִּבְיוֹנִים,[3] Kr.; κοπρος περιστερων [BAL]). In a graphic account of the siege of Samaria, side by side with 'an ass'shead' appears 'the fourth part of a kab of dove's dung' (*ḥărē yōnīm*) as a food only to be bought at a very high price (2 K. 6 25). Much has been written to account for this strange-sounding detail; Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4 4) even suggested that the dung was a substitute for salt! The reference to it, however, is doubtless due to an error of an ancient scribe, which is precisely analogous to one in Ps. 123 4 (MT).

In that passage a questionable word (rendered in EV 'the proud') is represented in the mg. as being really two words, one of which is יונים. It is more than probable that 'an ass's head'[4] (ראש־חמור) should be חֹמֶר עֲדָשִׁים, 'a homer of lentils,' and 'doves' dung' (יונים 'חר) should be חֲרֻבִים, 'pods of the carob tree' (see HUSKS). That the ancients agreed with MT and that the correctness of the reading can be defended (see Post in Hastings' *BD*, *s.v.*) by observation of the habits of pigeons is no reason why we should acquiesce in it; similarly we might defend the painful figure of the 'snail' in Ps. 58 8 [9] (see SNAIL, 2). For the attempts of modern writers to mitigate the unpleasantness of the expression 'dove's dung' by finding some plant which might have been so called, see articles in Smith's and Hastings' dictionaries. Two illustrative passages (2 K. 18 27 Is. 1 20) have, we may believe, been recovered by similar corrections of the text, one certain, the other highly probable. See HUSKS. T. K. C.

1 'Deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove' is a strange expression. Sym. Tg. Jer. find an allusion to the Law (Tg. 'the souls of the teachers of thy Law'); hut 𝔊 Pesh. read תּוֹדָה; so Gunkel, Che.: 'Deliver not the soul which praises thee,' be. comes the sense.

2 Cp also Nah. 2 7 [8]; on the text of Ezek. 7 16 see Co.

1 In NT times doves for such purposes were sold in the temple itself (Mt. 21 12 Mk. 11 15 Jn. 2 14 16).

2 On the whole subject see Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 1 and WRS *Kin.* 196 *f.*; *RS*(2) 219 n. 2, 294, etc. Cp also, for 'dove' oracles, Frazer, *Paus.* 4 149 *f.* The white dove was especially venerated; Tibullus, 1 7: 'alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro.'

3 This is a euphemistic substitute. Some authorities recognise יונים, 'doves,' as an element in the phrase (so Kön. *Lehrgeb.* 2 102); others take ון to be simply a termination (Ginsb. *Introd.* 346, 'decayed leave's').

4 Such 'unclean' food was not likely to be exposed for sale even during a siege. And why specially the head?

DOWRY. For Gen. **34**12 Ex. **22**17 [16] **1 S.** 18 25† (מֹהַר, *mōhar; φερνή ; dos* [in S. *sponsalia*]), see MARRIAGE, § 1. For Gen. 30 20† (זֶבֶד, *zebed*), see ZEBULUN.

DRACHM, RV **Drachma** (ΔΡΑΧΜΗ), Tob. 5 14 2 Macc. 4 19 10 20 12 43. See MONEY.

DRAG (מִכְמֶרֶת), Hab. 1 15 *f.* See FISH, § 3.

DRAGON (תַּנִּין ; ΔΡΑΚΩΝ).

For Dt. **32** 33 EV Ps. 91 **13** (RV 'serpent') see SERPENT, § 1 11 ; and for Ps. **148** 7 (RVmg. 'sea-monsters' or 'waterspouts'), SERPENT, § 3 (*f*) n. For the 'dragons' (תַּנִּים, תַּנִּין, תַּנּוֹת [sing. תַּן] : in Lam. **4** 3 AV 'sea-monsters,' AVmg. 'sea-calves ') of Mal. 1 3 etc. see JACKALS (so RV).

In addition to the passages in which the term *tannīn* is used of a natural species of animals (such as Gen. 1 21 RV 'sea-monsters',' AV WHALE [*q.v.*]; Ex. 7 9 *f.* EV SERPENT [*q.v.*]) there are various longer or shorter passages in which a mythological or semi-mythological explanation of the term may be reasonably supposed. Some of these have been, with more or less fulness, treated elsewhere, and may therefore be here considered more briefly.

1. Mythological allusions in OT and NT.

The passages are as follows (for discussion, see § 3 *f.*)—(*a*) Is. 27 1 (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3 [*f.*]); (*b*) Is. 51 9 (see RAHAB); (*c*) Jer. **51** 34 (see JONAH, ii. § 4) ; (*d*) Ezek. **29** 3-6, 'I will attack thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, thou great dragon,[1] which liest in the midst of thy streams which hast said, Mine are the streams,[2] I have made them.' I will put hooks in thy jaws, and cause the fish of thy streams to stick to thy scales. I will bring thee up out of thy streams . . . I will hurl thee into the desert, thee and all the fish of thy streams; upon the open country shalt thou fall ; thou shalt not he taken up nor gathered. . . .' (*e*) Ezek. **32** 2-8 ' . . . as for thee thou wast like the dragon[3] in the sea, tho; didst break forth) with thy streams, didst trouble the water with thy feet, and didst foul its streams. Thus saith Yahwè, I will spread my net over thee, and bring thee up into my snare. I will lay thy flesh upon the mountains, and fill the valley with thy corruption.[4] . . . I will cover the heavens at thy setting, and clothe its stars in mourning. . . .' (*f*) Job 7 12, 'Am I the sea or the dragon,[3] that thou settest watchers against me?' (*g*) Neh. **2** 13, 'before the dragon-well.' These are probably all the passages in the Hehrew OT; for Ps. 44 19 [20], referred to hy Gunkel in this connection, is certainly corrupt; hut (*h*) Esth. 10 7 [4] **11** 6 [5], (*i*) Bel and the Dragon, and (*k*) Ps. Sol. 2 28-34 have to he grouped with them (see § 3).

The NT references are all in Revelation, viz., in (*m*) 12 3-17, (*n*) 13 2 4 11, (*o*) 16 13, (*p*) 20 2 ; cp 12 9.

2. NT references.

These last require to be treated separately, but with due cognisance of that old Babylonian dragon-myth, uncomprehended fragments of which circulated in the eschatological tradition of ANTICHRIST (*q.v.*). The dragon which sought to devour the child of the woman is the very same development of Babylonian mythology which lies at the base of Jer. **51** 34. From a Jewish point of view the woman (cp Mic. 4 10) is either the earthly or the heavenly Zion, and the dragon (originally Tiāmat) with its seven heads[5] is Armīlos, or רשיעא ('the wicked one' ; cp 2 Thess. 2 3 8), *i.e.*, Rome, the new Babylon, which is identified with 'the ancient serpent,' נחש הקדמוני (cp Rev. 12 9, and see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* **218**). The storming of heaven by the dragon is also Babylonian; it is the primeval rebellion of Tiāmat (see CREATION, § 2) transferred to the latter days[6] (cp Eph. 6 12, the spiritual hosts of wickedness ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις). The additions of the apocalyptic writer do not concern us here.[7] On the affinities of Rev. 12 4 to a Greek myth see HELLENISM, § 8.

1 Reading תַּנִּין for תַּנִּים of MT.

2 Reading יְאֹרִים (𝔊 Gunkel).

3 תַּנִּין (AV 'whale,' RV 'sea-monster').

4 Reading רִמָּתֶךָ (Symm., Pesh., Rodiger, Gunkel).

5 Cp the 'great serpent of seven heads' in a primitive Sumerian poem (Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 282).

6 Cp Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, 9 (note on chap. 1) ; Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, 137 *ff.* (the latter cited by Bousset).

7 Cp Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 7 173, and the same writer's conimentary on the Apocalypse ; see also APOCALYPSE, § 41.

3. In OT Apocryph.

We pass on to (*h*) Esth. 10 7 [4] 11 6. Two dragons come forth to fight against the 'righteous people,' *i.e.*, the Jews (cp Jer. 51 34). These are interpreted in the story as Mardocheus and Aman, and the justification of this is that they fight together, as Mordecai contended with Haman. This is evidently a late modification of an uncomprehended traditional story. The connection of the dragons with water is evidently an echo of the Tiāmat myth. The writer, however, did not understand it, and explained the 'much water' of Esther. (*i*) Bel and the Dragon strikes us at once by its Babylonian colouring. That it is Daniel, not a god, who kills the Dragon, is an alteration natural to Haggadic stories, to which, as Ball has shown, this story belongs. No trace remains of the old myth beyond what is found in Jer. 51 34. (*k*) Ps. Sol. 2 28-34 is a picture of the fate of Pompey, the profaner of the temple, which would be hyperbolical if it were not obviously coloured by a semi-mythical tradition.

4. OT allusions considered.

Resuming the consideration of (*a*)—*i.e.*, Is. 27 1—we notice that the two Leviathans and the Dragon in the Sea are distinctly mythical forms (the two former, differentiations of Tiāmat; the latter, Kingu, Tiāmat's husband) ; they are identified by the apocalyptist (see *Intr. Is.* 155) with the three great powers hostile to the Jews,—Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. The reference to the sea confirms the mythological origin of the expression, for Tiāmat is the personification of the primeval ocean.' In Yahwè's sword see Gen. 3 24, and cp Marduk's weapon, called in Creation tablet iv. *l.* 49, *abūbu*, 'storm' (cp *ll.* 30 39). As to (*b*), note again the two conquered monsters (Rahab and the Dragon), and the connection with the sea in *v.* 10. The old myth is applied to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea ; but the application would have been impossible had not the destruction of Rahab and the Dragon been equivalent to the subjugation of the sea. The poet does not say, but obviously supposes, that Rahab and Pharaoh are in some sense identical, just as in Rev. 12 the impious power of Rome is identified with the Dragon. The 'shattering' of Rahab is repeated) from the Babylonian myth.

Of (*c*) nothing more need now be said (see JONAH); but (*d*) and (*e*) require to be clearly interpreted. It is not to an ordinary crocodile that Pharaoh is compared. The 'hyperholical' language would, in this case, be intolerable. It is the despotic and blasphemous dragon Tiāmat. The blasphemy is at once explained when we remember that Tiāmat was originally a divine being—older in fact than the gods. The denial of burial to Pharaoh is of course explicable out of mere vindictiveness ; but it is a worthier supposition that we have here a somewhat pale reflection of the outrages inflicted on the body of Tiāmat by the young sun-god Marduk. The 'hook' reminds us of Job **41** 1 [40 25] (Leviathan); the net, of a striking detail in Creation-tablet iv., *ll.* 95, 112.[2] The 'setting' of the dragon implies that there was a constellation identified with the dragon (cp Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, 137, **146**). In (*f*) the combination of 'sea' and 'dragoq,' and the occurrence of references elsewhere in Job to Rahab and Leviathan, sufficiently prove the mythological affinities of the passage. The Dragon was, according to one current version of the old myth, not destroyed, but placed in confinement (cp Job **38** 41). Cp the stress laid in Job 38 8-11 Ps. 104 59 **33** 6 [7] 65 7 *f.* on the long-past subjugation of the sea by Yahwè.

One passage only remains (*g*). The term 'dragon-well' suggests a different class of myths—those in which the supernatural serpent is a friendly being. Primitive sanctuaries were often at wells (EN-ROGEL), and serpents love moist places.[3] Serpents, too, are the

1 Rashi, on Is. **27** 1, remarks that the 'coiled' Leviathan encompasses the earth (מקיף את כל העולם). Cp Griinhaum, *ZDMG* 31 275. The 'coils' of the Egyptian Leviathan (Apapi) were in heaven (Book of Hades, *RP* 12 13). Apōpi seems ultimately identical with Tiāmat; hut the details of the myth are Egyptian.

2 Cp Lyon, *JBL* 14 132.

3 Schick and Baldensperger (*PEFQ* ['98], p. 23 ; ['99], p. 57) state that long worms and serpents abound in and near the

emblems of healing (cp Nu. 21 5-9), and sacred wells are often also healing wells. The intermittent character of St. Mary's Well (connected with the lower Pool of Siloah) is accounted for in folklore by the story that a great dragon who lies there makes the water gush forth in his sleep. Cp also the dragon-myth connected with the Orontes, the serpent's pool, Jos. *BY* v. 3 2, and the serpent myths of the ancient Arabs (WRS *Rel. Sem*.[2] 131, 171), and see ZOHELETH.

Thus we have two views of the dragon represented,—as a friendly and as a hostile being. Into the wider subject suggested by this result we cannot enter now (cp SERPENT). It is more important to consider the question, How came these only half-understood myths, represented by Behemoth, Leviathan, Rahab, and the inclusive appellation Dragon, to be so prominent? We have already seen that they are not of native Palestinian growth, but (apart from the myth of the Dragon's Well) of Babylonian origin. Not that every important Dragon-myth in Asiatic countries must necessarily be derived ultimately from Babylon—this would be an unscientific theory—but that for the myths now under consideration the evidence points unmistakably to a Babylonian origin. If we ask how these myths came to be so prominent, the answer is that a great revival of mythology took place among the Jews, under Babylonian influences, in exilic and post-exilic times. Jewish folklore became more assimilated to that of the other nations, and the leaders of religion permitted what they could not prevent, with the object of impressing an orthodox stamp on popular beliefs. This has long since been noticed, especially by the present writer in a series of works (see also CREATION, § 23), where it is pointed out that the Dragon-myth comes from pre-Semitic (Babylonian) times, and where several explanations are indicated as perhaps equally historical.[1] Like other interpreters who used the mythological clue, however, he was not clear enough as to the nature of the conflict between the God of light and the serpent, referred to in Job 9 13 Is. 51 9 etc.[2] Continued study of the new cuneiform material has done much to clear up his difficulties, one of which may be expressed thus. The Babylonian epic spoke of Tiiimat as having been destroyed by the God of light, whereas certain biblical passages appeared to describe the dragon as still existing 'in the sea,' as capable of being 'aroused' by magicians, and as destined to be slain by Yahwè's sword. Hence it seemed as if there was a Hebrew myth (of non-Hebraic origin) which represented the war between the God of light and the serpent of darkness as still going on, and Egyptian parallels seemed to teach us how to conceive of this.[3] The defeat and destruction of the gigantic serpent Apōpi and his helpers, when chaos gave way to order and darkness to light, was not absolute and final. They still seemed to the Egyptians to menace the order of nature, and in his daily voyage the sun is threatened by the serpent, and has a time of anguish. When they see this, human folk seek to frighten the monster by a loud clamour, and so to help the sun. The sun's boatmen, too, have recourse to prayers and spear-thrusts. At last, paralysed and wounded, Apōpi sinks back into the abyss. Gunlcel, however, has shown[4] for the first time that Babylonian mythology will account for all the details of the biblical descriptions which an accurate exegesis will admit. We need not suppose a reference to the myth of the daily struggle between the Light-god and the serpent. The Tiiimat story, as known to the Jews, was briefly this. At the commencement of creation, Tiamat was, according to some, destroyed, according to others, completely subdued and confined in the ocean which encompasses the earth. Without God's permission he can henceforth do nothing. Only the angelic powers, commissioned by God to keep watch over Leviathan, can 'arouse' him and even they 'shudder' as they do so (see BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN). This form of the story became popular in later biblical times, because it met the requirements of apocalyptic writing. It was a necessity of biblical idealism to anticipate a return of the 'first things,' of Paradise and its felicity. Evil seemed to have been intensified; the reign of Tiiimat was renewed, as it were, upon the earth. A deliverance as great as that wrought by Yahwè (a greater Marduk) of old must therefore be anticipated, and the struggle which would precede it would be as severe as that which took place at the creation. Then would 'the old things pass away, and all things become new.' It is not improbable, as Budge long ago pointed out (*PSBA*, ['83], 6), that Tiiimat in course of time acquired a symbolic meaning; certainly the serpent of Egyptian, and not less of Jewish, belief acquired one. The inoralisation of the old dragon-myth is recorded in the mysterious but fascinating story of ANTICHRIST [*q.v.*]. On the twofold representation of Tiāmat (dragon and serpent), see SERPENT, § 3 *f*.

5. Babylonian origin of myth.

6. Later biblical times.

Birket es-Sulṭān; the latter writer suggests that this may have helped to **fix** the name to the locality.

[1] For a Phoenician dragon-myth, see Damasc. *De prim. princ.* 123, and **Eus.** *Praep. Ev.* 1 10 (ap. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, 1 533-535, 551).

[2] *Proph.* ***Is.*** 1 159 2 37; *Job and Solomon*, 76-78; cp *Crit.* ***Rev.***, July 1895, p. 262.

[3] *Job and Solomon*, 76; cp Maspero, ***op. cit.*** 90 *f.* 159. *Book* ***of the*** *Dead*, **15 39**; ***Book of Hades***, transl. by Lefébure, *RP*, **12 13.**

[4] *Schöpfung u.* ***Chaos***, **41-69.** This is not the place to discuss the points in which the present writer differs from Gunkel (see *Crit.* ***Rev.***, 1895, p. 256 *ff.*), whose general view of the earlier period of Israelitish belief is perhaps too much in advance of the evidence.

Into the dragon-myths of non-Semitic peoples frequently adduced to illustrate Job 38, it is not necessary to enter. The Semitic material has been growing to such a considerable mass that it is wise to restrict ourselves at present to this. Otherwise we might discuss **a** striking passage in ***The Times***, Jan. **24,** 1898, on the cry for alms in Hindu quarters for the recovery of the sun from the jaws of the dragon Rahu. Jan. **22, 1898,** was the day of a solar eclipse. Cp ECLIPSE, § 2.

The fullest English investigation of the different forms taken by the mythic dragon is to be found in W. H. Ward's article 'Bel and the Dragon' *(Am. Journal of* ***Sem. Lang.*** *and Lit.*, Jan. 1898, p. 94 *ff.*). In early Babylonian art the dragon does not represent Tiāmat the chaos-dragon, but a destructive demon of pestilence or tornado. The sex of the dragon is not as a rule indicated in the primitive representations, even when the dragon is given together with a god (or goddess); an exception however is figured by Ward, in which the dragon appears to he male. In the Assyrian period, to which the representations **of** the conflict between Marduk and the Dragon belong, the dragon is of the male sex, which reminds **us** that the evil serpent Ahriman in Persian mythology is male. It is very possible that in the oldest Babylonian representations the dragon was female (cp **DEEP, THE**). With regard to the view (implied in parts of the OT) that the chaos-dragon was not slain, hut only subdued by the Light-god, we may compare some Babylonian cylinders, older than Ḫammurabi, which represent the dragon as harnessed in a chariot and driven by Bel while a goddess stands on his hack and wields the thunderbolt; or else the god stands on the hack of the dragon. The Assyrian representations do not, it is true, show that the dragon was slain; hut the natural supposition is that the conflict ended in his destruction.

7. Literature.

See also Gnnkel, *Schöpf.* ***u. Chaos;*** Toy, *Judaism and* ***Christianity***, 162, 195, zoo (n.), 375; Maspero, ***Struggle of the Nations;*** Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie* **der alten Ägypter;** Wiedemann, *Egyptian* **Religion;** Bousset, ***Der Antichrist*** **('96),** pp. **94,** 97; and, for a popular summary of facts on the Dragon-myth, A. Smythe Palmer, *Babylonian* ***Influence on the*** *Bible* ('97). **T. K. C.**

DRAGON WELL (עֵין הַתַּנִּין; **ΠΗΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΚΩΝ** [BℵA], **Π. ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ** [L]; *fons draconis;* حسم ا لحلحم), Neh. 2 13†. For topography see GIHON, JERUSALEM, and for folklore see DRAGON, § 4 (*g*).

DRAM, RV DARIC. The rendering of two late Hebrew words: (*a*) אֲדַרְכֹּנִים, 1 Ch. 29 7 Ezra 8 27†—*i.e.*, apparently ΔΑΡΕΙΚΟΣ (Syr. ܕܪܝܟܘܢܐ, MH דר(י)כון, pl. דַּרְכּוֹנוֹת [Dalman]), or cp Ass. *darīku* (pl. *darikanu*) 'piece of money' Muss-Arnolt; and (*b*) דַּרְכְּמ[ו]ֹנִים,

darkᵉmōnīm, Ezra **2**69 Neh. 7 70*ff.*,† apparently Δραχμη.[1] Possibly a loan-word (Asiatic) in both Heb. and Gr., see Ew. ***GGA*, 1855**, 1392 *ff.*; 1856, 798; and cp *BDB*, s.v.

The Vss. give δραχμαί [L], *derīkōna* [Pesh. except 1 Ch.], *solidus* [Vg., in Neh. *drachma*]. But in 1 Ch. χρυσοῦς [BA], δραχμαί [HP '93], זוזי, Targ. (see Lag. *Hug.* 23), Pesh. apparently connected א׳ with אֲנָךְ 'lead.' In Ezra 8 27 εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν χαμανειμ [B] . . . δραχμάς [AL] agree in presupposing לדרכ+כמנים, *i.e.*, 6; ‖ 1 Esd. **857** [56] BAL om. Ezra **269** μνᾶς [BA] ‖ 1 Esd. **545** [44] μνᾶς [BAL]. Neh. 7 70-72 BℵA om., hut νομίσματος [Sixt.] *v.* 71, and νομίσμασιν [ℵ c.a] *v.* 72.

According to the commonly accepted view *a* and *b* are identical and mean 'darics.' Against this two objections may be urged: (1) the מ in 6 is left unexplained, and (2) the form *a*, which alone supports this meaning, is untrustworthy. In 1 Ch. it is doubtful (ואדרכנים רבו may he a gloss: the amount of gold has been already mentioned), and in Ezra 827 the better reading is דרכמונים (see above). The form דרכמון (δραχμή) is preferable, not for this reason alone, hut also on account of its identity with the Phmn. דרכמנם (pl.),[2] which, as the analogy from Gk. inscriptions shows, must represent δραχμαί. The occurrence of this Gk. (or Asiatic?) word in Ezra-Neh. is due perhaps to repeated glosses: cp Ezra **8**27 with 1 Esd. 8**57** and observe that in some of the passages (above) BA omit. See further MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.[3] S. A. C.

DREAMS (חֲלֹמוֹת), Zech. 10 2, etc.; see DIVINATION, § 2 (vi.).

DRESS. A complete discussion of the subject of ancient Israelitish dress (including toilet and ornaments) is impossible with our present limited knowledge. It is true, the Assyrian and Egyptian artists had keen eyes for costume; but trustworthy representations of Israelites are unfortunately few. It might be tempting to fill up this lacuna by noting the usages of dress in the modern East. This, however, would be an uncritical procedure. We might presume on obtaining more than analogies from the customs of the present; but common sense shows that to look for a Hebrew equivalent to every modern garment would be unnatural. Consequently, in spite of the scantiness of detail in the OT, we must base our conceptions upon OT evidence (viewed in the light of criticism) treated by the comparative method.

There are several general terms in Hebrew for 'dress,' 'garments,' 'attire.' It is needful to give details, as there are distinctions of some importance which could not be brought out otherwise.

1. General terms.

1. בֶּגֶד, *beged* (cp perh. Ar. *bijād*; we cannot assume a root meaning 'to cover'; the verb בגד known to us means, 'to deal treacherously'; it is perhaps a verb denom.),[4] may be used for a garment of any kind 'from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the priest,' for 'the simplest covering of the poor as well as the costly raiment of the rich and noble' [*BDB*]; for women's dress (Dt. **2417**; cp Gen. 38 14), for royal robes (1 K. 22 30), and apparently once for the outer robe or MANTLE (2 K. 9 13); also for the coverlet of a bed (1 S. **1913** 1 K. 1 1), and for the covering of the tabernacle furniture (Nu. **46-13** P.).

2. גְּלוֹם, *gᵉlōm*, Ezek. 27 24, AV 'clothes,' RV 'wrappings,' mg. 'bales.' Prof. Cheyne writes: 'The existence of an old Hebrew root גלם "to roll together" is not proved by 2 K. 28 Ps. 139 16; both passages are very doubtful, and can be emended with much advantage.

[1] Cp, *e.g.*, Torrey, *Comp. Ezr. Neh.* 18: 'the one obviously corresponding to δαρεικός, the other to δραχμή.'

[2] A Phœnician inscription of the first century B.C. from the Piræus: see Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsem. Epigr.* 160.

[3] See also Meyer, *Entst.* 196 *f.*, Prince, *Daniel*, **265** ('99). From Ezra **269** (Neh. 7 70-72 [see 𝔊L]) compared with 1 Esd. **545** it would seem that 61 דרכמנים = 1 μνᾶ (cp the royal maneh of *60* shekels). In 𝔊, however, the Heb. שֶׁקֶל is represented by δίδραχμον, and δραχμή represents the בֶּקַע or half-shekel; cp Gen. 24 22 Ex. **3826**.

[4] So Gerber, *Hebr. Verb. Denom.* 2 *f.* The verb בגד is found only in E, and later. See, *e.g.*, Ex. **217** Judg. 9 23; 1 S. 14 33 is probably no exception.

גלונ plainly = גלין in Is. 3 23, which Peiser identifies with Bab. *gulīnu*, a kind of garment' (*ZATW* ['97], **17348**). Cp CHEST.

3. כְּלִי, *kᵉlī*, a word of the widest signification, is (like the German *Zeug*) used of garments in Dt. **225** (כ׳ גֶּבֶר) Lev. 13 49 (כ׳ עוֹר).

4. כְּסוּת, *kᵉsūth*, 'covering,' Ex. 21 10 **2226** etc., restored by Grätz, Ball, and Cheyne in Gen. **49** 11[1] (MT סוּת ‖ לְבוּשׁ, περιβολή, *pallium*), and by Cheyne in Ps. 73 6 Prov. 7 10 (MT שִׁית,[2] EV 'garment,' 'attire'). Cp מְכַסֶּה Is. **23** 18 (EV 'clothing'); see AWNING.

5. לְבוּשׁ, *lᵉbūš* (the root לבשׁ 'to wear, put on' is found in all the Semitic languages), a general term (not so frequent as 1.); used of the dress of women (2 S. **124** Prov. 31 22), etc. Cognates are מַלְבּוּשׁ, 2 K. 10 22 (EV 'vestment') etc., and תִּלְבֹּשֶׁת Is. **59** 17† 'clothing.'

We turn now to the Hebrew terms denoting particular articles of dress. It is one of the defects of the EV that the same English word is often used to represent several distinct Hebrew terms,, and that, *vice versa*, the same Hebrew term is rendered by different English words (promiscuously). This is due partly to the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent for many of the Hebrew terms, partly to our ignorance of their precise meaning, and the uncertainty of tradition as represented by the versions, Rabbinical exegesis,[3] etc.

2. Special terms.

Of the numerous Hebrew terms denoting articles of dress, those referring to the feet are discussed under SHOE. For the various head-dresses (פאר, צניף, etc.) see TURBAN. One of the special terms for garments worn about the body is אֵזוֹר, *'ēzōr*, 'kilt' or 'loin-cloth' (see GIRDLE).[4] Out of this an evolutionary process has brought breeches (cp Ar. *mi'zār*), which, however, among the Hebrews appear first as a late priestly garment (viz. מכנסים); see BREECHES. For the ordinary under-garment worn next the skin (כֻּתֹּנֶת), see TUNIC. The over-garment (corresponding roughly to the Gr. ἱμάτιον and Roman *toga*) varied in size, in shape, and in richness, and had several distinct names (*śimlah*, etc.), for which see MANTLE.

Certain classes and certain occasions required special dresses. The clothing of ambassadors is called מַדְוִים (*medāwīm?*), 2 S. 10 4 = 1 Ch. 19 4, EV 'garments.' A kindred word '*mad*' (fem. *middah*. if the text of Ps. 133 2 is correct)[5] is used of the priestly garb in Lev. 6 10 [3], Ps. *l.c.* (ἔνδυμα); of the outer garment of the warrior (plur. only)[6] in Jndg. 3 16 (EV 'raiment'), 1 S. 4 12 (EV 'clothes'), 17 38 (AV 'armour,' RV 'apparel'), 18 4 (AV 'garments,' RV 'apparel'), and 2 S. 208 (AV 'garment,' RV 'apparel of war')[7]; 𝔊BAL in all passages μανδύας, except 1 S. 4 12, where ἱμάτια. The *mad* of the .warrior was perhaps some stiff garment which was a (poor) substitute for a coat of mail. In Ps. **109** 18 *mad* is used of the dress of the wicked tyrant

3. Special garments.

[1] Others cp Ph. סוית and Heb. מַסְוֶה (Ex. **3433** where Che. reads מְכַסֶּה).

[2] Others vocalise שֵׁית (*ZDMG* **37 535**; properly 'that which is set' upon one).

[3] So for the obscure Aram. פטשׁ (Dan. **3** 21 Ḳrē) we find such remarkable variant renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics' (RV), and 'turbans' (RVmg.).

[4] We may compare the *saḳ* of camel's or goat's hair which, like other primitive garments, long continued to form a garb of mourning. The *saḳ* was perhaps identical with the kilt of the ancient Egyptians, for which see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.*(2) 2 322.

[5] Che. (*Ps.*(2)) reads עַל־פְּנֵי הַמִּדְבָּר, 'on the surface of the desert.'

[6] On 2 S. 20 8 see next note.

[7] In 2 S. 20 8 חגור should probably be cancelled; note the Pasek, so often placed in doubtful passages. Read לָבוּשׁ מַדָּיו. See Löhr and cp We. *ad loc.* For other views see Klo., H. P. Sm.

who is cursed (but the whole passage is in disorder; see Che. *Ps.*(2)). In the Talm. מרא is a robe distinctive of the *Nāsī'* or prince. On the priestly head-dress, see MITRE; the priests in later times indulged in sumptuous apparel.[1] In Talmudic times Rabbis wore a special dress, and were crowned until the death of Eliezer b. Azarya (*Tosifta*, *Sotah*, 15). In Babylonia a golden ordination robe was used at the conferring of the Rabbinical dignity. A festive garb was worn at the creation of an Elder (*zāḳēn*); the Nāsī' had a special mantle, the Exilarch a girdle.[2] For the king's regalia see CORONATION, CROWN, § 2. On the warrior's dress we can add very little. RVmg. finds the military boot (סְאוֹן) in Is. 9 4[3]; and a reference to the distinctive outer garment (*maddim*) of the warrior, and to his shoes, has been conjectured in Nah. 2 4 a [3*a*].[3] See also HELMET. For bridal attire (cp Is. 49 18 61 10, ἔνδυμα γάμου Mt. 22 11) see MARRIAGE, § 3, and for the garb of mourning (מַעֲטֵה אֵבֶל Is. 61 3, בִּגְדֵי א׳ 2 S. 14 2), see MOURNING CUSTOMS.

With the exception of the swaddling-clothes of the new-born babe (*ḥăthullah*, Job 38 9; cp verb in Ezek. 16 4; σπάργανον, Wisd. 7 4; cp Lk. 2 7 12), children seem to have had no distinctive dress. The boy Samuel wore a a small *mĕ'īl* (see MANTLE), and if the lad Joseph possessed a special *kuttōneth* (see TUNIC), it was regarded by the narrator in Genesis as exceptional. In Talmudic times boys wore a peculiar shirt (חלוק דינוקא *Shabb.* 134*a*).[4]

4. History. In ancient times, dress depended to a large extent on climatic considerations. The simplest and most primitive covering was the loin-cloth (see GIRDLE), a valuable safeguard in tropical climates, adopted perhaps for this reason rather than from the feeling of shame to which its origin was afterwards traced (Gen. 37). The use of sandals in early times was not looked upon as an absolute necessity (see SHOES), and although the TURBAN in some form or other may be old, the custom of wearing the hair long was for very many a sufficient protection for the head.

It is impossible to say how early the ordinary Israelite assumed the two garments (tunic and mantle) which became the common attire of both sexes. The garments of the women probably differed in length and in colour from those of the men—Dt. 22 5 leaves no doubt as to the fact that there was some distinction. Several terms are common to the dress of both sexes (*beged*, *kuttōneth*, *śimlāh*, etc.); for some distinctive terms see VAIL, and cp TUNIC, MANTLE. The Jewish prisoners pictured on the marble-reliefs of Sennacherib are bareheaded and wear short-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankles. This costume differs so markedly from the Assyrian, that the artist seems to have been drawing from life. Jehu's tribute-bearers on Shalmaneser's obelisk wear Assyrian dress and headgear, due probably to the conventionality of the artist. The Syrian envoy in a wall painting in the tomb of Hui at el-Kāb wears a dress so unlike the Egyptian that we seem once more in presence of an authentic record. The over-garment of this envoy, which is long and narrow, and is folded close to the body, is of blue and dark-red material richly ornamented; he has yellow underclothes with narrow sleeves and wears tight breeches. In the OT, however, there is no indication that such a costume was ever prevalent among the Israelites. For simplicity of attire it would not be easy to surpass the dress of the Sinaitic Bedawin (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 140), and this simplicity once doubtless marked the garb of the Hebrew.[1] Later, life in cities and contact with foreign influences paved the way to luxury. The more elaborate dress of the Canaanite would soon be imitated. Several signs of increasing sumptuousness in dress are met with in the later writings. The dress at the court of Solomon is aptly represented as an object of admiration to an Arabian queen (מַלְבּוּשׁ 1 K. 10 5). One notes that it is in the later writings that several of the names for articles of dress appear for the first time. Extra garments and ornaments were added and finer materials used. The traditional materials of garments were wool and flax woven by the women; but now trade brought purple from Phcenicia, byssus from Egypt, and figured embroideries from Babylon (see EMBROIDERY). That silk was known in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 16 10 13) is doubtful (see COTTON, LINEN, SILK, WOOL). New luxurious costumes (cp לְבֻשֵׁי מִכְלוֹל, Ezek. 23 12 38 4†; מַכְלֻלִים, *ib.* 27 24 *f.*) are a frequent subject of denunciation in the later prophets, partly because of the oppression of the poor involved in the effort to extort the means of providing them, and partly because of the introduction of alien rites and customs encouraged by contact with foreign merchants.

In later times intercourse with other peoples led to the introduction of fresh articles of apparel and new terms. Such for example is the essentially Grecian πέτασος (if correct) of 2 Macc. 4 12 (see CAP). Three obscure words denoting articles of dress, most probably of foreign origin, are mentioned in the description of the three who were cast into the fiery furnace (Dan. 3 21).[2] For Talmudic times Schiirer (*GJV* 2 39 *f.*) notes the mention of סגום (*sagum*) worn by labourers and soldiers, אצטלית (*stola*), סודרין (σουδάριον; see NAPKIN), פליון (πιλίον), אמפליא (ἐμπίλια). Among under-garments are the דלמטיקיון (*dalmatica*), according to Epiphanius (*Hær.* 15) worn by scribes; and the פרגוד (*paragaudion*), of which the equivalent *paregôt* is used in the Armen. Vers. for χιτών. To these may be added מקטורן (*mactoren*) an outer garment, קולבין (κολόβιον), טלית a fringed garment of fine linen (see FRINGES). Gloves are mentioned (קפיה כף *Chelin*, 16 6, etc.); but they were worn by workmen to protect their hands (cp also נרתק Targ. on Ruth 4 7).[3]

5. Ornaments, toilet. Increased luxury of dress among the Israelites was accompanied by an excess of ornaments. Ornaments of many kinds were worn by both sexes—primarily for protective purposes (as AMULETS), at a later time (when their original purpose was forgotten) to beautify and adorn the person. The elaborate enumeration of the fine lady's attire in Is. 3, though not from the hand of Isaiah (see ISAIAH, ii. § 5), is archæologically important. Here the Hebrew women (of the post-exilic period?), following foreign customs, wear arm-chains, nose-rings, step-chains, etc., in great profusion. For these cp ORNAMENTS, and see the separate articles.

On the manner of treating the hair, see BEARD, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3; HAIR, MOURNING CUSTOMS. Women crisped their hair, bound it with veils (see VAIL) and GARLANDS (*q.v.*), etc. Later, the Roman habit of curling was introduced (Jos. *BJ* iv. 9 10).

Washing the body with water was usual on festal occasions, at bridals (Ezek. 16 9), at meals (Gen. 25 2 19 10 Lk. 7 44), before formal visits (Rn. 3 3), before

1 The exact meaning of בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד Ex. 31 10 35 19 39 41† (AV 'cloths of service' RV 'finely wrought garments') is veryuncertain; see Di.-Ry. *ad loc.*, Ges.(13). It is possible that the words are a gloss to בגרי הקרש (*ll.c.*), for which cp Ex. 28 2-4 Lev. 16 32, and the enumeration in Lev. 16 4.

2 Cp Briill, *Trachten der Jüden* (Einleitung).

3 Che. *JBL* 17 106 ('98), where מַדִּים or מַדָּיו is detected in the obscure מאדם, and מתנעלים, 'put on their shoes,' in מתלעים.

4 Possibly the Israelite boys shaved their hair and only left curls hanging over the ear. This was done in ancient Egypt, and the custom prevails at the present time among the Jewish boys of Yemen.

1 In the Roman period simplicity of attire (almost amounting to nakedness; Talm. *Sanh.* 44*b*) was enforced in the case of criminals. whilst persons on trial were expected to dress verv soberly (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 94).

2 For a discussion of the terms see Cook, *J. Phil.* 26 306 *ff.* ('99).

3 On these points see Briill, *op. cit.*, and Levy *NHWB*, under the various terms. For later Jewish dress' see Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, chap. xv. *f.*, and entries in Index, 440.

officiating in the temple, in ritual purifications, and so forth. Rubbing the body with sand or sherds was also practised. Unguents prepared by female slaves (1 S. 8 13) or by male professionals (רוקח) were used after washing (Ru. 3 3 Amos 6 6 etc.)[1]; see ANOINTING, § 2, CONFECTIONARIES. After the Hellenistic period such festal customs became more and more elaborate.

The eye-lids of women were painted to make the eyes larger, *koḥl* being used for the purpose (see PAINT). It is doubtful whether *ḥenna* dye was placed on nails and toes.

The references in the EV to dress are so frequent and the symbolical usages *so* familiar that a passing glance at them may suffice. Food and clothing are naturally regarded as the two great necessaries of life (*e.g.*, Gen. 28 20 1 Tim. 68). An outfit is called עֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים (Judg. 17 10). In Talmudic times it consisted of eighteen pieces (Jer. *Shabb.* 15). Clothes were made by the women (Prov. 31 22 Acts 9 39), but references to sewing are few (ion, Gen. 37 Job 16 15 Eccles. 37 Ezek. 1318, ἐπιρράπτω Mk. 221).

6. OT allusions.

Clothes were presented in token of friendship (1 S. 184; see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 335), as a proof of affection (Gen. 45 22), and as a gift of honour (1 K. 10 25; cp Am. Tab. 2 70). Garments were rent (yip, פרם) as a sign of grief, of despair, of indignation, etc. (see MOURNING CUSTOMS). Shaking the clothes was a sign of renunciation 'and abhorrence (Acts 186; cp Neh. 513). Promotion was often accompanied by the assumption of robes of dignity (cp Is. 22 21). So Eleazar takes the robes of Aaron (Nu. 20 28), and Elisha the mantle of Elijah (2 K. 2); see also CORONATION. Conversely, disrobing might be equivalent to dismissal (2 Macc. 4 38). Rich people doubtless had large wardrobes; the royal wardrobe (or was it the wardrobe of the temple?) had a special 'keeper' (1 K. 2214). The danger to such collections from moths (see MOTH) and from the so-called 'plague of leprosy' (see LEPROSY) was no doubt an urgent one. The simile of a worn-out garment (בלה, cp Dt. 84) is often employed (cp Is. 50 9 516 Ps. 102 26 [27]). Rags are called קְרָעִים (Prov. 23 21 EV); cp also בְּלוֹיֵ הַסְחָבוֹת, בְּלוֹיֵ מְלָחִים 'old cast clouts and old rotten rags' (Jer. 38 11 *f.* RV), all apparently containing the idea of something rent (cp ῥάκος Mt. 9 16 Mk. 2 21).

To cast a garment over a woman was in Arabia equivalent to claiming her.[2] Robertson Smith (*Kin 87*) cites a case from Tabari where the heir by throwing his dress over the widow claimed the right to marry her under the dowry paid by her husband, or to give her in marriage and take the dowry. This explains Ruth's words (Ruth 3 9) and the use of 'garment' to designate a woman or wife in Mal. 216 (*Kin. 87,* 269). A benevolent law, found already in the Book of the Covenant, enacts that every garment retained by a creditor in pledge shall be returned before sunset (Ex. 22 26); the necessity of this law appears from Am. 28 Ezek. 187 16; see PLEDGE.

7. Legal usages.

D's injunction 'a man shall not put on the *śimlah* of a woman,' 'a woman shall not wear the appurtenances (כלי) of a man' (Dt. 22 5) may have been dksigned as a safeguard against impropriety; but more probably it was directed against the simulated changes of sex which were *so* prevalent and demoralising in Syrian heathenism.[3] Quite obscure, on the other hand, is the law prohibiting the layman from wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (שעטנז, Dt. 2211

1 Amos (*66*, see Dr. *ad loc.*) speaks of 'the chief ointments' (EV), or rather 'the best of oils.

2 Hence some explain בבגדו בה in Ex. 21 8 to mean that the master could not sell his female slave 'seeing that (he had placed) his garment (*beged*) over her.' See SLAVERY.

3 See Dr. *ad loc.*, Frazer, *Paus.* 3 197, ASHTORETH, § 2. It may be doubted whether in ancient times dressing boys as girls was due, as among later Orientals, to a desire to avert the evil eye.

Lev. 19 19; *see* LINEN, 7, n. 1). Such garments were worn by the priests;[1] and the law, which may, like the term itself, be of foreign origin, is at all events later than Ezek. 4418. Another law, which ordered laymen to wear tassels or twisted threads upon the skirt of their *simlah*, seems to go back to a former sacred custom (see FRINGES). See, further, SHOE, § 4.

Garments had to be changed or purified upon the occasion of a religious observance (cp Gen. 35 2 Ex. 19 10) or before a feast (cp חֲלִיפוֹת, 'changes,' מַחֲלָצוֹת, 'festal robes,' and see MANTLE). Primarily, however. all festive occasions are sacred occasions, and there is therefore no real difference between best clothes and holy clothes. When a garment comes in contact with anything partaking of a sacred nature it becomes 'holy,' and, once 'holy,' it must never be worn save on 'holy' occasions.[2] This is why in early Arabia certain rites were performed naked or in 'garments borrowed from the sanctuary (We. *Heid.*(2) 56, 110). The same principle illustrates the command of Jehu to '*bring forth* vestments for all the worshippers of Baal'; the vestments were in the custody of the keeper of the *meltāḥāh* (2 K. 10 22; text perhaps corrupt : see VESTRY). That certain rites among the Hebrews were performed in a semi-naked condition seems not improbable. The Ephod itself was once perhaps nothing more than a loin-cloth (cp 2 S. 614 16 20, and see EPHOD, § 1).[3]

8. Dress and Religion.

Elijahs kilt (*'ēzōr*) of skin and the prophet's customary 'hairy mantle' (see MANTLE)—in later times often falsely assumed (Zech. 13 4)—remind us of the priests of the Palmētum who were dressed in skins (Strabo xvi. 4 18; for other analogies see *RS*(2) 437 *f.*);[4] but there-is always a tendency in cults to return to ancient custom in the performance of sacred rites, and, as Robertson Smith has shown, later priestly ritual is only a development of what was originally observed by all worshippers when every man was his own priest. The dressing of worshippers in skins of the sacred kind (cp ESAU) implies that they have come to worship as kinsmen of the victim and of the god, and in this connection it is suggestive to remember that the eponyms of the Levites and Joseph tribes are the 'wild-cow' (Leah) and the 'ewe' (Rachel) respectively. See LEAH, RACHEL.

Again, we note that clothing may be looked upon as forming so far part of a man as to serve as a vehicle of personal connection. The clothes thus tend to become identified with the owner, as in the custom alluded to in Ruth 39 above. The Arab seizes hold of the garments of the man whose protection he seeks, and 'pluck away my garments from thine' in the older literature means 'put an end to our attachment.' *So* a man will deposit with a god a garment or merely a shred of it, and even to the present day rag-offerings are to be seen upon the sacred trees of Syria and on the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They are not gifts in the ordinary sense, but pledges of the connection between worshipper and object or person worshipped (*RS*(2) 335 *f.*). Thus garments are offered to sacred objects, to wells (*ib.* 177), but more particularly to trees and idols (see NATURE WORSHIP).[5] So 2 K. 23 7 speaks of the women who wove tunics (so Klo.) for the ashērah. The custom is not confined to the Semitic world, and instances of

1 This is distinctly asserted by Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 11. 'To pray for a blessing on the flax and sheep,' says Maimonides. This prohibition in the case of laymen was re-enacted under the Frankish emperors (*Capitularium*, 646). It is just possible that the law aimed at marking more distinctly the priest from the layman.

2 Cp Lev. 627 Hag. 2 12, and, on the contagion of holiness, cp Ezek. 44 19 and see CLEAN, § 2. On Is. 65 5 (where point the Pi'el) see *RS*(2) 451, n. 1.

3 Verse 14*b*, however, may be an addition. For Ex. 20 26 cp BREECHES, 3.

4 In Zeph. 1 8 the wearing of 'strange garments' (מַלְבּוּשׁ נָכְרִי) is associated with foreign worship (cp *v.* 9).

5 Cp Bertholet, *Israel. Vorstellungen v. Zustand nach d. Tode* ('99).

draped images in Greece are collected by Frazer (*Paus.* 2 574 *f.*). 'The Greek images,' he observes, 'which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great antiquity.' The custom does not seem to be indigenous; it was probably borrowed from the East.[1] The counterpart of the custom of offering a garment to the sanctified object is the wearing of something which has been in contact with it. At the present day in Palestine the man who hangs a rag upon a sacred tree takes away, as a preservative against evil, one of the rags that have been sanctified by hanging there for some time (see *PEFQ*, 1893, p. 204). The custom of wearing sacred relics as charms is clearly parallel. Now, just as the priests had their special garments, so particular vestments were used for purposes of divination. Thus a magician wears the clothes of Er-ṭi—*i.e.*, Eridu, a town mentioned often in Babylonian incantations (Del. *Ass. HWB* 371*b*). Another instance of the wearing of special dress is cited by Friedrich Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezek.* p. xiii. An important parallel to this custom appears in Ezekiel's denunciation of the false prophetesses[2] and the divination to which they resorted (Ezek. 13 17-23). Two special articles are mentioned: (*a*) כְּסָתוֹת, *kᵉsāthōth*, 'bands' or fetters'[3] worn upon the arms (cp the use of FRONTLETS [*q.v.*]), and (*b*) מִסְפָּחוֹת, 'long mantles' (ἐπιβόλαια [BAQ], περιβ. [A *v.* 21], Pesh. *taksīthā*, *mā'nā*, EV incorrectly KERCHIEFS), which were placed over the head of the diviner.[4] It becomes very tempting to conjecture that these garments were not merely special garments; but the garments actually worn by the deity or sacred object itself, since it is plausible to infer that they would be held to be permeated with the sanctity of the deified object and that supernatural power might be thus imparted to the wearer.[5] It is true, the link is still missing to connect the diviner's garb with that of the clothed image; but such a conjecture as this would seem to explain how the use of 'Ephod,' as an article of divination, in its twofold sense of image and garment (in which it has been clothed), might have arisen (cp Bertholet on Ezek. 13 18); see EPHOD.

See Weiss, *Kostümkunde* i ch. 5; Nowack, *HA*, § 20; Benzinger, *HA*, § 16; and the special articles referred to in the course of this summary. I. A.—S. A. C.

DRINK OFFERING (נֶסֶךְ), Gen. 35 14; see SACRIFICE; cp RITUAL, § 1.

DROMEDARY. The word כִּרְכָּרוֹת, *kirkāroth*, is rendered 'dromedaries' in Is. 66 20, RVmg. (so Boch., Ges., Che., Di., Duhm.; cp כרכר 'to whirl about' and EV 'swift beasts'). The rendering 'panniers' (cp μετὰ σκιαδίων [BKAQ]; Sym. ἐν φορείοις) has little in its favour.

For Jer. 2 23 (בִּכְרָה) and Is. 60 6 (*id.* plur.)—EV 'dromedary,' RVmg. correctly 'young camel'—see CAMEL, § 1, n. For 1 K. 4 28 [5 8] (רֶכֶשׁ) and Esth. 8 10 (בְּנֵי הָרַמָּכִים) see HORSE, § 1 [4].

DRUXILLA (ΔΡΟΥCΙΛΛΑ [Ti. WH]), Acts 24 24. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 10.

DUKE had not yet become a title when the AV was made, but was still employed in its literal sense of any *dux* or chief: cp Hen. *V.* iii. 223: 'Be merciful, great *duke* (viz., Fluellen), to men of mould.' With but two exceptions (see 1, below) this now misleading term has given place in RV to a more modern equivalent.

1. אַלּוּף[1] (ἡγεμών [BAL]), a title applied to the Edomite 'chiefs' (so RVmg. only) in Gen. 36 15 *ff.* 1 Ch. 1 51 *ff.* (cp Ex. 15 15 EV and see EDOM, § 4), but also (rarely) to the 'chieftains' (so RV) of Judah (Zech. 9 7 12 5 *f.*,[2] 𝔊 χιλίαρχος, AV 'governors'). The tribal subdivision of which the *'allūph* is the head is called אֶלֶף *'eleph.*

2. נְסִיךְ, in pl., of the 'dukes (RV 'princes') of Sihon (Josh. 13 21). Elsewhere the word is always translated 'princes' or 'principal men' (Ps. 83 11 [12] Ezek. 32 30 Mic. 5 4 [5]).

DULCIMER (סוּמְפֹּנְיָה), Dan. 3 5 10 15; see MUSIC, § 4 (*e*).

DUMAH (דּוּמָה). 1. In Gen. 25 14 (ιδουμα[ν] [ADE], δουμα [L]) and 1 Ch. 1 30 (ιδουμα [BAL]) Dumah appears as a son of Ishmael. The form ιδουμα = אדומה suggests comparison with Adumu, the 'fortress of the land of Aribi' (*KB* 2 131), which, as Esar-haddon tells us, Sennacherib had conquered.

2. If the Dumah of Gen. is the same as Adumu, it may be tempting to suppose with Winckler (*AT Unt.* 37) that the heading 'oracle of Dumah' (Is. 21 11) also refers to this 'fortress.' The prophecy itself, however, seems to forbid this; it begins 'One calleth to me out of Seir.' More probably not Adumu but Udumu,[3] *i.e.* Edom, is meant (Che. *Proph. Is.* 1 130); in other words, 'Dumah' is a corruption of 'Edom' (τῆς Ἰδουμαίας [BKAQ; see Sw.]), facilitated perhaps by the neighbourhood of Massa (*maśśā*, *v.* 11, being misunderstood) and Tema (*v.* 14); see Gen. 25 14 *f.* It is a less probable view that 'Dumah' ('silence'—*i.e.*, desolation) is a mystical name for Edom (𝔊 τῆς Ἰδουμαιάς). See also ISHMAEL, § 4 (4), EDOM (footnote on name of Edom).

3. There is another (apparently) enigmatical heading in Is. 21 1 ('Oracle of the wilderness of the sea'), which should probably be emended into 'Oracle of Chaldæa' (משא כשדים; see *SBOT*). Both headings are undoubtedly late.

4. In Josh. 15 52† the reading followed by EV is found in some MSS and edd. (see Ginsb.), and being supported by the OS (δουμα; see below) is very probably more correct than the Rumah of MT (רומה [Bä. p. 86, Gi.]; so Pesh. and 𝔊, ρεμνα [B] ρουμα [AL]). In favour of this is the fact that the name is assigned to a town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Hebron and Beth-tappuah. For there is still a place called *ed-Dōmeh*, 2190 ft. above the sea-level, 10 m. SW. from Hebron and 12 SE. from Beit-Jibrin, a position which coincides nearly with the definition of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 116 4 250 68), 'a very large village now in the Daroma,' 17 m. southward from Eleutheropolis. T. K. C.

DUNGEON (הַבּוֹר), Gen. 40 15 41 14; Dungeon House (בֵּית הַבּוֹר), Jer. 37 16; see PRISON.

DUNG-GATE (שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפּוֹת [Ba. Gi.]; Neh. 3 13 הָשְׁפוֹת [Ba.]), Neh. 2 13 3 13 *f.* 12 31. See JERUSALEM.

DURA (דּוּרָא, ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ [𝔊87], ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΝ [Syr. mg.], ΔΕΕΙΡΑ [Theod.]=דירא), the name of a plain 'in the province of Babylon' where Nebuchadrezzar's golden image was set up (Dan. 3 1). If the word is Aram., it should mean 'dwelling-place' or 'village'; but 𝔊's rendering, even if a guess, may suggest that the name had come down from old Babylonian times and means 'wall.' In fact, three localities are mentioned in the tablets as bearing the name Dūru,

[1] The brazen statue in Elis bears the title of Satrap and seems to be of Eastern origin (Frazer, 2 575).

[2] The importance of women in divination will not be overlooked. One notes how frequently the Grecian images, above referred to, represent goddesses.

[3] See CUTTINGS, § 7, n.; but כ might also mean garments, cp Ass. *kusītu*.

[4] It is surely wrong to suppose that the mantles were worn by the *enquirer*. We have to read the fem. suffix in מספח (*v.* 21*a*; cp the fem. suffix in כסתות *v.* 20*a*); there is a similar error in עזבבם *v.* 19 6. כל־קומה (*v.* 18) should probably be emended to כָּל־קֹסְמָה, 'every diviner.'

[5] Cp *RS*(2) 438 and see SACRIFICE. This may have given rise to the figure 'robe of righteousness' and other well-known usages, cp also Job 29 14, 'I put on truth and it clothed me (וילבשני)'—*i.e.*, became, as it were, incarnate in me.

[1] In all the passages quoted there may have been a confusion between אַלּוּף and אֶלֶף.

[2] In Zech. written defectively אַלֻּף. The St. Petersburg MS, however, points אֶלֶף.

[3] Udumu, as Wi. now reads (but cp *GI* 1 189), was the name of a city in the land of Gar, which may be identical with the Adumu of Esar-haddon, and from this city the land of Udumu may have derived its name. Still the remark in the text appears to be sound.

'wall' or 'walled town' (Del: *Par.* 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur.[1] That the writer of the narrative knew any of these places, appears improbable. Possibly the old name Dūru had attached itself in his time to the plain adjacent to the remains of the walls of Babylon. At any rate, the scene of the dedication of the image must in the writer's mind have been close to Babylon.

T. K. C.

DUST (עָפָר), Gen. 2 7 18 27 etc. See **ASHES.**

DWARF, mentioned among those who were forbidden access to the temple (Lev. 21 20), is the EV

[1] Oppert finds an echo of Dura in the *Nahr Dur* and the *Tŭlūl Dūrā* (*Expéd. en Mésop.* ['62] 1 238).

for דַּק, which has been variously rendered 'freckled' (εφηλος [𝔊BAFL], *lippus*, 'blear-eyed' [Vg.]), 'short-sighted,' 'weak-eyed,' 'affected with a cataract' (Rabb., cp Targ. Jer.). The literal meaning of the word, viz. 'shrunk,' 'withered' (Ges., Kn., Ke.), seems most natural.

DYED ATTIRE (טְבוּלִים), Ezek. 23 15 EV; RVmg. 'dyed turbans'; see TURBAN.

DYED GARMENTS. For Judg. 5 30 RVmg. (צְבָעִים) see COLOURS, col. 869, n. 2; and for Is. 63 1 AV (חָמוּץ) see *ib.*, § 10.

DYES. See COLOURS, § 13 *ff.*

DYSENTERY (δυσεντεριον), Acts 28 8 RV; AV 'bloody flux.' See DISEASES, 9, and cp EMERODS.

END OF VOL. I

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